

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE TENTH

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

TIRUPATI

MARCH 1940

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MADRAS

1941

PREFATORY NOTE
BY THE LOCAL SECRETARY

ON the 22nd December 1937 the Council of the All-India Oriental Conference, which met at Trivandrum, resolved to accept the invitation of the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam to hold the next session of the Conference, *i. e.* the Tenth, at Hyderabad in December 1939. Dr. M. Nizamuddin was elected Local Secretary of the Tenth Session. Sometime later, Mr. G. Yazdani, M.A., O.B.E. was elected President of the session. The presidents of the sections were elected. A Reception Committee was formed at Hyderabad, and arrangements for the Conference were in progress, when war broke out in September 1939, about three months before the time for holding the session. H. E. H.'s Government decided to postpone the session and the Registrar of the Osmania University, who communicated the decision on the 17th September 1939 added in his letter to the Local Secretary (Dr. Nizamuddin) that "the University and His Exalted Highness' Government will be glad to renew the invitation when normal conditions were happily restored after the cessation of hostilities." Dr. Nizamuddin communicated the order to the General Secretary (Dr. M. H. Krishna) by wire on the 20th September 1939. He, in turn, passed on the decision to Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D., who, as Deputy President, was acting for the President, Dr. F. W. Thomas, who was not in India.

There came a feeling on many of the members of the Executive Committee and supporters of the Conference that, since the Conference met only once in two years and nearly two years had passed since the previous session, it was not desirable to postpone the Tenth Session *sine die*, and that, if possible, a new venue for it should be found. Accordingly, Dr. Belvalkar, who had meanwhile ascertained that the Benares Hindu University, which, on previous occasions, had pressed the Conference to meet under its auspices, would be able

to give an invitation only for the Eleventh Session, wrote to me on the 1st October 1939 to ask if the Conference might meet under the auspices of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute at Tirupati, which had been founded recently, and of which I was then the Director. Dr. Belvalkar was associated with the formation of the Institute, having been invited by the Madras Government for consultation on its constitution and scope. He pointed that the First Session of the Conference had been held under the auspices of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute at Poona, when it was hardly a year old.

Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute belonged to the Tirupati Tirumalai Devasthanam, which has founded, financed and managed it. The affairs of the Devasthanam are managed, under a special statute of the provincial legislature, by an executive officer, appointed by the Government, designated the Commissioner, and working under a Committee, the members of which are nominated by the Government. The decision on the proposal lay with this body. After informal consultations with the President of the T. T. Devasthanam Committee (Mr. T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar, B.A., B.L., M.L.C.), and the Commissioner (Mr. C. Sambayya Pantulu, B.A.), as well as members of the Committee, and collection of the necessary information, the suggestion was considered at a meeting of the Devasthanam Committee held on the 30th October, 1939, when the following Resolution was adopted:

> Read the Note of the Director, and the Proposals of Sri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar to invite the Oriental Conference, and the opinion of the Committee.
>
> RESOLUTION: Resolved to authorise the Director to extend the invitation of the Committee to the All India Oriental Conference to hold its Tenth Session at Tirupati, under the auspices of the Oriental Institute. The Committee considers that Easter would be more convenient than Xmas. The Director is authorised to take the necessary steps and incur expenditure upto Rupees Two Thousand.

In accordance with the Resolution, an invitation was sent by wire and by letter to the Deputy President and the General Secretary, with the Devasthanam Committee's opinion that it was more convenient to have the Session in Easter (1940) than Christmas (1939). The Executive Committee accepted the invitation on behalf

of the Conference, and communicated the decision to me, accepting also the suggestion that the session should be in Easter 1940. I was also elected Local Secretary. The necessary instructions were passed on to me, and the Local Secretary at Hyderabad having become *functus officio*, his papers along with the money collected as fees from members and delegates were transferred to me. When the Devasthanam Committee met again on the 25th November, 1939, they recorded the acceptance of their invitation by the Conference, resolved that "the Devasthanam should render all necessary help," formed a Reception Committee, with the members of the Devasthanam Committee, the Commissioner and the Director of the Oriental Institute as the nucleus of it, elected the President of the Devasthanam Committee, Mr. T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar, as President of the Reception Committee, the Commissioner (Mr. C. Sambayya Pantulu) as Treasurer of the Reception Committee, and the Director of the Institute as Secretary of the Reception Committee (though he was already the Local Secretary functioning on behalf of the Conference, and as Director was acting for the hosts also) and authorised the preparation of a programme for the Conference Session so as to make it run to four or five days, and, if resources permitted, to include Parishads not only in Sanskrit but in the Mother Tongues also (*i.e.* Telugu and Tamil).

Tirupati is a small pilgrim town, deriving its importance from its religious associations as the starting point for the pilgrims who ascend the Tirumalai Hills to worship at the ancient All-India shrine of Sri Venkateswara (Bālāji). The most conspicuous institution in the town is the Devasthanam. With one exception, the members of the Devasthanam Committee were not resident at Tirupati. The Commissioner was a circuiting officer. Abnormally heavy work lay already on the Director as he had to organise and equip the newly founded Oriental Institute, according to plans which were being sanctioned. The difficulties were faced. The Reception Committee assumed a provincial basis and outlook. Efforts were made to get donations and subscriptions, and the enlarged scope of the session, in which more room than usual was found for the languages of South India helped in the direction. As the existing buildings of the Devasthanam and others in the town were insufficient, the building programme of the Institute was accelerated. As a result, the large

halls and rooms of the new Institute were able to house the large sessions, and provide accommodation for many delegates and guests The resources in men and material of the Devasthanam were placed at the disposal of the different sub-committees, which were formed, on the usual pattern, to deal with the different arrangements that had to be made for the Conference.

A new Presidential election came up at the beginning itself, as Mr. Yazdani felt unable to continue and resigned. The general feeling in the Province and in the Devasthanam was that, if possible, the venerable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, in view of his eminent services to education and learning in the foundation of the Benares Hindu University, of which he had been the Vice-Chancellor for over a score of years, should be the President in the vacancy. To make sure of his accepting the invitation, it was conveyed, on the suggestion of the Deputy President, who had already met him, and of others, by me in person at Benares. The acceptance of the invitation by Panditji gave great satisfaction in the province, Unfortunately he was eventually prevented from going to Tirupati by bad health.

An important feature of the Session was the larger number of sections it arranged for, the total number being 22, by the provision of sections in addition to those already programmed for when it was to have been held at Hyderabad, and by dividing the Fine Arts section into separate sections for Music, Bharatanāṭya and the Plastic Arts. A festival of the Fine Arts and an Exhibition were also arranged for. The Institute's collections of manuscripts, and apparatus for transcription by rapid mechanical means, were also on exhibition. The three Parishads (Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu) applied themselves to specific issues or topics, instead of having desultory discussions, for a mere display of learning. The subject for the Sanskrit Parishad was the possibility of making Sanskrit, by simplification, once again the language of ordinary intercourse. The Parishad after a discussion, which affirmed the possibility, appointed a small Committee to go into ways and means of simplification. The large and representative gathering of the Tamil scholars of the province, which met under a distinguished scholar, held a symposium on the debated question of the location of the ancient capital Vañji, under a Board of erudite umpires. The public interest in the symposium was indicated by its being specially relayed by the All India Radio. The Telugu Parishad, was also largely attended

and dealt with practical questions of the advancement of Telugu learning.

The general attendance at the Conference and its sections was considered unusually good. Over 700 persons attended the larger general sessions including 283 members and delegates, of whom several were ladies for whom special accommodation had been provided. The provision of suitable catering and housing for so large and varied a gathering, in a small town, strained the resources of the hosts. Every effort was made to give North Indian delegates and visitors the food they were accustomed to. In view of the attraction of the pilgrimage to the shrine of Sri Venkateswara several vistors had brought ladies of their families, and for them also suitable accommodation was found. The Commissioner and his officers, not only co-operated in every way, but made special arrangements for the convenience at Tirumalai Hill for the visitors, who went up to worship Sri Venkateswara.

Many visitors made excursions to the neighbouring ancient shrines at Kalahasti and Tiruchanoor.

It remains to acknowledge our special obligations. Outside the Devasthanam, which was the host, we had to look for extensive financial support, as in spite of the most rigorous economy, there remained an apprehension of inadequacy of resources. To generous donors, who are listed among the patrons, special gratitude is due. The Government of H. E. H. the Nizam were pleased to double their usual grant of Rs. 500 to this session, and though the gift came long after the session, it has proved helpful in enabling the printing of the transactions of the Conference which has had to be done at an outside press. Grants were received from the Governments of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda and, H. H. the Maharana of Udaipur as well as the Government of Madras. The Maharani Saheba of Gadwal gave a princely donation, and Srilasri the Pandarasannidhi of Dharmapuram an amount nearly as large. Donations were also received from the Jagadguru Sri Sankaracharya of Kamakotipeetam, Srilasri the Pandarasannidhi of Tiruvaduthurai and Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar of Chettinad. We are indebted to the sympathy and co-operation of many friends all over the Province, who were not all able to attend the session, owing to the shortness of the holidays.

Holding the Conference in a small town, with limitations of *materiel* and *personnel*, necessarily imposed heavier burdens on a few

available workers than would have been necessary in a large city, and the same persons had to hold different offices and discharge multifarious duties. But, these were performed willingly and in a spirit of co-operation by all those connected with the Reception arrangements, and specially the slender staff of the nascent Institute and by the Commissioner and his officers. To them thanks are due. Knowing our limited resources, distinguished artists gave free musical performances for the entertainment of guests. Sri Bavaji Narayandosji, a public spirited member of Sri Hathiramji Mutt at Tirupati, gave a Garden Party to the Conference, for which he was duly thanked on the occasion. While gratefully acknowledging obligation to all the colleagues in and out of the Devasthanam who helped me in manifold ways, I must specially name Dr. K. C. Varadachari, who virtually deputised for me as Local Secretary. The Vasanta Press undertook the printing of the Proceedings, in spite of heavy pressure of work already undertaken this year, and it has done it with its accustomed efficiency and despatch. Dr. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, M.A., Ph. D. of the Madras University, has helped in correcting Arabic and Urdu proofs. Mr. P. D., Ramaswami, B. A., G. D. A., conducted a laborious audit of the accounts, and has prepared the statement of the accounts as on the 15th December 1941, which is now printed.

K. V. RANGASWAMI

Mylapore
15th December 1941

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HOST

The Tirumalai Tirupati Devasthanam
Represented by.
The Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute,

PATRONS[1]

The Government of Madras.
,, of His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda.
,, of the Maharana of Udaipur.
The Osmania University, Hyderabad, Deccan representing the Government of H.E.H. the Nizam.
The Maharani Saheba of Gadwal
His Holiness Jagadguru Sri Sankaracharya of Kanchi Kamakotipitham.
,, Srila Sri Shanmuga Desika, Jnanasambandha Pandarasannidhi, Dharmapuram *via*, Mayavaram.
,, Srila Sri the Pandarasannidhi of Tiruvaduturai, Narasingan-pettai P. O., Tanjore District.
Raja Sir S. Rm. M. A. Annamalai Chettiar, Kt., Dewan Bahadur, Madras.
The Hon'ble Justice K. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, B.A., B.L., Judge, High Court of Judicature, Madras.

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Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, B.A., L.L.B., Rector, Benares Hindu University.

[1] Those who have donated Rs. 50 and above have been included in the List of Patrons.

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3.	St. Mary's College, Kurseong	1.	Rev. Fr. J. Bayart
		2.	Rev. Fr. P. Deletter
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		2.	Dr. A. Siddiqi, Head of Arabic and Persian Dept., Allahabad University
		3.	Dr. Dhirendra Varma, Head of the Hindi Dept., Allahabad University
		4.	Capt. S. M. Zamin Ali, Head of Urdu Dept., Allahabad University
5.	University of Cambridge	1.	Dr. M. Nizamuddin, Osmania University Hyderabad (Deccan)
			Dr. Paranjpe, Fergusson College Road, Poona 4
6.	Patna University, Bankipore	1.	Dr. Hari Chand Sastri
		2.	Dr. Azimuddin Ahmed
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			Mr. G. V. Acharya, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay 1
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		10.	H. A. Shah, B.A., 8 Chaupathy Sea Face, Bombay.
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		2.	R. Subba Rao, Govt. Arts College, Rajahmundry
		3.	Anna Reddi, Advocate Rajahmundry
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		2.	M. D. Raghavan, P. A. to the Supdt., Madras
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14.	School of Oriental and African Studies, London	1.	Prof. S. K. Chatterjee, M.A.,D.Lit.
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		2.	Dr. Moulana Abdul Aziz Memon *Sahib, Muslim Univ., Aligarh*
35.	Idara-i-Maarif-i-Islamia, Lahore	*1.*	*Dr. Muhd. Iqbal, Secretary*
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Aiyangar, R. S. Raghava	I, II. III, VI, VIII	2, 3, 4, 5
Aiyangar, S. Krishnaswami	I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X	1, 2, 8
Aiyar,	I, II, III, V	1, 2, 3, 4
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Belvalkar, S. K.	I,II,III,IV,V,VI,VII,VIII,IX,X	1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7
Bhandarkar, D. R.	I, II, IV, V, VII, IX	1, 4
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Bhattacharya, Binoytosh	II, III, IV, V, VI, VII	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
Bhattacharya, V. C.	III, IV, V, VIII	3, 4, 5, 6
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Chaghati, M. Abdulla	V, VI, VII, VIII, X	5, 6, 7, 8
Chatterjee, Sunitkumar	IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X	4, 5, 6, 7
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Chengalvarayan, N.	III, IV, V, VI, VIII	3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8
Daruvala, P. N.	I, II, III	1, 3
De, S. K.	III, IV, V, VII, VIII, IX, X	3, 4, 5, 8
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Ghosh Manoranjan	II, VI, VII, VIII	2, 4, 6, 7, 8

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Gyani, R.G.	VIII, IX, X	
Gadgil, V.A.	VIII, IX, X	
Garde, M.B.	VIII, IX, X	
Gangoly, O.C.	VIII, IX, X	
Haq, Abdul	II, IV, V, VI, VII, IX	6
Heras, Rev. H.	III, IV, VII, VIII, IX, X	3, 4, 5, 7
Hiriyanna, M.	I, III, V, VII, VIII	1, 2, 3, 4, 8
Hussain, S.M.	VIII, IX, X	
Ganganath, The	I, II, III, IV	1, 4
Kane, P.V.	I, III, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X	1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8
Kamalabai Despande	VIII, IX, X	
Karmarkar, R.D.	I, II, III, VIII, IX, X	1, 2, 3
Krishna Aiyangar, A.N.	VIII, IX, X	8, 9, 10
Krishna, M.H.	VII, VIII, IX, X	
Kasturi, N.	VIII, IX, X	10
Krishna, Rao B.V.	VIII, IX, X	
Kunhan Raja, C.	V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X	5, 6, 7, 8
Kuppuswami Sastri, S.	I, II, IV, V, VIII, IX, X	2, 3, 4, 8
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Majumdar, R.C.	I, II, III, IV, VIII, IX, X	1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8
Mirashi, V.V.	I, II, IV, VI, VIII, IX, X	2, 3, 6, 7, 8
Misra, Umesh	IV, VI, VII, IX, X	4, 5, 6, 7, 8
Modi, P.M.	IV, V, VII	4, 5, 7
Manilal Patel	VIII, IX, X	
Mohamed, Sahidulla	I, II, III, VI, IX	2, 3, 6
Mukerji, Radha kumud	I, II, IV, V, VI, VIII	I, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8
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Shah, R.N.	II, IV, VI	2, 4, 5, 6

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Sardesai, R. N.	VIII, IX, X	
Sardesai, N.G.	VIII, IX X	
Shafi Mohmad	II, III, IV, VII, VIII, IX	3, 4, 5, 8
Shah, Hiralal Amritlal	I, III, VII, VIII, IX	1, 3, 7, 8
Shankaran, C. R.	VIII, IX, X	
Shaikh, A. K.	, II, VI	1
Shama Sastry, R.	, II, III, VIII	2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8
Sastri, Hiranand	II, IV, VI, VII	2, 3, 5, 7
Sastri, Mangaldev	V, V, VI, VII	4, 5, 6, 7
Sastri, P. P. S.	II, IV, V, VII, VIII, IX	3, 10
Siddiqui, M. Z.	IV, V, VII, VIII	6, 8
Sinha Kumar Gaganath	II, III, VII	2, 3
Somayaji, G.J.	VIII, IX, X	
Srinivasachari, C. S.	I, II, IV, V, VII, VIII, IX, X	2, 3, 7, 8
Subba Rao, R.	II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII	3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8
Subrahmania Aiyar, K. A.	II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII	3, 4, 5,7
Sukthankar, V. S.	VIII, IX, X	
Tandan, Hariharnath	VI, VII, VIII, IX	3
Taraporewala, I. J. S.	I, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX	2, 4, 5
Tritton, A. S.	III, IV, V	2, 3, 5
Utgikar, N. B.	I, II, III, IV	1, 2, 4
Upadhye, A. N.	VIII, IX, X	10
Vaidya, P. L.	I, II, V, VIII, IX	8
Vaidya, V. P.	I. II, VII, IX	2, 3
Varma, Siddheswar	V, VI, VII	5, 6, 7, 8
Velankar, H. D.	VIII, IX, X	
Venkateswara Iyer, S. V.	I, II, III, V	1, 2, 3, 4, 5
Veeraraghava Chari, E. V.	VIII, IX, X	10
Venkataramanayya, N.	VIII, IX, X	10
Vasudeva Poduval	VIII, IX, X	10
Yamunacharya, M.	VIII, IX, X	
Yazdani, G.	I, II, VII, IX	

EXHIBITION

The Exhibition was arranged at the buildings of the Devasthanam Hindu High School in a room at the western end of the building, upstairs. The verandahs on the three sides were also utilized for exhibiting pictures, impressions of inscriptions, and photographs and important books.

Seventeen persons and institutions participated in the exhibition. A list of their names, with the number of exhibits brought by them is furnished below:

1.	Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute ...	17 Manuscripts.
2.	Mysore Archæological Department ... (for want of space) ...	500 Exhibits. only 200 were exhibited.
3.	Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras ...	31 Manuscripts.
4.	Superintendent for Epigraphy and Archaeology, Madras Circle ...	Plaster casts of coins etc.
5.	Sri R. Ramamurti Sarma ...	8 Manuscripts.
6.	„ V. Prabhakarasastri ...	6 Exhibits.
7.	„ T. Suryanarayana (Copper Plate) ...	1 Exhibit.
8.	„ T. Seshacharulu „ ...	1 „
9.	„ The Adyar Library ...	3 Manuscipts.
10.	„ L. Ganesha Sarma, Pudukkotah State...	50 Pictures.
11.	„ The Oriental Book Agency, Poona ...	Books.
12.	„ Dhanpal and K. Ramamurti, Artists Madras ...	14 Paintings.
13.	Dr. Tribuvan Das L. Shah, L.M.S. ...	Ancient India. Vols. I, II & III
14.	Deccan Arts Society ...	Exhibits and Books.
15.	University of Travancore ...	47 Manuscripts.
16.	Sri S. R. Shende of Sangli ...	9 maps.
17.	„ H. Chennakesavaiah, Mysore ...	Educational. Charts and Coins.

The important and valuable Exhibits were all put in glass showcases kept under lock and key, while the inscriptions and other Exhibits which required much wider space were hung on the wall.

The Delegates and members were much interested in the Exhibition and visited it in large numbers. They were attracted by the rare manuscripts that were kept in glass show cases from Sri. Venkateswara Oriental Institute, The Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, The Adyar

Library, and the Travancore University Library. One Manuscript which attracted the attention of Mr. O. C. Gangoly is the Manuscript of *Rāmāyaṇa*, on the two sides of which were carved the Ramapaṭṭābhiṣeka and Daśāvataras, in ivory. A special feature of the exhibition was the prominence given to the Tallapakkam music plates of the Devasthanam, of which only ten plates were kept. There were also two other plates belonging to decendants of the Tallapakkam family, living at Tirupati.

It now remains to convey a word of appreciation to those who joined the Exhibition and co-operated with us.

PROGRAMME

20th March 1940, Wednesday:

3-30 p.m.
4-50 p.m.
5-55 p.m. } Arrivals of delegates and Members. Tea after arrival.

8-00 p.m. Dinner (Respective camps.)

10-20 p.m.
3-30 p.m. } Arrivals.

21st March 1940, Thursday:

7-30 a.m. Breakfast (Respective camps.)

8-30 a.m. Executive Committee Meeting: Devasthanam High School Hall.

(Members wishing to see the places in Tirupati will be taken round by scouts.)

(Section Presidents will take charge of the papers received and determine the order of their reading.)

The exhibits for Exhibition should please be handed over to Mr. A. N. Krishna Aiyangar at the Hindu High School.

11-30 a.m. Lunch (Respective camps.)

11-30 a.m. Arrivals: Lunch after arrival.

OPENING SESSION: INSTITUTE HALL

3-20 p.m. Reception by the Reception Committee Members.

3-25 p.m. Mangalacharanam: Mahamahopadhaya A. Chinnaswami Sastri, Principal.

3-30 p.m. Speech by the Chairman, Reception Committee, T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar, B.A., B.L., M.L.C.

Opening of the Conference: Dewan Bahadur S. E. Ranganadhan, Vice-Chancellor, University of Madras.
Presidential Address.
Thanks to the President.
General Resolutions.
Thanks to the Vice-Chancellor.

LANTERN LECTURE: INSTITUTE HALL

6-30 p.m. P. S. Naidu: Decorative Sculptures of the Chidambaram Temple.
7-15 p.m. M. H. Krishna: Excavations in Mysore.
8-00 p.m. Dinner: Respective Camps.
9-30 p.m. Entertainment: Vidwan Musiri Subramania Aiyar.

22nd March 1940, Friday:

7-00 a.m. Opening of the Festival of the Fine Arts: Institute Hall. Sri V. V. Srinivasa Aiyangar.

SECTIONAL MEETINGS: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AND PRESENTATION OF PAPERS: HINDU HIGH SCHOOL

8-30 a.m.	Prakrit		
9-00 a.m.	1. Vedic	3. Islamic.	9. Anthropology
9-30 a.m.	2. Iranian	3. Arabic	13. Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam.
		13. Urudu	14. Modern Non-local languages.
10-00 a.m.	7. History	13. Hindi	4. Classical Sanskrit.
10-30 am.	8. Archaeology	12. Philosophy.	

11-30 a.m. Lunch

SECTIONAL MEETINGS: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AND DISCUSSIONS: HINDU HIGH SCHOOL

2-00 p.m.
2-30 p.m. 5 Philosophy. Dr. B. L. Atreya.
3-00 p.m. 13 Marathi: Read by Prof. P. V. Kane.
3-30 p.m. 10 Sculpture: Srijut O. C. Gangoly.
4-00 p.m. 10 Music: Sri T. V. Subba Rao.

4-30 p.m. 10 **Natya**: Srimati Rukmini Devi.
11 Technical Sciences.

2-30 p.m. Tamil Sangam: Institute Hall.

2-30 p.m. Telugu Sahitya Parishad: Devasthanam Huzur Office.

AT HOME

5-30 p.m. By Sri Narayana Dossji of the Hathiramji Mutt: } INSTITUTE GROUNDS.

LANTERN LECTURES: INSTITUTE HALL

6-30 p.m. 1. Srijut O. C. Gangoly: History of Indian Painting.

7-15 p.m. 2. K. R. Srinivasan: Jaina & Chola Sculptures in Sitannavasal.

8-00 p.m. Dinner (Respective Camps.)

9-30 p.m. Musical Recital: Ramayana: D. Srinivasachari.
Solo Violin: K. Sambasivam.

23rd March 1940, Saturday:

7-00 a.m. Breakfast (Respective Camps.)

8-00 a.m. to 11-00 a.m. } Sectional Meetings Presentation of papers History, Malayalam, Tamil, etc. { Institute Hall and School Hall.

8-00 a.m. Sanskrit Parishad— Institute Hall.

9-30 a.m. Council Meeting— Institute Hall.

11-30 a.m. Lunch (Respective camps.)

12-30 p.m. New Executive Committee Meeting: Institute Hall

2-00 p.m. Sectional Meetings: Devastanam Library Hall, Library.

3-30 p.m. Sanskrit Parisad.

4-00 p.m. Tea (Respective Camps.)

5-00 p.m. Closing Session, Institute Hall.

6-00 p.m. Photo.

8-00 p.m. Dinner (Respective Camps.)

9-30 p.m. Srinivasa Kalyanam: Balabalikasamgam: Institute Hall.

24th March 1940, Sunday:

7-30 a.m. Breakfast (Respective Camps.) Excursions, etc.

12-00 Noon. Lunch Respective camps.)

Tirupati
20th March, 1940

K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR,
Local Secretary.

LIST OF PAPERS SUBMITTED

I. VEDIC SECTION

[*Papers marked with an asterisk * are published in Part II*]

* 1. Dandekar, R. N.: New Light on the Vedic God, Savitṛ.

* 2. Dandekar, R. N.: Somatism of Vedic Psychology.

* 3. Lakshminarasimhiah, M.: A Note on the authorship Ās'valāyana-gṛhya-mantra-vyākhyā.

* 4. Gadgil, Vinayak Anant.: Ṛta and the law of karma.

[1] 5. Velankar, H. D.: The Story of Saptavadhri and Vadhrimatī Ṛgveda, V 78.

* 6. Karnik, H. R.: Some Moral Tales in the S'atapathabrāhmaṇa, implying the condemnation of Certain vices.

* 7. Apte, V. M.: A Detailed Account of the Contents of Two Rare Manuscripts of the Unpublished As'valāyana-mantra-saṁhitā in the Library of the India Office. (Only summary).

[2] 8. Apte, V. M.: A Textual Criticism of the Ās'valāyanagṛhya-sūtra based upon the non-inclusion in the As'valayana-mantra-saṁhitā (described in Paper 7) of some R. V.: Mantras cited in the As'valāyanagṛhya-sūtra (only Summary).

* 9. Ramachandra Rao, S.: Treatment of Brahmacarya.

*10. Subrahmanya Sastry, P. P.: Problems of Identity.

11. Subrahmanya Sastry, P.: Váhni, Agnì, Aṅgiras in the Ṛgveda A Philosophical Study.

12. Sundaram Ayyar, P. S.: A Paper on Nārāyana-Upaniṣat of Kṛṣṇa-yajur-veda.

[3] 13. Pandit Batukanath Bhattacharya: Sources of Dharma and their comparative authority.

II. IRANIAN SECTION

1. Mama, Nanabhoy F.: The All Conquering Fire of Al Korane Shareef.

2. Saklatwala, J. E.: Salman-al-Farasi.

* 3. Irani, M. S.: A critical Review of "Kisseh Sanjan," being the Traditional History of the Parsi Migration to India from Iran.

[1] Published in the Kane Commemoration Volume.

[2] Published in the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, Vol. 1, March, 1940.

[3] Published under Section 4. Classical Sanskrit.

4. Kanga, Jal Dorabji : Title of the Māh Nivāyish or Yasht.
* 5. Fitter, Kaikhosrow A.: Raghā-The Birth place of the Mother of Prophet Zarathuṣtra.
* 6. Mehta, Navroze C. : Din-e-Ilahi.
* 7. Bulsara, Sohrab Jamshedjee : Ancient Indian Alphabets : Their Iranian Origin.
* 8. Kanga, E. M. F. : Interpretation of Some Avestan and Pahlavi Words.
* 9. Kshtresh Chandra Chattopadhyaya : The Traditional Date of Zarathustra.
*10. Anklesaria, B. T. : Azi Dahakas Astronomical Observatory.
11. Borse D. G. : Research of Aheerani Dialect.
12. Desai, Jahangir M.: Nimrod and Zohak : A Mythico-Historical Parallel.
13. Vakil, Jahangir B. Shah : The Ideals of Love and Service in Zoroastrianism : Their value to Humanity.

III—(A & B). ISLAMIC CULTURE AND RELIGIONS INCLUDING ARABIC, PERSIAN AND TURKISH STUDIES

1. Husain, S. M. : The Anthology of al-Aṣma'ī.
2. Abdul Muid Khan : Mythology of Pre-Islamic Arabs.
3. Ghazaufar, H. K. : Metaphysical Aspect of Arabic Grammar.
4. Mu'id Khan, M. A. : The Kitāb al-Tashbīhāt of Ibu Abī' Aun.
5. Khan, A. R. : Need for Better Co-operation between Men of Science and Oriental Scholars.
6. Shaikh Chand Husain : The Historical Value of the Poems of Mihyār, the Dailemite.
7. Maulvi Abdul Azeez, Rajkote : Some rare Manuscripts at various libraries.
8. Dr. Hadi Hasan : Contributions of the Moslems to the Science of Mathematics.
9. S. A. W. Bokhari : A Short Summary of Bahri's Urusi Arfan.
10. Dr. Nizamuddin : Ni'mat Khan-i, Ali as an eminent personality of Auranzazeb's court.
*11. Dr. V. A. Hamdani : Three Unique Arabic Manuscripts from Istanbul.
12. Syed Usha : Awhaduddin Daulatabadi.
*13. Dr. Abdul Haq : Al-quadi-ul-Fadil and his Diary.
*14. Abdul Aleem : Some Historical facts about Pre-Islamic Arabia.

IV. Classical Sanskrit

1. Bhattacharya S.: The Textual verses in the Kāvyālaṅkara-sūtravṛtti of Vāmana and their authorship.
2. Bhattacharya S.: Gauḍa Abhinanda and the Yogavasiṣṭha-Rāmāyaṇa.
3. Gore, N. A.: Indebtedness ot जगद्व of हरिहर, An Ancient Commentator on the मालतीमाधव.
4. Venkataramanayya, B.: Āndhras' Contribution to Sanskrit Poetics 1. Rasagaṅgādhara.
5. Shiva Dutta Sharma: A summary of the 5th Act of Svapnavāsavadatta of Bhāsa.
6. Hemachandra Acharya: The Conception of 'Yogamāyā' in the Rāsalīlā of S'rikṛṣṇa.
7. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, M. C.: Kālidāsa, the Great Poet and Dramatist.
*8. Ray, H. C.: A Note on a Sanskrit Drama of the 16th Century.
9. Ramanujaswami, P. V.: Heroines in Sanskrit.
*10. Raghavan, V.: Appayas II and III.
*11. Raghavan, V.: Kumāratātācārya, the real author of some of the works ascribed to King Raghunātha Naik of Tanjore.
*12. Venkatarama Sarma, V.: The Yamaka Poet Vasudeva.
13. Kulkarni, L. R.: A recently discovered Sanskrit Poem "Gajendramoksa" "by Laksmīprasāda" (Saṁvat 1815—A.D. 1759).
*14. Raghavan, V.: The Date of Sūktiratnahāra of Kāliṅgarāya-sūrya.
*15. Krishna Aiyangar, A. N.: The Gautamasmṛti.
16. Somasundaram, J. M.: Makuṭāgama.
17. Gunde Rao Harkare: Sanskrit Language--Lingua Franca of India.
*18. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya.: Caṇḍes'vara's own Account of himself and of his patron, Harisiṁhadeva.

V. Ardhamagadhi, Prakrit, etc.

* 1. Upadhye, A. N.: Kaṁsavaho, a Prākṛt Kāvya.
* 2. Jain, H. L.: Remnants of the 12th Jaina S'rutāṅga Diṭṭhivāda.
3. Manmohan Ghosh: The Language of Rājas'ekara's Karpūramañjarī.

VI. Philosophy and Religion

1. Modi, P. M.: Relation between the Two Aspects of Brahman. The personal higher than the Impersonal. In Earlier Metrical Upaniṣads.
*2. Raju, P. T.: The Buddhistic and Advaita viewpoints.
3. Suryanarayana Sastri, S. S.: Some Observations on the Māṇḍūkyakārikā.
*4. Mario Carelli.: The Sekoddes'aṭikā of Naropa.
5. Lakshminarasimhiah, M.: The Praṇava and its importance.
6. Bhattacharya, V.: Theory of Negation.
7. Naidu, P. S.: On Negation.
*8. Varadachari, K. C.: A Clue into the Nature of the Relationship into Mystical and Religious-Consciousness as seen in S'rī Vedāntades'ika's commentary of the Is'āvāsyopaniṣad.
9. Ramanujachari, R.: Ātreya Rāmānuja: His life and works.
10. Bhumanand: Priority of the Yogavāsiṣṭha to S'aṅkrācārya.
11. Sankara Rao, C. V.: S'aiva-siddhānta view of Perception.
*12. Aiyaswami Sastri, N.: Bhāvaviveka and His Method of Exposition.
*13. Subramania Iyer, K. A.: 'Pratibhā' as the meaning of a Sentence.
*14. Paranjpe, V. G.: The Text of the Nyāyasūtras according to Vācaspatimis'ra.
15. Saileswar Sen: The Word 'Avyapades'ya' in Nyāya-Sūtra, I. i. 4.
16. Naidu, P. S.: Foundation and Sketch Plan for a New Treatise on Indian Philosophy.
17. Ramaswami Sastri, V. A. and Sivaramakrishna Sastri, K. A.: A new Commentary on Maṇḍanamis'ra's Bhāvanāviveka.
18. Rangaswami Aiyangar, H. R.: An old Sāṅkhya Definition of Inference.
19. Krishnaswami, M. A.: Who is Bhūṣaṇakāra?
20. Radhakrishnan, E. P.: Jñānaghana's Contribution to Advaita.
21. Krishnaswamy Rao, B. A.: Īkṣatyadhikaraṇa.
22. Gopala Pillai: The Evolution of the Nārāyaṇa Concept.
23. Srinivasaraghavacharya, T.: The Benighted Three.
24. Srinivasaraghavacharya T.: Lakṣmaṇa the Niṣkāma-Karma-Yogi.
25. Varadachari, V.: Nañjīyar Nārāyanamuni.
*26. Sen Gupta, N. N.: The Doctrine of Sudden Ecstasy in S'aivism and Vaiṣṇavism.

27. Yamunacharya, M.: A Note on Vis'iṣṭādvaitic Cosmology.
28. Narasimhan, S. V.: The Theory of Temperament.
29. Venkatarama Sastry, K.: Absolutism of Vedānta according to Gauḍapāda.
30. Viswanathan, K.: Integral Vedānta.
31. Sivarama Sastry, N.: The Date of the Nyāya-Sūtra.
32. Venkateswara Dikshitar, T. A.: Dream Psychology in Hindu System of Thought.
33. Gopalaswami Aiyangar, T. K.: Upavarṣa and Bodhāyana.

VII. ARCHAEOLOGY

1. Upadhye, A. N.: Jaṭā-Simhanandi of Kopbāḷ Inscription.
2. Ghoshal, U. N.: A Pallava Motif in an Ancient Bengal Sculpture.
3. Ramachandran, T. N.: Ghosi terracottas—A Study.
* 4. Venkataraman, K. R.: More about the Ainnūṟṟuvar.
5. Sivaramakrishna Sastri, K.: Idarāyakkuḍi Inscription of Ceravams'a-kirīṭapati.
6. Bhagvat, Miss D. N.: Buddhist Monachism and Post-As'okan Brāhmi Inscriptions.
* 7. Krishnamacharlu, C. K.: Three spurious Western Cāḷukya Grants.
8. Manley, F. P.: Classification of Paleoliths (Tentative) Muthukuru Thippa site and other sites in the Nellore District.
9. Sankalia, H. D.: Monuments of the Yādava Period in the Poona District.
10. Gopalachari, K.: Inscription from Chezarla.
*11. Gope Gur-Bax,: A Note on Jama Masjid at Thatta (Sind).
*12. Rama Rao, M.: The Antiquities of Cebrolu.
[1] 13. Sarkar, D. C.: Digvijaya of King Candra of the Meharauli Pillar Inscription.

VIII. HISTORY

1. Rama Rao, M.: The History of Warangal.
* 2. Bisheshwar Nath Reu: The Early Rākṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan and Nizam's Dominion.
* 3. Ray, H. C.: A Note on Four Letters of the Reign of Tipusultan.
4. Ray, H. C.: A Note on the Life of Kṛṣṇagupta

[1] Published in the JASB. (Letters), Vol. V,

5. Syed Abu Mohammad: Revenue, History-Oudh.
6. Jāl Pestonji Birdy: Viceroy Sarbuland Khan of Gujarat and his affrays with the Marāṭhas in that province (1720-1730 A.D.)
7. Sajun Lal, K.: Incident of the last days of Nawab Mir Nizam Ali Khan.
8. Banerjee, N. C.: Aspects of Hindu Mussalman-Relations and Cultural Co-operation in Mediaeval India.
* 9. Rama Rao, M.: The Kākatiyas and the Yādavas.
10. Venkataramanayya: Jaṭācōḍa Bhīma and the interregnum in Veṅgi.
*11. Subramanian, K. R.: Bādapa and the Tāla (Two Eastern Cāḷukyan kings).
12. Ferroli, D.: Dutch exploits in India and Ceylon as related by contemporary Jesuit Letters (1607-1667).
*13. Mirashi, V. V.: The Capitals of the Vākāṭakas.
14. Divanji, P. C.: Ancient Indian History and Research Work.
15. Altekar, A. S.: New light on the origin of the Jeṭhwās.
16. Rama Row, R.: Religion under Viṣṇuvardhana, the Hoysala King.
17. Karmarkar, A. P.: Literary Land-marks in the History of Dravidian India.
18. Somasekhara Sarma, N.: Haihaya feudatories of the Eastern Gaṅgas.
*19. Subba Rao, R.: The Eastern Gaṅga Era—The Date of the initial year Re-examined.
21. Ramakrishna Kavi, M.:—Works in Arthas'āstra in Telugu Literature
*22. Ghoshal: Early Buddhist Histriography.
*23. Nilakantha Sastri, K. A.: Goṅka II and Cāḷukyas.
*24. Khan Bahadur Zafar Hasan: A Few Moghul Documents.
*25. Ray Chaudhri: Notes on certain Post-Mauryan Dynasties.
*26. Gani, M. A.: The Advent of the Arabs in Hindustan; Their Relations with the Hindus and the Occupation of Sindh.
*27. Dr. Krishna, M. H.: Shahji's tomb at Hodigere.
*28. Dikshitar, V. R. R.: Karnāṭaka in Ancient Tamil literature.
*29. Seth, H. C.: Identification of Udayaṇa of Kaus'āmbi with Udāyin of Magadha.
*30. Ray Chaudhri, Golapchandra: Foundation of Guhila in Vāgaḍa.

IX. Ethnology

* 1. Raghavan, M. D.: A Note on the Yogis or Yogi Gurukkals of North Malabar.

2. Sivaramakrishna Sastri, K.: Is Varṇa a barrier to Indian or Human Progress?
* 3. Yamunacharya, M.: The Cult of Sun-worship in India.
4. Achyuta Menon, C.: Paraśurāma Legend in Malabar History.
* 5. David H. S.: Some Contacts and affinities between the Egypto-Minoan and the Indo-Sumerian Cultures.
* 6. Naryana Pillai, V.: Buddhism in Ancient Kerala.
7. Placid, Fr.: The Social Customs of the Syrian Christians of Malabar.
* 8. Krishna Aiyar, K. V.: The Temples of Keraḷa.
9. Pillai, N. K.: Educational Centres in Ancient and Mediaeval Keraḷa.
*10. Kasturi, N.: Two Folk Festivals of Coorg.
11. Narasimhachar, L.: An instance of Ox-Worship in Mysore.
*12. Raghavan, M. D. The Ritual and Spirit Dances of Keraḷa.
*13. Ramachandra Dikshitar, V. R.: Disposal of the dead in South India.
*14. Hayavadana Rao, C.: A New Theory of Indian Racial origins.

X. Fine Arts

(a) Sculpture and Painting

1. Abdullah Chaghtai: Who built the Taj Mahal, Agra.
[1] 2. Venkataraman, K. R.: Two Unique South Indian monuments.
3. Srinivasan, K. R.: Lecture with Magic lantern slides.
* 4. Panchamukhi, R. S.: The Gandharvas and Kinnaras in Indian Iconography.
5. Naidu, P. S.: The Development of the Concept of 'Suggestion' in Hindu Aesthetics.
6. Pandey, K. C.: Abhinavagupta's theory of meaning.
7. Sarbeswar Kataki: Kāmarūpa School of sculpture.

(b) Music

1. Sambamurti: The influences of Exotic Music on the development of South Indian Music..
2. Ponniah Pillai, K.: தென்னிந்திய சங்கீதத்தின் சில முக்ய அம்சங்கள்.
3. Raghavan, V.: Akalaṅka.
4. Dwaraka Bai G.: Types of Telugu Folk Music.

[1] Printed under the section on Archaeology. As recommended.—Ed.

5. Ramakrishna Kavi, M.: Caturdaṇḍī in Karnāṭa Music.
6. Parthasarathy Aiyangar, N. C.: Bowed Instruments Their Origin and Development.
7. Varadalakshmi Veeraraghavan, K. Mrs.: Rāgas and Rasas with particular reference to South Indian Operas.
8. Harinagabhusanam: The Idealism of S'rī Tyāgarāja.
9. Subrahmanya Iyer, C.: Pallavi Doraiswamy Iyer.

(c) *Bharatanāṭya and Drama*

1. Naidu, P. S.: The expression of the Emotion (as analyzed by Bharata in the Nāṭyas'āstra, and as portrayed in the Chidambaram temple sculptures).
2. Ramaswami Sastri, K. S.: Kālidāsa and the Art of Dance.
3. Naidu, P. S.: A Functional Classification of Some Bharatanāṭya Poses.
4. Raghavan, M. D.: The Folk Dance of Kerala: Forms and Movements. Themes and Types.
5. Subrahmaṇya Sāstri, S.: The Bharata-Nāṭya.

XI. Technical Sciences

1. Madhava Menon, N.: Principles of Treatment in Ayurveda.
2. Narayanaswami, V.: Health and Social Evolution.
3. Lalitha, M. Miss: Antenatal care in Āyurveda.
4. Visveswara Sastrulu, M.: Methods of Diagnosis according to Ayurveda.
5. Madhava Krishna Sarma, K.: The Aṣṭamāṅgalyapras'na of Malabar and the Pras'namārga.
6. Ahmeduallah Nadvi: Kitab-ul-Umda-ul-Jarahat.

XII. Philology

1. Goda Varma, K.: Dravidian Pronouns of The First and Second Persons. A Historical and Comparative Study.
2. Ramakrishnaiya, K.: The Dravidian Infinitive. Its nature and development.
3. Narahari, H. G., Subba Rao Research Scholar—Kumārila's Contribution to Philology and Mythology.
4. Chaturvedi, S. P.: Scholastic disquisition in the Paṇnian System of Grammar.

5. Saileswar Sen : The Genitive of Apposition in Sanskrit.
6. Sankaran, C. R. and Gai, G. S. : The Demonstrative Element u –in Dravidian.
7. Chidambaranatha Chettiyar, A. : Tamil Syntax.
8. Siddeswar Varma, Jammu : Bhalesī Dialect.
9. Krishnaswamy, M. A. : A Note on the Pronunciation of ष.

XIII—(A). TELUGU SECTION

1. Venkataramana, Y.: The Historical Importance of Narasabhūpalīyamu.
2. Venkataramanayya, B. : The necessity to re-edit Narasabūpāliya.
3. Somayaji, G. J.: The Influence of Sanskrit Grammar on Telugu Grammar.
4. Veturi Prabhakara Sastri : Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhya.
5. [1] Viraraghavacharya, E. V.: Ancestry and Date of Poet Varadācārya.
6. Viraraghavacharya, E. V.: Some Luminaries Contemporaneous with King Bhoja.
7. Venkataramana, Y.: Sārangadhara Caritramu of Samukhamu Veṅkaṭakṛṣṇappa Nāik.
8. Somasekhara Sarma, M.: Some of the Old Telugu Words Occurring in the Inscriptions of the Telugu country.
9. Venkata Rao, N.: Age of S'rīnātha in Telugu Literature (1375—1500 A.D.)
10. Venkataramanayya, N.: The Problem of Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇam.
11. Venkataratnam, T.: Language Reform in Āndhra.
12. Lak'shmipathi Sastri, S.: The Royal Poets among the Telugu Devotees of S'rī Veṅkaṭes'vara.
13. Pathalabhedi Subrahmanya Kavi : Peddana as the Originator of Telugu Prabandha.

XIII—(B). TAMIL

1. Chidambaranatha Chettiyar, A.: The Language of Nakkīrar.
2. [2] Mohamad Husain Nainar, S.: Arabic, Persian words in the Tamil Language.
3. Ramachandra Dikshitar, V. R.: Relation between Ancient Karnataka and Tamilagam.
4. Naidu, P. S.: The Foundations of Tamil Culture.

[1] Published in the Annals of Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute, Tirupati, Vol. II, pp. 85—91.

[2] Printed under section 3, as recommended.—ED.

5. Setu Pillai, R. P.: Dialectal variations of Two Tamil consonants.
6. Vaiyapuri Pillai, S.: Tolkāppiyar's Religion.
7. Varadaraja Aiyer, E. S.: Religious Worship in the S'aṅgam age.
8. Srinivasaraghavachari, T.: Bharata's Example.
9. Satagoparamanujachariar: Veṅkaṭam is not the Tirumalai referred to in the Tiruvandāti.
10. Pannirukaiperumal Mudaliyar, C.: The Contribution of Europeans to the Tamil Language and Literature.
11. Subramania Mudaliyar, C. K.: The Vedas and the Āgamas.
12. Subramania Mudaliyar, C. K.: Royal Poets—East and West.
13. Ramachandra Chettiyar, C. M.: A Few Peculiar Customs in Kongunādu.
14. Ramachandra Chettiyar: Customs and Jwellery in Kongunādu.
15. Vaidyanathan, K. S.: The Members of the Ancient South Indian Army.
16. Chidambaranatha Mudaliyar: The Tamil Race and Tamilagam.
17. Ramachandra Chettiyar, C. M.: Karavoor.

XIII—(C). KANNADA

1. Sesha Aiyangar, H.: State of the Kannada language from the early times to the 13th century A.D.,

XIII—(D). MARATHI

1. Kulkarni, K. P.: A Phenomenon in Marathi Phonology. The metathesis of n and ṇ.
2. Harshe, R. G.: The principal characteristics of the Kuṇābāu dialect of Marāthi, as preserved in a published manuscript of Saka 1568 (1646 A.D.)
3. Divekar, H. R.: The date of Devidāsa, the author of S'ṛi Venkaṭes'vara Stotra in Marathi.
3. Shankar Ramachandra Shende: The Mahārāshtra as found in the Aihole Inscription.
5. Shankar Ramachandra Shende: The Language of Mahārāshtra. Its Antiquity, stages and Names.
6. Deshmukh, M. G.: The Concept of Rekha in Jñānes'vari.
7. Banhatti, S. N.: Feminine Proper Names in Ancient Mahānubhava Literature.
8. Prof. V. B. Kolte, M.A., L.L.B.: A New Chapter in the History of Marathic Literature.

9. S. G. Tulpule: The Linguistic Importance of Mahanubava Literature in the Yadav—Period.
10. Prof. M.A. Karandikar: Elements of Marathi Vocabulary.
11. Prof. V. P. Dandekar: Humour in the Purāṇic Marathi Drama.
12. Y. M. Agashe, M.A.: Vatsa Haran.

XIII—(E). MALAYALAM

1. Krishna Menon, T. K.: The Vañji Problem.
2. Sankaran Nambiyar, P.: The Fusion of Dravidian and Aryan elements in Malaylam Language and Literature.
3. Joseph Mundasseri, V. K.: The Evolution of Kerala Culture from S'ilappatikāram to Rāmacaritam.
4. Anujan Achan, P.: Vañci—The Capital of the ancient Cera Kingdom—Identified with Tiruvañji-Kalam, in the Cochin State.
5. Raghavan, M. D.: Aromer and his Times.
6. Krishnan Nair, P. V.: Regarding the Authorship of Bhāgavatam, Kilippattu.
7. Krishnan Nayanar, S'iromaṇi P.: Līlātilakam and its text.
8. Poduval, R. V.: Kaḷamezuttumyāṭṭum.
9. Raghavan M. D.: Forms and Movements, Themes and Types in the Folk Dance of Kerala.

XIII—(F). HINDI

1. Lakmiṣāgar Vārṣṇeya: Fort William College and Hindī Prose.
2. Madan, I. N.: Modern Hindi Novel—Its possibilities of growth.
3. [1] Din Dayal Gupta: The Life and Works of Ratnāvalī, wife of Gosvami Tulsidas.
4. Barthwal, P. D.: Siddhānta Pañca Mātrā.
5. [2] Chandrabali Pande, Pt.:—उर्दू का उद्गम.
6. Sukla, K. N.:—भारतेंदु कालीन काव्यकी नवजागृति.
7. Sivadatta Sarma—महा कवि भास् के स्वप्न वासव दत्ता के पञ्चमे अङ्कपर कुछ विचार.

XIV. MODERN INDIAN LANGUAGES (NON-LOCAL)

1. Mittra, K. L.: A Western Hindi Dialect discovered in Khulna District of Bengal.

[1] Published in the Hindustan Quarterly.

[2] Published by the Nagari Pracārini Sabhā, Benares City.

2. Nagendranarayan Chaudhuri.: The Palatals of the parent Indo-European Language.
3. Katre, S. M.: Linguistics and the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata.
4. Katre, S. M.: Polyglotism in Nāmdev, the poet saint of Mahārāṣtra.
5. Kalidas Mukerjee, Calcutta: Comparative Study of the Story of Ālāol in Hindī Translation.
6. Kedari Rao, N. R.: Some Suggestion for the Improvement of the Study of Oriental Languages.
7. Kakati, B.: Tyes of Past Participle in Assamese.
8. Manmohan Gosh.: Maharastri and Marathi.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE OPENING SESSION HELD IN THE HALL OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE ON 21-3-40 AT 3 P.M.

3 p.m. Members and delegates arrived and were conducted to their seats.

Dewan Bahadur S. E. Runganatham, M.A., Vice-Chancellor, University of Madras, was received and conducted to the dais in the Hall of the Oriental Institute which was finely decorated. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, acting President, Sri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar, Chairman, Reception Committee, and Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Local Secretary, were also on the dais.

The portrait of Pandit Madan Malaviyaji, President of the Tirupati Session, was garlanded by Sri C. Sambaiya Pantulu Garu, the Commissioner of the Tirumalai and Tirupati Devastanam on behalf of the Reception Committee. The proceedings began with *Mangalacharana* by Principal Mahamahapadhyaya A. Chinnaswami Sastri.

The General Secretary, Dr. M. H. Krishna, explained the reasons for the change of venue from Hyderabad to Tirupati and read extracts from the congratulatory messages received from :

The Maharani Saheba of Gadval.

Dr. F. W. Thomas, President, Ninth Session.

Messrs. A Ranganatha Mudaliar, B.A., B.L., (former Commissioner of the Devasthanam).

T. T. Krishnamachari, M.LA.

The Polish University:

,, Polish University abroad asks Mrs. Falk represent Polish Scholars at Oriental Congress Stop Begs express to Asiatic Colleagues Cordial wishes in name, Polish Science deeply interested in Oriental Civilization.

HALECKI,
President."

Messages were also received from:

1. The Registrar, The University of Rangoon.
2. The Registrar, The University of Bristol.
3. The Principal, The University of Glasgow.
4. The Vice-Chancellor, The University of Sheffield.
5. The Vice-Chancellor, The University of Liverpool.
6. The President du Conseil de l'Universite de Lyon.
7. The Vice-Chancellor, The University of Melbourne.
8. The Registrar, McGill University.
9. The Principal and Vice-Chancellor, Queen's University, Kingston, Ont.
10. The President, The University of Toronto.
11. The Pro-secretary, Sennat Der Ruksuniversite it Te Leiden.
12. The Principal, Bishop's University, Quebec.
13. The Secretary, The Royal Batavia Society, Batavia.
14. The President, Mount Allison University, Sackville, New Brunswick.
15. The Secretary, The Royal Academy Section of Philology, Amsterdam, (KONINKULUKE AKADEMIE VAN WETENSCHAPPEN).
16. The Seip Rector, Det Akademiske Kollegium, Oslo.
17. The Master Sir Montagu Butler, Pembroke College, Cambridge.
18. The President, The University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada.
19. The Director, The University of London.
20. The Registrar, The University of Cape Town.
21. The Assistant Military Secretary, Army Headquarters, India.
22. The Professor, Romney, Boars Hill, Oxford.
23. The President, American University of Beirut, Lebanon.
24. The Secretary, The Master's Lodge, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
25. The Secretary, The Java-Institute, Jogjakarta.
26. The Secretary, Christ Church, Oxford.
27. The Director of Asiatic Studies, University of Southern California, Los Angeles.
28. The President, Columbia University, New York.

29. The Secretary, The British Museum, London.
30. The President, University of Michigan.
31. The India Office, Whitehall.
32. The Principal, The University of the Witwatersrand, Johnnesburg.
33. The Professor, Comite International Des Sciences Historiques, Paris.
34. The President, Corpus Christi College, Oxford.
35. S. K. Subramanya Aiyar, Gannon and Dunckerly.
36. Janab Shahul-Ahmed, President, Muslim Association Travancore.
37. Mahakavi Ulloor S. Paramesvara Aiyar, Trivandrum.

Mr. T. A. Ramalingam Chettiyar, Chairman of the Reception Committee, then delivered his welcome address as follows :

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

On behalf of the Reception Committee I have very great pleasure in welcoming you to the 10th All India Oriental Conference. When a few months back the enquiry came whether we will arrange to hold the Conference at Tirupati, the Devasthanam Committee and the Director of the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute were very hesitant to take up the responsibility. Tirupati is a very small place with resources in every way very much limited. The Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute under whose auspices the Conference was proposed to be held was but a few months old without even a habitation of its own. We agreed to the proposal as we considered it a call of duty in an emergency in the full hope and belief that our difficulties will be realized by you. We believed that after having tasted the munificent hospitality of two of the foremost Indian States in India you would like a change to the austere conditions imposed by an ancient Devasthanam and the rustic surroundings of a village like Tirupati. We have tried to make arrangements for your comforts within the several limitations imposed on us and we assure you that the spirit was not lacking to do everything possible. We are ourselves aware of many short comings and I have no doubt that you will feel many more as you are the persons to experience them. We crave your indulgence for the shortcomings and request you to forgive us.

2. Tirupati is situate at the foot of probably the holiest hill in the whole of India in picturesque surroundings. It takes its place among the most popular places of pilgrimage along with places like Benares in the north and Rameswaram in the south. The God presiding at the temple in the hills is known throughout India, Venkaṭes'vara being the popular name in the south and Bālāji in the north. Thousands of pilgrims come from all parts of India all through the year and offer *seva* and make offerings to the God. It is a place of importance on an All-India basis in the religious life of

the country. Hence, we considered it appropriate that a Conference dealing with oriental culture should also meet at Tirupati.

3. Even though Tirumalai is a Vaiṣṇavite shrine at present, the early Ālvārs have all sung the praises of God Venkates'vara as Harihara both S'iva and Vis'ṇu in one. It was not until the days of Rāmānuja that the idea of Tirupati as a disputant Vaiṣṇavite centre was evolved. Arunagirināthar a devotee of Muruga has also sung the praises of God Venkates'vara as Muruga. It may be said of many temples in the south that there was not the difference between Viṣṇu and S'iva shown in them in the old days as it became the fashion in the latter times. As a matter of fact, in places like Chidambaram, a place of very great S'aivite importance, the temples for both S'iva and Viṣṇu exist side in the same mandapam. Even at the present, day people of all denominations, Vaiṣṇavites and S'aivites, Advaitins, Vis'iṣṭādvaitins and Dvaitins resort to Tirupati and make their offerings to God Venkates'vara. The temple on the Tirumalai and those in Tirupati do not owe their origin to an emperor or to ruling princes. The God who is a svayambhūmūrti is said to have been revealed to one Toṇḍamān about the beginning of the Christian era and he built the first temple. Later on, comparatively minor folk like officers and deputies sent by emperors whose headquarters were far away and common people added to the temples and made arrangements for worship and the several pūjas and services. So it may be claimed that the Devasthānams in Tirumalai and Tirupati were from the beginning democratic institutions deriving their support from voluntary offerings. I am sure the Hindu delegates to the Conference will make it a point to go up the hill and see the temple and pay their homage to Venkaṭes'vara.

4. Among places of interest in the vicinity, there are two which will appeal to you. One is the beautiful Chandragiri Mahal which is situated seven miles from here preserved in good coudition. It was in that Mahal that Madras and its surrounding villages were granted by the then Raja of Chandragiri to the British East India Company. You know the part Madras played in the early period of British expansion in India. The other place of interest is Kalahasti 20 miles distant. It is also a place of great religious importance, but devoted to S'aivite worship. The *Liṅgam* in it is a svayambhū *Liṅgam* representing one of the elements *viz.*, Vāyu. It was also a seat of a Hindu prince in the past, whose descendants have been wielding great influence until very recently. Tirupati was never the seat of power under any emperor known to fame. But the region in which it is situated had many chieftains who changed their allegiance to the dominant emperor of the time in the south, west or north. The Rajas of Kalahasti, Karvetinagar and Venkatagiri were chieftains of influence and power in the region in more recent times.

5. It was the late Raja of Panagal who was the Chief Minister in the Madras Government for a period of about six years and who was himself a great Telugu and Sanskrit scholar that first conceived the idea of an Institute for Oriental Culture at Tirupati. He was himself a native of these parts. When the Religious Endowments Bill, 1926, was on the anvil of the Legislative Council, he pleaded for the introduction of a clause to enable the Tirumalai Tirupati Devasthanams to start an Institute. The Tirumalai Tirupati Devasthanams did not come under the ambit of the Religious Endowments Act, 1927. A separate Act for the administration of these Devasthanams was passed later in 1933. It provided that the surplus funds of the Devasthanams may be utilized for (1) the establishment of a university or college in which special provision is made for the study of Hindu religion, philosophy and s'āstras and for promoting the cultivation of Indian arts and architecture and (2) promoting the study of Sanskrit and the Indian vernaculars. It was Mr. Ranganatha Mudaliar, the last Commissioner with the help of Dr. Rajan, Minister for Religious Eudowments and Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar the present Director that launched the scheme of the Institute. It was only in the months of March and April 1939 that the then Devasthanam Committee sanctioned the establishment of the Oriental Institute and took steps to start it. In May the term of that Committee and the Commissioner Mr. Ranganatha Mudaliar came to an end and a new Committee and a new Commissioner came into office. On account of want of publicity there was a lot of misapprehension about the position and scope of the Institute and there were also a number of other matters to be cleared up. There was also some local opposition to the scheme of the Institute. The new Committee thought it necessary to examine the whole question and define their attitude in the matter. In July 1939 they passed a resolution in terms of the report of a sub-committee appointed by them in the previous month. In view of the misunderstandings and misapprehensions still prevailing in certain quarters here and elsewhere, I consider it my duty to state the present position and scope of the Institute, under the auspices of the Devasthanams.

6. The Committee wants to make it clear at the outset that the primary duty of the Devasthanams is to maintain and improve the temples and the worship in them and to provide for the health, comforts and conveniences of the pilgrims; and that the Oriental Institute can only be a secondary object. As contemplated in the Act the Institute is intended for the study of and research in Hindu religion and philosophy generally and Indian arts and architecture. Even though we have to begin with a Vaiṣṇavite leaning in an Institution started under the auspices of predominently Vaiṣṇavite institutions, provision will be made for study and research

in other directions as funds permit. An expert in Pali and Tibetan languages has already been appointed and it is in contemplation to appoint a lecturer for Dvaita philosophy. The Institute is intended not merely for Sanskrit learning. It is resolved that increasing importance should be given to Tamil and Telugu languages as we develop, especially as the study of and research in South Indian culture and South Indian languages have not made progress to the same extent to which progress has been made in the study of North Indian culture. The Committee also wants to make it clear that the Institute is intended for promoting the cultivation of Indian arts and architecture as well as for the purpose of study and research in letters. It has to deal with Hindu culture as a whole including arts and letters. It is therefore proposed to start with a department of Iconography and appoint a Sthapati well-versed in Indian bronze and give him a small work-shop for the practice and revival of one of the arts in which South India has been famous for ages. All studies in the Institute are open to Hindus of all castes and both sexes. While I have defined the scope of the Institute, I will repeat the basic position *viz.*, that the Institute is only a secondary object of the Devasthanams administration and its scope and activities will be limited by the surplus available after making provision for all primary objects. Within the last few months what was merely an idea has been worked out into a living organization by the earnestness, enthusiasm and untiring labours of our Director Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar. You now see the buildings for the College and the Hostel (the institution will be mostly residential) almost complete. The buildings for a Photostat and the Research Institute are nearing completion. The Library and the administrative offices will be completed before the end of the year. Manuscripts and books are being collected rapidly. I request you gentlemen, who have got wider experience and closer knowledge of institutions like this to help us with your advice and also render us friendly services whenever wanted to make the Institute worthy of the great Inter-provincial Devasthanams under whose auspices it is started.

7. We are meeting at a time when the antiquarians and the scholars are no longer living an isolated life. Their work and their ideas have reaction and form the basis for movements they little dreamt of. One has only to think of the idea of the superiority of the Aryan on which the Germans base their claim to better the world and put down everybody else. Such reactions are found in small spheres also and they may lead to results not altogether foreseen or welcomed. It is a pity that some of the assumptions made by scholars are taken as gospel even though those that enunciated those assumptions were not so assertive. The philologists of the last century who classified the Aryan, the Dravidian, the Semitic and other languages

speculated on the existence of races who spoke those languages and their distribution on the face of the earth. Prof. Sergius and others attacked the, theory sought to be evolved by the philologists in their study of the Mediterranean races and other peoples. The excavations in Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia and Chaldia made the claim of the so called Aryan race for separate existence and superiority shaky. The recent excavations in the Indus valley especially at Mahenjo Daro and at Harappa have raised atleast a suspicion that what was called pre-Aryan civilization was probably more advanced than the civilization of the Aryans and the Aryans so called were more the learners than the teachers. It cannot in any case be said at present that the readings of Philology, Ethnology and Archaeology have converged to make a consistent story of the world and its peoples, their movements and their relationship to each other in very ancient times on the lines suggusted by Prof. Max Müller and the early Philologists. If there were highly civilized people on the Mediterranian coasts in Western Asia and in North India is there any necessity for the assumption that the civilizing influence came from outside India and in the form of an Aryan invasion ? The movements may have been from the South to the North and from the East to the West as well as in the reverse directions. If the old chronology has to be believed the Aryan is a very late comer in India. If the traditions in South India are to be believed there was a large subcontinent in the south, part of which was swallowed up by the sea at some remote past and its civilization was autochthonous. There was a freedom of movement and a cheerful outlook on life, its activities and its problems in ancient days as portrayed in Tamil Classics which we look for in vain in these days in India. It is a great pity that very little attention has been paid for the study of the traditions, folklore and even the languages of South India apart from the fact that no under-ground excavations of any sort have been attempted in these parts. It is a pity that the assumption of the Aryan as a teacher and the Sanskrit language as the lender were taken as axioms with the result that what can be learnt from other sources have been ignored or neglected. It was left to a few administrators here and there and to a few missionaries to raise a mild protest but until recent times nobody who spoke of the South Indian culture as distinct from the Aryan culture was taken serious notice of.

8. Even though the different peoples in India have become very much mixed up, the stratification of castes has made some people to claim a pure Aryan descent and to uphold the Sanskrit word as the superior one to maintain their superiority over others as the custodians of that civilization and language. The result has been disastrous in many ways and if the differences are acute and feelings run high in Southern India it is not a little due to the unfortunate circumstances. The analogy of the position of the

Latin in the middle ages makes one hazard a suggestion whether Sanskrit might have occupied with reference to other languages including some of the so called Dravidian ones the same place Latin occupied with reference to the provincial languages in Southern and Central Europe. All attempts made in Southern India to impose the Sanskrit Smṛtis and the system of life propounded by them failed until the advent of the British. Since the firm establishment of the British Administration and the British Courts, the Sanskritists as Administrators, Lawyers and Judges are introducing the Smṛtis as the rule of life. It will not be fair to attribute to them any base motives. In most cases they do not know of the prevailing customs and the social system obtaining in the country and they apply what they know. In other cases they believe they are introducing a better and a more logical system. But the result has been such absurdity as the application of an obscure text of a Smṛti relating to the capacity of the parties concerned to offer a divided or an undivided piṇḍa to a deceased ancestor in *Sṛāddha*, in settling the succession to property in families, which know nothing about the *Srāddha* and the offering of *piṇḍa* and never perform them ; and the laying down of such strange dictums as that the marriage of a Brahmin man with a non-Brahmin woman is valid, but that of a non-Brahmin man with a Brahmin woman is illegal. The fourfold varṇas are assumed to be the rule among the people ; and elaborate rules based on them are applied to settle social and family customs and observances. It is forgotten that the fourfold caste system was never in vogue. Some of the Sanskritists among the Tamil authors and commentators tried to write in terms of that classification, but in Tamil Nad at any rate, the classification on those lines was never adopted. When the Sanskritists became advisers to ruling Princes and otherwise gained power, some of the local castes tried to gain a march by claiming place in the fourfold classification by wearing sacred thread and calling themselves Brahmins, Kṣatriyas or Vais'yas. The result was a stricter organization of society and the throwing out of those who wanted to adopt the Sanskritic system. The fight between the right-hand faction and the left-hand faction so prominent in the last century was the result. The orthodox section was formed of the 18 castes ending with the Palla and the Parian. The left-hand section was formed of the Vis'va-Karmas who claimed to be Brahmins, Nadars who claimed to be Kṣatriyas. Vaniyars who claimed to be Vais'yas and all who were not Tamilians like the Vais'yas, Weavers and Chucklers. Even Muhammadans figured among the left-hand section castes. The left-hand section castes were ostracized and treated badly : and the Tamil castes which went over to the left-hand section were even denied entry into the temples. Now we find under the influence of the present day, the fourfold system applied as the rule of

law, and some of the castes trying to ascend the social ladder by calling themselves Vais'yas. Some of the Nattukottai Nagarathars call themselves Dhana-Vais'yas and even some of the Vellalas have started calling themselves Bhū-Vais'yas. It is only a proper study of the South Indian culture in all its aspects and the various social and religious movements which brought about the stratification of the society into compartments called castes and the rectification of the prevailing ideas relating to them that can bring about that reconciliation and that feeling of unity that is so necessary for the progress of our country. I was tempted to make these observations as they vitally affect the practical problems that have to be urgently solved. These are but the impressions of a layman. It is for you, Scholars, to give a true and proper lead.

9. We have arranged to hold Conferences of Tamil and Telugu Scholars, in addition to the usual meetings, to give an opportunity for the Scholars in these languages to come together and if possible to discuss some of the out-standing questions.

At the conclusion of his address, the Chairman of the Reception Committee requested Dewan Bahadur S. E. Runganadhan to open the Tirupati Session of the Conference; Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph. D. Vice-Chancellor, to take the chair and conduct the proceedings on behalf of the absent President, Pandit M. M. Malavia. Rising a midst cheers Dewan Bahadur Runganadhan spoke:

MR. RAMALINGAM CHETTIYAR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am deeply thankful to the organizers of this Conference for having done me the great honour of inviting me to open it. As one who has been connected with two Universities in South India, which have Faculties of Oriental Learning and have made special provision for the encouragement of Oriental Studies, it gives me very keen pleasure to be present on this occasion and to wish the Tenth session of the All-India Oriental Conference every success. The town of Tirupati with its great religious and historical associations is an appropriate venue for an Oriental Conference, and the Sri Venkateswara Institute provides a worthy setting for its labours. It was in 1919 that the first All-India Oriental Conference was held at Poona under the auspices of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. One notes with satisfaction that this Conference is being held at Tirupati under the auspices of a similar Oriental Institute.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee has told us how the Institute was brought into being and what its aims and objects are. It was less than a year ago that the Devasthanam Committee sanctioned the establishment of the Institute, but thanks to the great enthusiasm and

organizing ability of its present Director, Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, some of the necessary buildings have already been constructed, a fine collection of Sanskrit manuscripts numbering 6,000 has been made, over five thousand volumes of published works on Oriental subjects have been added to the Library, and an efficient research staff has been appointed.

As the Sanskrit College which forms an integral part of the Institute is still affiliated to the University of Madras, I should like to take this opportunity of offering my sincere congratulations to the Director on the rapid development of the College into a Research and Training Institution. So far as Sanskrit is concerned, there is a feeling among experts that the standard of scholarship in the Oriental Title Institutions in South India generally is not as high as it should be. Though these institutions were founded for the encouragement and preservation of the traditional methods of learning and teaching the language, the existing courses of study do not train the students adequately for the pursuit of higher Sanskrit learning. The efforts which are being made in this Institute, therefore, to raise the standard of Sanskrit learning, to provide facilities for advanced study and research, to train pandits in research methods and to encourage the comparative study of Eastern and Western philosophy are to heartily welcomed. I hope that the Institute will not only promote the critical study of Sanskrit literature and philosophy but will also make provision for the scientific study of South Indian languages and culture, particularly of Tamil and Telugu.

Some may remember the acute controversies which took place many years ago in the Senate of the Madras University between the Sanskritists and the champions on the Dravidian languages. Happily those controversies have been completely forgotten, and with the general national awakening and the new enthusiasm for the languages of the country, every one now realizes that the study of both Sanskrit and the Dravidian languages deserve encouragement and support. Speaking of the need for higher work in Modern Indian Languages, the distinguished Sanskrit Scholar, Ganganath Jha, said in his Presidential Address to the third Oriental Conference.

"The classical languages must inevitably be for the learned few; the people at large can be raised and elevated, and can feel the live influence of literature and learning, only through the vernaculars. There is no truth in the belief entertained by some that vernacular researches are on a lower level, that they demand inferior attainments and weaker equipment, that they are for the ignorant many and not for the credit scholar. The history of many of these literatures has yet to be written; the origin and development of these languages have yet to be traced.

The exact relation between Urdu and Brajabhāṣā for example has still to be settled; the connection between Maithili and Bengali is another subject of study; the mutual interaction of Aryan and Dravidian languages, a critical and philological examination of the numerous dialects of the South, the influence of the time-spirit on the literature of these languages, the importance of vernacular bardic literature in historical investigations, all this is still awaiting attention."

There is thus an immense field of activity in connection with South Indian Languages and culture, and study and investigation are bound to yield results of great value. It is gratifying to learn that it is the intention of the Devasthanam Committee that the Institute should be held to promote also the cultivation of Indian Arts and Architecture. I quite realize that the expansion of the activities of the Institute is strictly limited by the funds at the disposal of the Committee. Yet I hope that it will be possible to make provision for a fairly wide range of studies and interests in order to prevent the development of a narrowly communal or sectarian bias among the students and to promote the breadth of outlook so essential in a Seminary of learning.

It is gratifying to find that a large number of distinguished scholars from all parts of India are present at this session of the Conference. The work of the Conference indicates the greatly increased volume of critical studies which are being produced in our country and of the extension of the fields of study. While there were only 11 sections at the fifth session of the Conference in 1928, there are 22 sections at this Conference, and as many as 200 papers have, I believe, been sent by scholars in different branches of Oriental learning. Till comparatively recently we owed our knowledge of Ancient Indian History and Culture to the labours of European and American Orientalists. It is a matter for congratulation that we have now a large body of distinguished Indian scholars who have done and are doing work of great distinction in the field of Oriental studies and research.

I need scarcely say that your work is of the very highest value to the country.

You are, in the first place, making valuable additions to our knowledge of the past history and civilization of our country. But even more important than that, you are, by the application to scientific and critical methods to your material, interpreting and evaluating India's historical culture, and are, by your work and influence, enabling the country to go through an intellectual discipline similar to that which Europe passed through during the Renaissance and later periods. The Renaissance stimulated an interest in the early civilization and culture of Europe, but that interest resulted not

in a return to the conditions of the past, but to an intellectual quickening which heralded the dawn of the modern era. Similarly, the critical study of the ancient literatures of the country, its philosophy and history, will, I am sure, bring about a synthesis between our own culture and modern knowledge which is very essential for the true progress of the country. The progress of India lies not along the line of a reversion to the past or of a blind imitation of the West but in the adaptation of the intellectual resources of the West to the essential part of our own cultural heritage.

And finally, you are, both by your own individual work and by your joint deliberations at these periodical gatherings helping to promote the unity of the country. It is gratifying to find Muslim scholars of eminence sitting in this assembly side by side with Hindu Philosophers and historians. India is rich in a variety of cultures, but the unity of the country transcends these linguistic and cultural differences. The great need of the land is that we should strengthen this sense of unity by a mutual understanding and appreciation of one a other's culture. While we should conserve all that is best in our cultural heritage, for whatever source it is derived, it should now be our endeavour, to press forward and seek new ways of living and acting together, consistent with changed conditions, so that a united and prosperous India might arise. I am sure that the work of this Conference will greatly assist the growth of this sense of unity.

I have great pleasure in declaring this Conference open. I hope your labours will result in lasting benefit to the country.

On the conclusion of the opening address Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Local Secretary, communicated to the assembly a message sent by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji, President, explaining his absence from the session and sending his address to be read at the session.

" I am deeply grateful to you and to all members of the Committee of the 10th Oriental Conference for the honour which you have done me by electing me as President of the forthcoming Conference which is to meet on the Sacred grounds of Tirupati towards the end of this month. I regret, however, to inform you that I find myself still in very weak health and unfit to bear the strain of the long journey to Tirupati and back. My medical advisers are strongly opposed to my undertaking the journey. I, therefore, beg you and other members of the Committee to excuse my inability to avail myself of the great honour of presiding over the Conference of the distinguished Savants who will be assembled at Tirupati.

I heartily wish the Conference every success."

MADHAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar then read the Presidential Address:

नमो नमस्तेऽखिलमन्त्रदेवताद्रव्याय सर्वक्रतवे क्रियात्मने ।
वैराग्यभक्त्यात्मजयानुभावितज्ञानाय विद्यागुरवे नमो नमः ॥

श्रीमद्भागवत ३, १३, ३९..

Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Delegates and Members of the Conference:

It is hardly possible for me to express adequately my sense of deep disappointment at not being able to be present amidst your learned gathering, not so much to guide your deliberations as to enjoy the great happiness, which one feels when in the company of distinguished and disinterested votaries of the Goddess of Learning. When Rao Bahadur Rangaswami Aiyangar kindly took the trouble of coming down to Benares to convey to me the request of the Executive Committee that I should accept the Presidentship of this session of the Conference, I first expressed my inability to do so, as I felt that I had neither the time nor the energy to discharge the duties of a high office, that was adorned by such distinguished scholars as Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Dr. Sylvain Lèvi and Dr. K. P. Jayaswal. I was also apprehensive that my weak health may not permit me to undertake the long journey from Benares to Tirupati. Eventually, however, being pressed very hard, I agreed to accept the Chairmanship of the Conference, as it appeared that my health might improve in the interval between that time and the time of the Conference. That hope however was not realized, and ill-health has compelled me to abandon my long-cherished hope of once more offering worship at the shrine of S'rī-Veṅkaṭes'vara and participating in your deliberations. I trust that you will, under these circumstances, generously excuse my absence. It is possible for me to send only a short address. I have, however no doubt that through the grace of Lord Veṅkaṭs'vara, your Conference will be a great success and mark the beginning of a new era of fresh activity, which would throw welcome light on oriental learning and culture, and advance our knowledge thereof in diverse new and useful ways. It is needless to say how grateful I feel for the great honour that you have done to me by electing me President of this session of the All-India Oriental Conference.

The Oriental Conference is this year meeting in South India and under the auspices of S'rī-Tirupati Devasthanam. One can hardly think of more inspiring auspices. Sanskrit learning owes a deep debt of gratitude to the Dravidians; they have preserved it in the darkest periods of its history. In the medieval times, the lamp of learning was kept burning even at Benares through the efforts of the Deccanese Pandits. I have no doubt that the

delegates assembled at Holy Tirupati will carry home inspiring reminiscences from their association with the scholars of South India.

The trustees of the Temple of Tirupati are to be congratulated on founding the Srī-Veṅkaṭeśvara Oriental Institute and convening this Conference under its auspices. They have thereby shown that they are earnestly endeavouring to revive the admirable old tradition where under every temple mosque or church of repute used to be a centre of higher learning. In South India in particular, this tradition was firmly established and continued down to the beginning of the last century. We get ample evidence to show that celebrated temples in this part of the country used not only to maintain Sanskrit schools and colleges, but also to educate, feed and clothe the poor students free. It is to be earnestly hoped that the glorious example of the trustees of the Tirupati temple would be followed by the managements of other shrines, *maṭhas*, and mosques. If this is done, a very great impetus would be given to the study of Hindu and Islamic cultures and literatures. This in its turn would lead to the preservation and popularization of the best thought and culture of the East.

This Conference was started about 21 years ago in Poona, and it would therefore be not inopportune to take a general survey of oriental studies and scholarship during this period. Before the Conference began its work, Western countries were regarded and rightly too, as the centres of Indological studies and research. They set the standards of research, which were being followed by a handful of scholars in our country. There were hardly any reputed journals of research at that time. The *Indian Antiquary* and the *Epigraphia Indica* did exist, but they were mostly under non-Indian editorship.

Things have been transformed almost out of recognition during the last generation since the Oriental Conference began its work. The rate at which high-class research work is being done and published in India at the different Universities and research Institutes is undoubtedly very creditable. The number of research journals of first-class standard is increasing every year, and the papers published in them are throwing much greater light on the different problems of Indology than those published in foreign periodicals. India is thus fast becoming, as it ought to become, the centre of Indological studies and researches.

We must not, however, remain content with our achievements, creditable as they are. India must not only become and remain the centre of Indological studies, but must also attract a continuous stream of scholars from abroad, as it did in the days of Nālandā and Vikramaśilā. It must be confessed that our scholars have not yet acquired the status and reputation necessary for this purpose. But, I have no doubt that if we all strive hard, we shall undoubtedly succeed in this object.

Research work is a very costly affair, and if we aspire to establish centres of research which should attract students from all the world over, we shall have to plan truly and well. It would not be practicable or useful to prosecute research in all the branches of Indology at every University or Research Institute. Different centres should specialize in different activities. Some of them should specialize in collecting old manuscripts and bringing out critical editions of the important ones among them. I cannot help observing, in passing, that if speedy and comprehensive steps are taken to publish the important manuscripts still lying unpublished in our Bhāṇḍāras and Manuscript libraries, what a great light would be thrown on many studies of oriental studies. Some centres should specialize in Islamic studies, others in ancient Indian Iranian ones. The study of philosophy should be cultivated in some places, that of linguistics in others. Some institutes should specialize in Epigraphy, Numismatics and ancient Indian history. I do not mean to say that the different Universities should not include these subjects in their post-graduate curricula. By all means they should. But the necessary facilities for the highest type of research in the different branches of Indology can be given only at a few centres.

We shall have to build much bigger libraries at different centres of research than those which exist to-day. Our greatest library, the Imperial Library at Calcutta, hardly possesses one-tenth the number of volumes that adorn the shelves of the British Museum Library. It would be hardly possible to create such libraries at every centre of research. We would therefore distribute the work in the different branches of Indology at different centres, each of which should possess all the available literature on the subject. As a preliminary step to the achievement of this ideal, the Copyright Act will have to be amended, making it compulsory for every publisher to send one copy of his work to the Central Library in our country.

There is, however, another and greater difficulty in creating in this country centres of research in Indology of world-wide reputation. Much of the material for research in Indology in the form of manuscripts, copper-plates, sculptures, coins, and historic papers does not now exist in this country. It exists in centres like Oxford and London. I was delighted to read the other day how the new Governor of Bengal, Sir George Herbert, brought back a copper-plate from the British Museum and presented it to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. I however, think, that it is now time that all the copper-plates, coins, manuscripts and papers, which are useful for the study of Indology, should now be returned back to India. We are grateful to Great Britain for having carefully preserved these objects of priceless historic importance. But, they should now be kept in

the country to which they belong, and where they can be most utilized. India has now become the real centre of Indological studies and researches; the number of scholars who would be utilizing these sources of history, when transferred to India, would be more numerous than those who are using them in Great Britain.

Your different sectional presidents, I think, will give you a review of the research work done in different sections. I have had neither the time nor do I possess the ability for doing this work. May, I however, as a layman draw your attention to some lines of study and research that seem to be rather neglected? The fascinating study of the spread of Indian culture to Insul-India and Central Asia ought to attract much greater attention of scholars than it has hitherto done. In India, Bengal has done pioneer work in this line. The study of this subject has a vital bearing on the problems of the present day world; it will show how a culture can succeed in propagating itself without the help of the sword or the bomb, if it possesses inherent merit The history of the spread of Hindu and Buddhist cultures to Indian Archipelago, and Central and far-of Asia, ought to be a subject of study in every college and University of India. The Dutch and French languages in which much of the literature on the subject exists, ought to be more widely studied in this country. Our scholars ought to visit these countries in large numbers and carry on the exploration and research work on the spot. Non-Indian scholars have so far led the way in this field, and we ought to be very grateful to them. But, we must now step forward to undertake a work, which is primarily our own. We can discharge our debt to our ancestors who had Indianized culturally the greater part of Asia, only by reconstructing the history of their glorious achievements.

The epoch-making discoveries of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro have opened quite a new vista before the eye of the historian. New inscribed seals are being discovered every year, but they are still a sealed book to us. A few scholars are working at the problem of their decipherment, but their number must considerably increase. It has now become clear that in the dim, distant past, the cultures of Egypt, Sumer, Elam, Iran and India were in close contact with each other. Egyptology and Assyriology therefore ought to be properly and assiduously studied in this country if we are to understand our own history at the dawn of civilization. Western scholarship has made considerable progress in this field; we have not yet made even a beginning. India can hardly become the real centre of Indological research unless the above branches of study are also simultaneously developed.

I am a Paurāṇika by heredity, and I cannot therefore help observing that the study of Purāṇas, and of their contribution to religion, culture and

social philosophy has not attracted the attention it deserves. There is a general tendency to underrate their importance, which I regard as most unfortunate. I would urge you not to accept second-hand estimates of these works, made by unsympathetic critics. Study them and weigh them before you pronounce your opinion. I have no doubt that your studies will show you that the Purāṇas have done very great service to the cause of the preservation and popularization of Hindu religion and culture. It is high time that the work of bringing out their critical editions should be undertaken. This is necessary to facilitate their proper study. The Purāṇas are encyclopaedias of ancient and medieval Hindu culture and religion, and we can hardly get the proper perspective for solving the problems of present-day Hinduism without their proper study.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the sphere of the Oriental Conference does not end with the ancient period, but comes down to the modern age. The study of Sanskrit, Prakrit, Arabic and Persian will naturally loom large in the Conference. But the period between the time when these languages ceased to be actively cultivated, and the advent of the modern age is covered by a long period of about 800 years, during which extensive literatures flourished in different vernaculars in the different provinces of India. The study of these languages and literatures ought to be assiduously cultivated. Researches into the structures of these languages would yield good results. But the study of their literatures, I think, is still more important. It will give us a glimpse of the Indian Society in the middle ages, of which we have very little correct perception at present. It will also enable us to know how our medieval saints were re-interpreting the message of the earlier sages in order that it might be intelligible to the people as a whole. Their poems and songs, fervent with a devotion and sincerity that cannot but appeal to every heart, will certainly show to the sceptics of the new generation that religion is something genuine, positive and dynamic, and not merely an opiate invented by a crafty priesthood to keep down the ignorant and the oppressed.

The literature of this period is in different vernaculars, and so its appreciation would not become possible for a large number unless we offer special facilities for the purpose. We should therefore publish selections from each vernacular, arranged both chronologically and topically which would give a knowledge of its special contribution to the development of religion, philosophy and culture. These selections should be accompanied by their translation in Hindi and English. This would enable different provinces to appreciate one another's cultures and viewpoints, and arrest the growth of provincialism, which is threatening to develop fissiparous tendencies at the present time.

In these selections of Books, the Hindi rendering of the original vernacular passages will of course be printed in the Devanagari script, in the case of languages which are derived from Sanskrit, or which have a vocabulary which is largely based upon Sanskrit. There is no doubt that the Devanagari script is known to a larger section of Indian population than any other script current in India. It is a great desideratum that the knowledge of this script, which is universally admitted to be the most scientific and perfect one, should become universal among the speakers of the Sanskrit-derived languages. These languages are really very much akin to each other; even Dravidian languages like the Telugu and Tamil have got a vocabulary largely derived from Sanskrit. It would therefore be very easy for a cultured person to get a working knowledge of a number of vernaculars and their literatures, if only they are written in a script which they can read. In the interest of wider appreciation of provincial cultures and literatures, it is therefore desirable that the use and knowledge of the Devanagari should become universal among the people, who speak languages derived from or largely influenced by Sanskrit. Persian and Urdu will continue to be written in the Perso-Arabic script until such time when their users may voluntarily decide to adopt a more scientific script in favour of a less perfect one.

The progress of Archaeological studies and excavations is intimately connected with the progress of Indology. It is indeed unfortunate that the work of new excavations should have suffered for want of funds. It should not be necessary to remind the Government and the legislators that it is very undesirable to starve the Archaeological Department into inactivity. I would therefore urge the Government to start a comprehensive policy of excavation. It is, however, very necessary that the excavations of some Vedic and epic sites should be undertaken in right earnest. It is indeed strange that these sites should have been practically neglected thus far. Unless some of them are properly and completely excavated, much of our ancient history and culture will continue to be shrouded in obscurity.

The sites to be excavated are so numerous that the resources of the Government alone would not be sufficient for the purpose. I would therefore urge our industrial magnates and rich zamindars to follow the excellent example of the late Sir Ratan Tata and give generous donations for excavations. The law of the land now permits private excavations; it is sad to think that they should mostly have been started under the auspices of foreign societies.

It is a matter of great satisfaction that a number of Indian States should have started their own Archaeological Departments, which have been doing good work. But there are still many, which have not yet

done the needful in the matter. May I urge them to do their duty in this connection ?

Another way to promote the cause of research is to encourage the establishment of museums at every important centre. I should think that it is the duty of every Municipality and District Board to have a local museum of its own to house the antiquities, manuscripts and historical papers of its own locality. It is only by creating in this way an active interest in each locality in the history and culture of its past that an interest for research work can be created on wider lines. There is so much of historical material in the shape of sculptures, images, inscriptions, coins, manuscripts and historic documents lying scattered and uncared for in the country that no one provincial museum can look after and house it. If all this material is to be saved from destruction, brought to light and utilized, we must encourage the establishment of new museums in every district.

In the Baroda Session of the Oriental Conference, the late Dr. Jayasawal had urged that it was high time that an Indian History of India by Indians should be undertaken on a comprehensive scale. He had discussed the scheme with me and was preparing his plan to carry it out when the cruel hand of death carried him away from our midst. I am glad to notice that this idea has been warmly received by scholars. I, however, regret to notice that there are several schemes in the field, apparently competing with one another. This is somewhat unfortunate. I would therefore urge the different scholars and conferences, that are contemplating such a history, to work together. Then only shall we be able to bring out an Indian History of India, which would command respect in all quarters.

Ladies and Gentlemen, research work in the abstract is of great value and should be appreciated and encouraged for its own sake. Nevertheless, we should not forget that we study the past in order that it may be of some use and guidance to us for the present and the future. The average cultured man is not so much interested in the details of history, as in the general causes that lead to the rise and fall of cultures and civilizations. The country would therefore naturally look to an august body like the All-India Oriental Conference for an authoritative exposition of the rise and decline of Hindu, Buddhist and Jain cultures and religions, and the steps that should be taken to restore them to their pristine glory. The questions involved in the above enquiry are difficult ones and would require absolute impartiality in the investigators, if we are to succeed in tackling them. Some organizations must undertake the work and which is more competent to do it than this Conference ? If India is to rise once again as a united and homogeneous nation, Hindus, Buddhist, Jains, Sikhs, Parsis, Muslims

and Christians must learn each other's history and appreciate each other's culture. I believe that the All-India Oriental Conference, where the devotees of many of these religions meet on a common platform, can pave the way in this respect by publishing authoritative works on the subject.

The aim of the Oriental Conference should be not only to study and reconstruct oriental philosophy and culture, but also to spread their message in and outside India. This is very necessary and desirable. We are meeting today in the midst of a World catastrophe, and I fear that it will recur again and again, as long as the fundamental principles of our ancient religion and philosophy are not appreciated by humanity. Are different ideals, cultures and religions, which need have no aggressive designs against others, to be permitted to live peacefully in this world, or is one or more of them to dominate or wipe out the rest under one specious plea or another, is the fundamental question lying at the root of the struggles that are now going on in the different parts of the world in different forms. The spirit of intolerance and national selfishness is getting the upper hand in most places, because matter is allowed to dominate over spirit, and the claims of *s'reyas* or the spiritually desirable are being superseded in favour of *preyas* or the worldly attractive. This is happening not only in the West and Far East but, I am sorry to say, in our own Mother-land also, whose children have not been acting up to the best spirit of our ancient religion, philosophy and culture. There cannot be any peace in this world unless humanity learns to prefer *s'reyas* to *preyas* and accepts the ideal of multi-cultural development and allows even the numerically weak to work out their own cutural ideals without any let or hindrance from the numerically or physically strong. We must not only cultivate tolerance, but learn to appreciate views different from our own, if they are honestly held. This, as I understand it, is the message of our ancient culture and philosophy. About 2200 years ago, the great As'oka had exhorted humanity in the following words:

ये हि केचि अतपाषंडा पुनाति पलपाषंडा वा गलहति षवे अतपाषंडभतिय वा, किंति अतपाषंडं दीपयेम, शे सवे पुना तथा कलंतो बाढतलं उपहंति अतपाषंडम्हि । . . . . . । पूजेतविया चु पलपाषंडा तेन तेन कालनेन ।

"One who honours his own religion and culture and condemns those of another, with the hope that he may thereby render his own religion and culture refulgent, really does the greatest injury to his own culture and religion. Another's religion and culture should be honoured on suitable occasions."

The *Gītā* goes a step further and declares that a man may follow any religion and worship any deity he likes; if he is sincere and devoted, he will reach salvation:

ये त्वन्यदेवता भक्ता यजन्ते श्रद्धयान्विताः ।
तेऽपि मामेव कौन्तेय यजन्त्यविधिपूर्वकम् ॥

These excellent principles were followed in ancient India, and so Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, Sikhism and Christianity lived side by side, each enriching the other by its own contribution to the common culture of the land. Islam also lived and prospered peacefully in the country in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. in places where it was not backed by political power. We must once more create an atmosphere of mutual good will and harmony, not only in this country but throughout the world. This would be possible only by the spread of our ancient ideal, which asks us to supersede the claims of *preyas* in favour of *s'reyas* and to allow each religion and culture to lead its own life undisturbed so that it may contribute its quota to the common culture of humanity. I would like the Conference to spread this idea far and wide, both in and outside the country. May it succeed in this mission. May its efforts redound to the glory of the Mother-land.

Dewan Bahadur S. E. Runganadhan left the Conference since he had urgent work at Madras, and Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar proposed a vote of thanks to Dewan Bahadur S. E. Runganadhan.

The benediction of His Holiness Sri Sankaracharyaswami of Kamakoti Mutt of Kumbakonam was pronounced at this stage by a special representative deputed by his Holiness and the prasādam was received by Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Pramatha Nath Tarkabhushan, President of the Vedic Section, on behalf of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji.

After the General Secretary made certain announcements, Mr. V. V. Srinivasa Aiyangar, retired Judge of the High Court, moved the vote of thanks to the General President of the Conference, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji, and Mr. T. C. Srinivasa Aiyangar moved a vote of thanks to Dr. R. C. Majumdar, acting President of the Conference, which were passed with acclamation.

6-30 p.m. *Lantern Lectures* (1) P. S. Naidu on Decorative Scriptures of the Chidambaram.

7-15 p.m. (2) Dr. M. H. Krishna, Excavation in Mysore.

9-30 p.m. Entertainment—Music-Performance by Vidvan Musuri Subrahmanya Aiyar.

M. H. KRISHNA,
General Secretary

K. V. RANGASWAMI,
Local Secretary

22ND MARCH 1940

8 a.m. The Festival of Fine Arts was opened by Sri V. V. Srinivasa Aiyangar, ex-Judge of the High Court of Judicature, Madras, at the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute Hall. Mr. T. A. Ramalingam Chettiyar, President of the T. T. Devasthanam presided over the function. The opening speech of Sri V. V. Srinivasa Aiyangar was delivered *ex tempore.* He welcomed the delegates, pointed out the place of Arts in the actual living conditions and explained the need for their proper appreciation and cultivation. He declared the Exhibition open.

Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar and to Mr. T. A. Ramalingam Chettiyar. The members then adjourned to the Devasthanam Hindu High School where the Exhibition was held. A good collection of manuscripts and photographs of archaeological sculptural interest were on view. The institutions which took part in the exhibition were the Government Epigraphical department, Madras, the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, the Department of Archaeology in Mysore, Adyar Library, the University of Travancore, the Photographic exhibits from the Pudukkotai state relating to Archaeology were exhibited by Mr. L. Ganesa Sarma, and the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati.

8.30 a.m. The Sectional meetings met at the Devasthanam Hindu High School. The Presidential Address for Prakrit was delivered by Prof. Benimadhab Barua. The Prakrit section met in the afternoon at the Camp for Northern delegates in the New Choultry and discussed the papers.

9 a.m. The Presidential Address of the Vedic Section was delivered by Mahamahopadhyaya Pramathanath Tarkabhusan.

9.30 a.m. The Presidential Address of the Iranian Section was delivered by Prof. D. D. Kapadia. The section transacted its discussions later.

10 a.m. The Presidential Address of the History Section was delivered by Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachariar, in the Central Hall and Dr. R. C. Majumdar presided over the meeting.

10.30 a.m. The Presidential Address of the Archaeology section was delivered by Dr. R. C. Majumdar. Rao Sahib Professor C. S. Srinivasachariar presided over the meeting. The Sections transacted their proceedings prior to and after the Presidential address.

9 a.m. Prof. Suniti Kumar Chaterjee delivered his presidential to his Language section.

10 a.m. Prof. V. S. Sukthankar delivered his address to the Philology section.

9 a.m. Prof. Afzul ul Ulema Abdul Haq of Madras delivered his Presidential address to the Arabic and Turkish section.

9.30 a.m. Prof. Afzul ul Ulema Dr. Abdul Haq presided over the Islamic culture section due to the unavoidable absence of Prof. Muhamad Habib of the Aligarh University.

10 a.m. Prof. Dr. Abdul Haq of Delhi presided over the Urdu section of the Conference.

9 a.m. The Tamil Section met under Dewan Bahadur P. Subbiah Mudaliar who delivered the Presidential address of the Section and discussed the papers submitted to the section.

The Telugu Section Presidential Address was delivered by Mr. Korada Ramakrishnayya of the Madras University and some papers were discussed thereafter and adjourned to meet the next day.

The Hindi Section Presidential address was delivered by Dr. P. D. Barthwal and the section continued its sittings for discussing papers.

The section on Classical Sanskrit met under the presidency of Prof. P. P. S. Sastri, Vidyavacaspati, due to the unavoidable absence of Dr. C. Kunhan Raja who sent his Presidential address.

Dr. M. H. Krishna delivered his Presidential Address to the Anthropology section and then discussed the papers belonging to the section.

(The Sectional meetings adjourned at 1 p.m.)

Dr. C. Achyuta Menon of the Madras University presided over the Malayalam section and delivered his Presidential address to his section.

2 p.m. Dr. B. L. Atreya delivered the Presidential Address of the Philosophy and Religion section.

2.30 p.m. Mr. P. V. Kane read the Presidential address of the Marathi section in the unavoidable absence of Srijut N. C. Kelkar, the President. The section met and completed its sitting later.

3 p.m. Srijut O. C. Gangoly delivered the Presidential Address of the Sculpture and Painting section and after the Presidential address the papers concerning the section were discussed.

3.30 p.m. Mr. T. V. Subba Rao delivered the Presidential address of the Music section.

4 p.m. Srimati Rukmini Devi delivered to a big audience the Presidential address of the Natya section.

Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar proposed a vote of thanks to the Presidents of the sections.

2 p.m. The Technological section met under the Presidency of Vaidyaratna Capt. G. Srinivasamurti who delivered the Presidential address of the section. The discussion on papers of the section was also taken up and completed.

The Kanada section met under the presidency of Rajasevasakta B. M. Srikantaiya.

2 p.m. The Tamil Sangam met at the Institute Hall.

2 p.m. The Telugu Parishad met at the Devasthanam Huzur Office. The proceedings of the Tamil Sangam were broadcast by special arrangement all over South India.

After sectional meetings and Tamil Sangam and Telugu Parishad, Sri Bavaji Narayan Dossji of the H. H. Hathiramji Mutt gave a garden party in the Institute grounds to the delegates and members of the Conference. He was introduced to the guests by Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar. The host thanked the guests and hoped that they enjoyed their visit to Tirupati. Shrimati Rukmini Devi (Mrs. Arundale) on behalf of the delegates replied suitably.

6.30 p.m. Srijut O. C. Gangoly delivered lecture on The History of Indian Painting.

7.15 p.m. Mr. K. R. Srinivasan of Pudukottah delivered a lantern lecture on the Jaina and Cola Sculptures in S. Manivasal.

9.30 p.m. Mr. D. Srinivasachari of Chittoor sang some Rāmāyaṇa s'lokas in set to music.

10 p.m. Mr. Sacchidanandam, son of Vidwan Ponniah Pillai played on the violin.

23RD MARCH 1940

8.30 a.m. The sectional meetings in Philosophy, Kannada, Telugu and History and Malayalam met at the Devasthanam High School and the Institute Hall.

The Paṇḍita Parishad met under the Presidency of M M. Pramathanath Tarkabhusan.

9.30 a.m. The General Council met to transact business and to elect members of the Executive Committee.

11.30 a.m. The first meeting of the Executive Committee.

2 p.m. Sectional Meetings in Philosophy at the Devasthanam High School.

4 p.m. Pandita Parishad session continued.

5.30 p.m. Clossing Session. Thanks Resolution of the Committee.

6 p.m. Group Photo.

9.30 p.m. Telugu Drama on S'rnivāsa Kalyāṇam—Balabalika Sangam of Tirupati.

24TH MARCH, EARLY MORNING

Departure of Members to places of interest and to Tirumalai Hills.

MINUTES OF THE RETIRING EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING HELD AT 8-30 A.M. ON 21-3-1940 AT THE DEVASTHANAM HIGH SCHOOL HALL

Members Present:

1. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D., Deputy President (in the chair)
2. Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.Lit., General Secretary.
3. Dr. S. K. De, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., General Secretary.
4. Dr. Hemchandra Ray Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D.
5. Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A., Dip. in Eco.
6. Mr. R. V. Poduval, B.A.
7. Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M.A., Ph.D.
8. Mr. P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M.
9. Prof. P. P. S. Sastry, M.A.
10. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph. D.
11. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph. D.
12. Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, M.A.

I. Reports adopted:

(*a*) Bye-laws for the mode of electing the President and the Section-Presidents based on the resolution passed by the Council meeting held at Trivandrum on 22-12-1937.

(*b*) The General Secretary's statement about the change of venue and the correspondence with H.E.H. the Nizam's Government. The General Secretary was desired to make a statement on this question at the Opening Session.

(*c*) The following resolutions *re*: Paṇḍita Parishad, etc., approved previously by correspondence.

1. That Pandita Parishads and Mushairas need not be regarded as an obligatory part of the programme of a session, and either one or the other or both may be dropped according to financial and other considerations.

2. That the Local Reception Committee of a session should be allowed to decide as to whether or not they are to levy, from members and delegates attending, a charge for board and lodging in any manner that they think fit and fair, if it is found necessary.

3. That six months prior to the date fixed for a session all scholars wishing to present papers at the Conference should be required to send to the Local Secretary or the Section-President concerned type-written copies of their papers along with short and succinct synopses. Papers not submitted in time or without synopses should be returned to the authors.

4. That papers and synopses received in time should be sent by the Local Secretary to the Presidents of the Sections concerned who should without delay report to the Local Secretary as to what papers are to be accepted and what are to be read in extenso or reported in summaries.

5. That synopses of all papers accepted should be printed and be in the hands of members at least three weeks before the session. This would enable more opportunity being allotted to effective and fruitful discussions, which should generally be included in the Proceedings.

6. The Section-Presidents should invite suggestions and select special topics on which symposiums could be arranged, recommending suitable speakers for the purpose. They should inform the Local Secretary accordingly; and the decisions to hold symposiums and the topics should be announced at least four months in advance.

7. That, with a view to economy, the volume of the Report and Proceedings should normally include, besides accounts, minutes of meetings and summaries of transactions, the text of addresses by the General and Section-Presidents, the speeches of the Patron and the Chairman of the Reception Committee, and summaries of discussions at the Sections and the symposiums. No papers should be printed in extenso and included in the volume of Report and Proceedings.

II. The following resolutions were passed:

(*a*) The following sub-divisions of sections for the Tirupati Session and the election of Section-Presidents made by the Committee of office-bearers be approved.

10 (*a*) Sculpture and Painting—Mr. O. C. Gangoly, Calcutta.
(*b*) Music—Mr. T. V. Subba Rao, B.A., B.L., Madras.
(*c*) Natya—Srimati Rukmini Devi, Madras.
13 (*b*) Tamil—Dewan Bahadur P. Subbiah Mudaliar, B.A., B.L.
(*d*) Marathi—Mr. P. V. Kane, Poona.
(*e*) Malayalam—Dr. C. Achyuta Menon, Trivandrum.
(*f*) Hindi—Dr. F. D. Bharadwall.

(*b*) The following names of ten persons recommended by the Local Reception Committee for being co-opted on the Council of the Conference be accepted.

(i) Roa Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, M.A.
(ii) Dewan Bahadur P. Subbiah Mudaliar, B.A., B.L.
(iii) Sri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiyar, B.A., B.L. (M.L.C.)
(iv) Sri T. C. Srinivasa Aiyangar, B.A., B.L. (M.L.C.)
(v) Sri C. Sambaiya Pantulu Garu, B.A.
(vi) Sri A. N. Krishna Aiyangar, M.A., L.T.
(vii) Dr. K. C. Varadachariar, M.A., Ph.D.

(viii) Sri V. V. Srinivasa Aiyangar, B.A., B.L.

(ix) Pandita Sarvabhauma A. Chinnaswami Sastriyar.

(x) Sri C. S. Srinivasalu Chetty Garu.

(*c*) That the Proceedings and Transactions of the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference, Trivandrum, presented by Mr. R. V. Poduval, B.A., Local Secretary of the Trivandrum Session, be approved for publication, the price being Rs. 10 per copy.

(*d*) That the grateful thanks of the Executive Committee be conveyed to His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore and His Government for Their hospitality to the Trivandrum Session of the Conference.

(*e*) That His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore and His Government be thanked most sincerely for publishing the Proceedings and Transactions of the Ninth Session and that the Government of Travancore be requested to present to the Conference and forward for being stocked at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, at least one hundred copies of the Travancore Report as has been done in the case of the earlier Conference Reports.

(*f*) That the General Secretary's accounts as submitted to the meeting be approved and that the Honorary Treasurer's account with full details be later on circulated to the Executive Committee for information.

(*g*) That the resignation of Dr. A. B. Dhruva, Treasurer of the Conference, be accepted and that there be placed on record the appreciation of the Executive Committee for the valuable services rendered by Dr. Dhruva as Treasurer of Conference from 1936 to 1940.

(*h*) That under the special circumstances in which the Tirupati Conference had to be held the Local Secretary of the Tenth All-India Oriental Conference, Tirupati, be permitted to utilize for the local expenses all donations received by him locally or otherwise—and that two hundred copies of the Proceedings and Transactions of the Tirupati Session of the Conference be supplied by him when published to the Conference stock with the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona and that the surplus amount, if any, after the publication of the Proceedings and Transactions be paid to the General funds of the Conference with the Treasurer.

(*i*) That Dr. S. K. De and the Indian Academy Sub-Committee of the Conference be thanked for the report on the feasibility of founding the Academy. The Executive Committee agree with the opinion that the idea of founding the Academy was desirable though the time was not yet opportune for the purpose.

(*j*) That Mr. P. C. Divanji's proposal *re*: the excavation of the places connected with the Mahabharata be referred to the President of the Archæology Section for furnishing his opinion thereon.

(*k*) That the resolutions of condolence as drafted be moved from the Chair at the Opening Session of the Conference.

(*l*) That Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University, and Member of the Executive Committee be requested to conduct the Proceedings of the Tirupati Conference as the Acting President during the unavoidable absence of Pandit Mohan Malaviyaji.

(*m*) That Dr. V. S. Sukthankar be thanked for placing, on behalf of the Mahabharata Editorial Committee of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, the Udyoga Parvam volume of the Mahabharata and that a resolution be placed before the Council appreciating the publication and recommending it to the notice of scholars and patrons of learning.

(*n*) That the Executive Committee place on record the deep sense of appreciation of the services rendered by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar as Deputy President of the Conference from 1938 to 1940 and express its grateful thanks to him.

M. H. KRISHNA,
General Secretary.

S. K. BELVALKAR,
Chairman.

MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL MEETING HELD AT 9 A.M. ON 23-3-1940 AT THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE HALL

(THE ACTING PRESIDENT DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR WAS IN THE CHAIR)

1. The rules regarding the membership of the Council were read and the signatures of the members qualified to take part in its work were taken. The following qualified members were present:

1. Dr. R. C. Majumdar.
2. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar.
3. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.
4. Dr. Lakshman Sarup.
5. Prof. P. P. S. Sastri.
6. Dr. M. Nizamuddin.
7. Dr. H. C. Rayachaudri.
8. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal.
9. Dr. M. Rama Rao.
10. Dr. N. Venkataramaniah.
11. Dr. V. Raghavan.
12. Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu.
13. Mr. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya.
14. B. M. Barua.

15. Mr. P. Anujan Achan.
16. Dr. M. H. Krishna.
17. Dr. S. K. De.
18. Dr. H. C. Ray.
19. Mr. Bisheshwarnath Reu.
20. Dr. Manilal Patel.
21. Dr. G. H. Bhatt.
22. Prof. S. P. Chaturvedi.
23. Mr. C. Sambaiya.
24. Mr. C. Srinivasalu Chetty.
25. Mr. T. C. Srinivasa Aiyangar.
26. Mr. V. V. Srinivasa Aiyangar.
27. Dr. K. C. Varadachari.
28. Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar.
39. Mr. V. R. R. Dikshitar.
30. Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari.
31. Mr. A. N. Krishna Aiyangar.
32. Principal A. Chinnaswami Sastri.
33. Dr. A. S. Altekar.
34. Mr. N. G. Sardesai.
35. Mr. T. L. Shah.
36. Mr. P. C. Divanji.
37. Mr. G. J. Somayaji.
38. Dr. V. S. Sukthankar.

2. The following ten persons, recommended by the Reception Committee, were co-opted on the Council.

1. Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar.
2. Devan Bahadur P. Subbiah Mudaliar.
3. Sri. T. A. Ramalinga Chettiar.
4. Sri. T. C. Srinivasa Aiyangar.
5. Sri C. Sambaiya Pantulu Garu.
6. Sri. A. N. Krishna Aiyangar
7. Dr. K. C. Varadachariar.
8. Sri. V. V. Srinivasa Aiyangar.
9. Pandita Sarvabhauma A. Chinnaswami Sastriar.
10. Sri C. S. Srinivasalu Chetty Garu.

3. Resolved that the Bye-laws for conducting elections framed on the basis of the Trivandrum resolutions be approved and made applicable to all elections commencing from the current session.

4. (The Council then proceeded to the election of 14 members of the New Executive Committee. Twenty-eight names were duly proposed

and seconded and voted upon by ballot. Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu and Mr. C. Srinivasalu Chetty were appointed as scrutinisers. As a result the following fourteen members of the New Executive Committee were elected:

1. Dr. M. H. Krishna.
2. Dr. R. C. Majumdar.
3. Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar.
4. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar.
5. Prof. P. P. S. Sastri.
6. Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari.
7. Mr. V. R. R. Dikshitar.
8. Dr. V. S. Sukthankar.
9. Dr. S. K. De.
10. Mr. P. V. Kane.
11. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.
12. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit.
13. Prof. A. S. Altekar.
14. Dr. M. Nizamuddin.

5. Resolved that Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu and Mr. C. Srinivasalu Chetty be thanked for acting as Tellers.

6. Resolved that the All-India Oriental Conference notes with great satisfaction the completion of one more Parvan, namely, the Udyoga-parvan, edited by Professor S. K. De, of the Critical edition of the Mahabharata which is being brought out by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona; and in view of the eminently satisfactory character of the work done so far, the Conference trusts that funds will be liberally placed at the disposal of the Institute by the Ruling Princes, Universities and the public of India to enable the Institute to complete this all-important work with expedition and efficiency.

7. Reported the Bye-laws drafted on the basis of the Trivandrum resolutions about the mode of conducting elections of the General President and Section-Presidents.

i. At the end of each session of the Conference, the newly constituted Executive Committee and such former General Presidents of the Conference as may be present at the session shall elect the General President of the next session of the Conference.

(*a*) The Chairman of the Executive Committee shall preside at this meeting. He shall have a vote and a casting vote.

(*b*) Ordinarily the same person shall not be elected General President for two consecutive sessions or be eligible for re-election until three sessions are over.

(*c*) In case of a vacancy, occurring after the election and before the next session meets, the vacancy shall be forthwith notified to the Executive Committee, who will proceed to elect a General President to fill up the vacancy, and the election shall be carried on as under :

" The General Secretary of the Conference shall circulate nomination papers to Members of the Executive Committee inviting nomination for the vacancy, to be returned to him within a specified date. After receipt of the nomination papers, the General Secretary shall again circulate the name or names duly nominated, and issue voting papers, if there is more than one nomination, to the Members of the Executive Committee. On receipt of the voting papers on the date notified in the voting papers, the General Secretary shall count the votes and submit a statement of the result of the election to the Executive Committee for confirmation. If there is a tie between two nominees, the matter will be decided by the Executive Committee, who shall then direct the General Secretary to communicate the final result to the electors and to the nominee who has been elected.

" Provided that if the vacancy occurs less than one month before the session meets, the General Secretary shall arrange the election by curtailing the elaborate procedure laid down above, and that if this not possible, the office-bearers will elect the General President and inform the Executive Committee accordingly."

(ii) At the end of each session of the Conference, the newly constituted Executive Committee, the Section-Presidents of the session concluding, and such section-presidents of former sessions as may be present shall elect the Section-Presidents of the next session of the Conference.

(*a*) A list of Section-Presidents for the last four sessions shall be supplied to the members electing.

(*b*) The Chairman of the Executive Committee shall preside, and he shall have a vote and a casting vote.

(c) Ordinarily the same person shall not be elected President of the same section for two consecutive sessions.

(*d*) The result of the election shall be communicated by the General Secretary to the persons elected, who will be requested to take charge and organise the individual sections for the next session of the Conference.

(*e*) In case of a vacancy in any section, occurring after the election and before the next session meets, the General Secretary shall inform the Executive Committee, and shall proceed to fill up the vacancy by election in the same manner as under 1 (c).

8. Moved by Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari :

(*a*) That the Conference congratulates the authorities of the Tirupati and Tirumalai Devasthanam and the Government of Madras on the

establishment of the first teaching and research Institute, dedicated to Oriental Learning, in Southern India and maintained out of non-government resources.

(*b*) That the Conference notes with satisfaction the establishment of a teaching and research Institute, named Bharatiya Vidya Bhavana, in Bombay, and congratulates the organisers of the Institute upon its vigorous programme of academic and research activities.

The motions were accepted and resolutions were passed accordingly.

9. Moved by Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari :

(*a*) That the Conference urges upon the management of temples and religious institutions generally in this country and upon heads of religious foundations to devote a part of their surplus resources to the endowment of Oriental Libraries and Teaching and Research Institutions and to make grants-in-aid to such Institution, founded with the object of specialising, so far as possible, in accordance with local, provincial or sectional requirements and avoiding duplication of effort and dissipation of resources.

(*b*) That the Conference recommends to the Custodians of Oriental Manuscript Libraries and Bhandaras in India a liberal policy with regard to the loan of manuscripts or supply of mechanical transcripts to scholars engaged in research in oriental subjects.

(*c*) That the Conference recommends to the governments of Indian States, which have not yet established departments of archæological exploration and excavation, the establishment of such departments for undertaking this important work either by individual or conjoint effort.

(*d*) That the Conference desires to impress upon the Government of India the urgent need for the association of qualified Indians outside the Archæological Department in the work of archæological survey and for provision of adequate funds for the promotion of exploration and excavation.

The motions were accepted, and resolutions passed accordingly.

10. The following recommendations were referred to the Executive Committee for consideration and necessary action, if any :

(*a*) That there should be in future a section of the Conference on Greater India.

(*b*) That the Conference notes that religious and other structures, ancient and modern, in this and other provinces are generally maintained in an unsatisfactory condition, or repaired, remodelled and renovated without regard to archæological principles, and therefore desires to press upon Government and the public, and especially on those who are in charge of such structures and on statutory bodies superintending the administration of religious foundations, the necessity of maintaining them satisfactorily and of designing and executing all works of repair, renovation and addition in strict conformity with archæological principles, requesting that immediate

Ethnology	...	Mr. M. D. Raghavan, Madras.
Fine Arts	...	Principal Percy Brown, Calcutta.
Technical Sciences	...	Mr. Jogeshachandra Roy, Calcutta.
Non-Local Languages	...	Dr. Baburam Saksena, M.A., D. Lit., Allahabad.
Local Indian Languages	...	(i) Marathi—Mr. P. V. Kane, Poona. (ii) Telugu—Dr. C. R. Reddy, Waltair. (iii) Kannada—Mr. Masti Venkatesa Iyengar, Bangalore. (iv) Urdu—Prof. A. S. Siddiqi, M.A., Ph. D., Allahabad.

M. H. KRISHNA,
General Secretary.

(Sd.) R. C. MAJUMDAR,
Ag. President.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CLOSING SESSION HELD IN THE HALL OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE ON 23-3-40 AT 4-30 P.M.

(In the unavoidable absence of the acting President, Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D., was elected to the Chair and conducted the proceedings)

1. The following condolence resolutions moved from the Chair were passed by the whole assembly standing:

(*a*) That the Tenth All-India Oriental Conference held at Tirupati, March 1940, places on record its sense of deep grief at the demise of His Highness Sir Sayaji Rao, the Gaekwad of Baroda and Patron of the Seventh Session of the Conference.

(*b*) That the Tenth All-India Oriental Conference held at Tirupati, March 1940, places on record its sense of deep grief at the demise of His Highness Sir Sri Kanthirava Narasimharaja Wadiyar Bahadur, Yuvaraja of Mysore, the Vice-Patron of the Eighth Session of the Conference.

(c) That the Tenth All-India Oriental Conference, held at Tirupati, March 1940, places on record its sense of deep grief at the demise of:

(i) Dr. Brajendranath Seal of Calcutta.
(ii) Dr. Bruno Liebich of Munich.
(iii) Prof. Jarl Charpentier.
(iv) Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni.
(v) Mr. N. G. Majumdar.
(vi) Dr. J. Wackernagel of Basle.
(vii) Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen.

2. On behalf of Mr. R. V. Poduval, B.A., Local Secretary of the Trivandrum Session of the Conference, Rao Sahib Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, formally presented to the Conference the Report of the Proceedings and Transactions of the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum in December 1937.

3. Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D. Lit., General Secretary, made the following announcements:

(*a*) That the invitations for the next session of the Conference were received from the Benares Hindu University and from Hyderabad and that the Hyderabad invitation was accepted.

(*b*) That Mr. G. Yazdani, M.A., O.B.E., was elected President of the Hyderabad session of the Conference.

(*c*) That the following four office bearers were elected:

(i) Honorary Treasurer:	Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, M.A.
(ii) General Secretaries:	Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.Lit., D. S. K. De, M.A., D.Lit.
(iii) Local Secretary:	Dr. M. Nizamuddin, Ph.D.

(*d*) That the following scholars were elected Members of the Executive Committee for the next session:

(i) Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D.
(ii) Rao Bahadur Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D.
(iii) Prof. P. P. S. Sastri, M.A.
(iv) Rao Sahib Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A.
(v) Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A.
(vi) Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M.A., Ph.D.
(vii) Mr. P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M.
(viii) Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. K. Iyengar, M.A., Ph.D.
(ix) Rao Bahadur K. N. D. Dikshit, M.A.
(x) Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., D.Lit.
(xi) Dr. Lakshman Sarup, M.A., D.Phil.
(xii) Dr. Hemchandra Ray, M.A., Ph.D.
(xiii) Dr. M. Rama Rao, M.A., Ph.D., B.Ed.
(xiv) Mr. K. C. Chattopadhyaya, M.A.

(*e*) That the following scholars were elected as Presidents of the various sections for the Eleventh Session to be held at Hyderabad in December 1941.

Vedic	...	Dr. Manilal Patel, Ph.D., Bombay.
Iranian	...	Kaikobad Nausharwan Esq., Poona.
Islamic Culture	...	Dr. M. Z. Siddiqi,M.A.,Ph.D., Calcutta.

Arabic and Persian	...	Dr. S. Muhammad Hussain Nainar, M.A., LL.B., Madras.
Classical Sanskrit	...	Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D.Lit.
Ardhamagadhi	...	Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Kolhapur.
Philosophy	...	Prof. P. P. S. Sastry, M.A., Madras.
History	...	Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Madras.
Archaeology	..	Prof. V. V. Mirashi.
Philology	...	Dr. Muhammad Shahidullah, M.A., B.L., Dacca.
Ethnology	..	Mr. M. D. Raghavan, Madras.
Fine Arts	...	Principal Percy Brown, Calcutta.
Technical Science	...	Mr. Jogeshachanda Roy, Calcutta.
Non-Local Languages	...	Dr. Baburam Saksena, M.A., D. Lit., Allahabad.
Local Indian Languages	...	(i) Marathi—Mr. P. V. Kane, Poona. (ii) Telugu—Dr. C. R. Reddi, Waltair. (iii) Kannada—Mr. Masti Venkatesa Iyengar, Bangalore. (iv) Urdu—Prof. A. S. Siddiqi, M.A., Ph.D., Allahabad.

4. Closing remarks from the Chair :

In concluding the session Dewan Bahadur S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D., the acting Chairman, explained the difficult circumstances under which the Tirupati Reception Committee had organised the Tenth Session of the Conference at short notice and moved from the Chair the following resolution of thanks to the local authorities.

" This Conference resolves to record its appreciation of the public spirit of the Tirumalai Tirupati Devasthanam's Committee and the Commissioner, Sri C. Sambaiya Pantulu Garu, B.A., in empowering the Director of the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute to invite the All-India Oriental Conference to Tirupati and make the necessary arrangements for the Session at very short notice, in spite of the fact that the Institute had not completed even a year of its existence.

" This Conference also desires to convey its thanks to the Reception Committee, its Chairman, Sri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar Avargal, and its Honorary Secretary, Sri Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar Avergal, M.A., the Principal Sri A. Chinnaswami Sastrigal, and the staff of the Oriental Institute, and, in particular, to Dr. K. C. Varadachariar, M.A., Ph.D., and Sri A. N. Krishna Aiyangar, M.A., L.T., the Curator of the Institute, for the efficient way in which they have organised the manifold

arrangements for the comfort of the members and the delegates and the success of the Conference generally.

"The thanks of the Conference are also due to the Peishkar of the Devasthanam, and to the Headmaster of the Devasthanam Hindu High School, Mr. T. R. Krishnamachariar and his staff, for their valuable assistance to the Conference, and particularly, to Bavaji Narayandosaji of the Hathiramji Mutt, for the active interest that he has evinced for the Conference.

"Lastly, this session wishes also to record its appreciation of the willing and cheerful services of the band of young scouts and volunteers who looked to the comforts of the Members and Delegates of the Conference during their stay at Tirupati."

On behalf of the Members of the Oriental Conference Dr. Manilal Patel offered thanks to Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar for acting as Chairman of the Closing Session.

M. H. KRISHNA, *General Secretary.*

K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR, *Local Secretary.*

SECTIONAL PROCEEDINGS

1. VEDIC SECTION

At the morning sitting of the Vedic section on the 22nd March the Presidential Address was read out. It had been announced that 8 a.m. on the day following the papers submitted would be read and as the meeting of the Pandita Parishad under my presidency had also been announced to take place in the morning of the 23rd, arrangements were hurriedly made for the disposal of part of the work of reading of papers in the Vedic section and from 10 to 11.30 a.m., the papers indicated below were read and discussed. On the 23rd on account of the other engagements no time could be found for the perusal and discussion of the other papers which, therefore, are to be taken as read.

Papers read.

1. Dandekar, R. N.: New Light on the Vedic God Savitr.
2. Lakshminarasimhiah, M.: A Note on the authorship of Āśvalāyana-gṛhya-mantra-vyākha.
3. Dr. Manilal Patel, Ph.D.: The Padapātha of the sixth Maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda.

Tirupati,
24-3-1940.

(SD.) PRAMATHANATH TARKABHUSHAN, *President.*

2. IRANIAN

Friday, 22nd March 1940

The Presidential Address on *Race Characteristics of Iranians* was delivered by Prof. D. D. Kapadia, M.A., B.Sc., I.E.S., (Retd.) in the main Hall at 9 a.m. when it was attended to with interest also by a number of members of the Conference belonging to various other sections. As soon as the address was over, the members of the section held their sectional meeting in the sectional room and discussion on various papers was taken in hand. In addition to members belonging to this section, Messrs. V. S. Agrawala of Lucknow Museum, K. C. Chattopadhyaya of Allahabad University and Rev. Father David of Mangalore took part in the discussion.

The papers presented at the Conference were as under :

1. *Azi Dahaka's Astronomical Observatory*—by Prof. B. T. Anklesaria, M.A., Principal, Mulla Feeroz and Sir J. J. Madrassas, Bombay.

2. *The Traditional date of Zarathushtra* :—Is Dr. West's correction necessary ?--By Prof. Kshetresa Chandra Chattopadhyaya, University of Allahabad.

3. *A Critical review of 'Kisseh Sanjan*—being the Traditional History of the Parsee Migration to India—By Lt. Col. M. S. Irani, I.M.S. (Retd.), Poona ;

4. "*Ragha*" *the Birth-place of the mother of Prophet Zarathushtra*—By Mr. Kaikhosru A. Fitter, Bombay.

5. "*Din-e-Ilahi*" *of Akbar*—By Mr. Navroze C. Mehta, M.A., Bombay.

6. *Interpretations of some Avesta and Pahlavi Words*—by Ervad Maneck F. Kanga, B.A., F.C.I., etc., Bombay.

7. *Ideals of Love and Service in Zoroastrianism* ; their value to Humanity especially in Modern Times"—by Mr. Jehangir Boman-shah, Vakil, B.A., Bombay.

8. "*Nimrod and Zohāk*" a Mythico-Historical Parrallel—by Mr. Jehangir M. Desai, B.A., M.R.A.S., Navseri.

9. *Ancient Indian Alphabets* : *their Iranian Origin*—by Mr. Sohrab J. Bulsara, M.A., Bombay.

10. *Mah Bakhtār or Būkhtār*—By Khan Saheb Jal D. Kanga, B.Sc., Bombay.

11. *The All Conquering Fire of Al Koran-e-Shariff*—by Mr. Nanabhoy F. Mama, B.A., LL.B., Bombay.

12. *Salmān-al-Fārisi*—by Mr. Jamshedji E. Saklatvala, Bombay.

The authors of papers II, III, IV and V being present at the meeting, read their papers and discussion followed ; in the absence of the authors of

papers I and VI, these papers were read by the President and subsequently discussed at the meeting; the authors of papers VII, VIII, IX, X, XI and XII not being present their papers were taken as read and their summaries only were read and discussed, the members present not being in a position to pronounce any opinion on some of them. Thus after a prolonged sitting the section closed its business at 1 p.m.

Tirupati, KAPADIA,
22nd March 1940. *President.*

3. A & B. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECTIONS FOR ARABIC, PERSIAN AND ISLAMIC HISTORY AND CULTURE

The following papers were submitted for discussion:

1. Arabic and Persian words in Tamil Language--by Dr. S. M. H. Nainar of the Madras University.
2. Some rare manuscripts at various Libraries—by Moulvi Abdul Azeez Rajkote of Muslim University, Aligarh.
3. Contributions of the Moslems to the Science of Mathematics—by Dr. Hadi Hasan.
4. A short summary of Bahri's Urusi Irfan—by Mr. S. A. W. Bokhari, M.A., L.T.
5. Ni'mat Khan-i' Ali as an eminent personality of Aurangazeb's Court—by Dr. Nizamuddin, Hyderabad.
6. Three unique Arabic manuscripts from Istanbul—by Dr. V. A. Hamdali of Junagad.
7. Awhaduddin of Kirman-Misbahul-Arwah by Dr. V. A. Hamdali of Junagad.
8. Qazi Shahabuddin Daulatabadi by Syed Usha of Madras University.
9. Al-Qadi-ul-Fadil and his diary by Dr. M. Abdul Haq, Principal, Government Muhammadan College, Madras.

ABDUL HAQ,
President.

4. CLASSICAL SANSKRIT

In the unavoidable absence of the President-elect, Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Prof. P. P. S. Sastri of the Presidency College, Madras was requested to occupy the Chair. The Sessions began at 10 a.m. and concluded at 12 Noon. The following papers were read and discussed:

Subject

1. Paper No. 13. The Yamaka Poet Vāsudeva—by Venkatarama Sarma, V.

2. Paper No. 11. Appayyas II & III—by V. Raghavan.
3. „ „ 8. Kālidāsa, the Great Poet and Dramatist—by M. C. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar.
4. „ „ 12. Kumāratātācārya, the real author of some of the works ascribed to King Raghunāthanaik of Tanjore—by V. Raghavan.
5. „ „ 16. The date of Sūktiratnahāra of Kālingarāyasūrya—by V. Raghavan.
6. „ „ 20. Caṇḍesvaras' own account of himself and of his patron, Harisimhadeva—by Bhabatosh Bhattacharya.
7. „ „ .... The sources of Dharma and their comparative Authority—Bhattukanath Bhattacharya, Professor, Rippon College, Calcutta.
8. „ „ 19. Sanskrit Language—Lingua Franca of India—Gunde Rao Harkare.
9. „ „ 10. of the Vedic Section. Problems of Identity—by P. P. S. Sastri.
10. „ „ 4. Andhras contribution to Sanskrit Poetics—Rasagangādhara—by B. Venkataramanayya.
11. „ „ 9. A Note on a Sanskrit Drama of the 16th Century—by H. C. Ray.
12. „ „ .... Thoughts on S'abara Bhāṣya—by A. Chinnaswami Sastri, Principal, S. V. S. College, Tirupati.

As no other person was present with his paper the Session was dissolved after a vote of thanks proposed to the Chair by Sri T, A. Venkatesvara Dikshitar, S. V. Sanskrit College, Tirupati, and by Pandita Sarvabhauma Mahamahopadhyaya A. Chinnaswami Sastriyar, Principal.

(Sd.) P. P. S. SASTRI, *President.*

(Sd.) T. K. GOPALASWAMI AIYANGAR, *Secretary.*

22-3-1940,

5. ARDHA-MAGADHI, PRAKRIT, ETC.

Professor B. M. Barua of the Calcutta University presided over this Section. He delivered his Presidential address in the hall of the Hindu High School of Tirupati, at 8.30 a.m., on the 22nd March 1940, drawing attention of the scholars to a number of problems that remain yet to be solved in connection with Prakrits, and making a broad survey of the field of study

and investigation, opened and widened so far by the publication of texts and original researches relating to the subject. He emphasized the need of compilation of a Prakrit lexicon on a scientific basis and preparation of a concordance of the texts of the Pali Canon—and Jaina Agama with cross-references to the contemporary and earlier Brahmanical scriptures.

The section meeting for the discussion of papers on the subject was held at 1.30 p.m. at the Sri Venkateswara New Choultry. Just two papers were read, one by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, M.A., D.Lit., of Kolhapur, and the other by Prof. Hiralal Jain, M. A. of the King Edward College, Amraoti.—Among those present were Prof. S. K. Chatterjee, Professor H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, Professor Bèlvalkar, Prof. A. S. Altekar, and Professor Atreya. Dr. Upadhye gave a lucid account of the text of a Prakrit work, called *Kamsavaho*, of the 17th Century A. D., edited by him, with a critical estimate of its literary, linguistic and historical values. He also presented a personal account of its author, Rama Pāṇivāda who hailed from Malabar. The paper evoked an important discussion with regard to the Prakrit diction of the text in which Prof. S. K. Chatterjee and others took part.

Professor Jain in his paper, stressed the unique importance of the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* and their three commentaries by Vīrasena as enabling us to is restore to a large extent the contents of the twelfth Anga, Dṛṣṭivāda, which was known to have been irrevocably lost. The Chairman requested Professor Jain to add an appendix to his valuable paper containing a comparative table of contents of the Dṛṣṭivāda as given in the Thanamga on the one hand, and may be gathered from the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* and their commentaries on the other.

(Sd.) B. M. BANIA,
President.

6. PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

The Presidential Address of the Section was delivered by Dr. B. L. Atreya in the Devasthanam Hindu High School Hall at 2 p.m. on 22nd March, 1940. Dr. Belvalkar, Mr. P. V. Kane and others were present. After the Presidential Address the sectional meetings were adjourned to the 23rd March, at 8-30 a.m. There were 34 papers submitted to the section. The following were read and some of the papers were discussed.

1. Dr. P. T. Raju's on "the Buddhistic and Advaita Points of view."
2. Mr. Lakshminarasimhiah's " The Praṇava and its importance."
3. V. Bhattacharya's " Theory of Negation."
4. C. V. Sankara Rao's paper on " the S'aiva-siddhanta view of Perception."
5. N. Aiyaswami Sastri's " Bhāvaviveka and His method of Exposition."

6. Dr. Paranjape's "Text of the Nyāya-sūtras according to Vācaspati Mis'ra."

7. Mr. M. A. Krishnaswami's "Who is Bhus'anakara"?

8. Mr. T. Srinivasaragavachari's papers on "The Benighted Three" and "Lakshmana, the Karma Yogi."

9. Yamunacharya's "A Note on the Vis'iṣṭātadvaitic Cosmology."

10. Mr. Hemchandra Sastri's "Conception of Yogamāyā."

11. Dr. Maryla Falk's paper on "The Evolution of the Skandhas."

12. Mr. S. G. Narasimham's "Theory of temperament.

The section met after a short adjournment in the School Hall at 2 p.m. when the following papers were read and discussed.

13. Mr. P. S. Naidu's "Foundation and sketch plan for a new treatise in Indian Philosophy."

14. Mr. K. Venkatarama Sastri's paper on "Absolutism of Vedānta, according to Gaudapada."

15. Dr. Mario Carelli read a paper on "the Sekoddes'aṭikā of Naropa."

16. Mr. N. Sivarama Sastri read a paper on "The Date of the Nyāya Sūtra."

17. Mr. T. A. Venkateswara Dikshitar gave a summary of his paper on "dreams".

18. Dr. K. C. Varadachari spoke on his paper "On the relation between the Mystical and Religious Consciousness as found in the Commentary on Is'āvās'yopaniṣad by Sri Vedānta Des'ika."

The President complimented the several contributors On the high level of the papers as also the large number of papers contributed to the section. The problems were fundamental and varied and the discussions on the several papers promised a big future for the section. With a vote of thanks the section terminated at 8-40 p.m.

(Sd.) K. C. VARADACHARI,
Secretary.

8. HISTORY

The Section met at 9 a.m. on the 22nd March 1940; and I requested Dr. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph. D., of Calcutta University to act as Secretary to the Section. The Presidential Address was delivered by Professor C. S. Srinivasachari at 10 a.m. on 22-3-1940 under the chairmanship of Dr R. C. Majumdar, Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University. The following papers were read and discussed in the first session:

1. A Tamilian Invasion of Northern India: by Mr. T. G. Aravamudham, M.A., B.L., L.T., Madras. This was followed by an interesting discussion in which Dr. M. H. Krishna, Dr. A. S. Altekar, Dr. H. C. Ray

Chaudhuri and Professor Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar took part. The discussion turned upon the likelihood of the Early Maukharis being attacked by South Indian powers like the Tamil Colas and the Kadamba S'arma.

2. King Candra of the Mehrauli Pillar Inscription; by Dr. D. C. Sircar of the Calcutta University. The paper was read at the Archæological Section at which the members of the History Section were also present.

3. A Note on Four Letters of the Tipu Sultan.

4. A Note on the Line of Kṛṣṇagupta.

Both by Prof. H. C. Ray, University of Calcutta.

5. Notes on certain Post-Mauryan Dynasties; by Prof. Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri of the Calcutta University.

These three papers (3-5) were followed by some discussion that was instructive.

6. Foundations of Guhila Power in Vāgaḍa; by Mr. G. C. Ray Chaudhuri, M.A., B.L., Calcutta.

7. Identification of Udayana of Kaus'āmbi with Udāyin of Magadha; By Prof. H. C. Seth, Nagpur.

8. The Advent of the Arabs in Hindustan: Their Relations with the Hindus and Occupation of Sind; by Shams-ul-Ulama M. A. Gani, Jubbulpore.

In the discussion of this paper, Mr. Nizamuddin of Hyderabad, Prof. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri and Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari took part.

The section met again at 8-30 a.m. on the 23rd and discussed three papers, (1) the first by Prof. Dr. M. H. Krishna of Mysore and bearing on 'Shahji's Tomb at Hodigere.' In the course of the discussion which was interesting, it was pointed out that Sivaji was always spoken of in Mysore as Bangalore Sivaji. The paper proves that Shahji's death took place on the 23rd February, 1654 and the funeral ceremonies were performed by Ekoji. (2) The next was 'A Note on the Godavari Grant of Prithivimūla' by Mr. K. S. Vaidyanathan which was read by Mr. E. S. Varadaraja Aiyar. (3) The third was by Mr. V R. Ramachandra Dikshitar of the Madras University who read a paper on 'Karnāṭaka in Ancient Tamil Literature; and the discussion that followed was lively and participated in by Dr. N. Venkataramaniah, Prof. C. S Srinivasachari, Prof. U. N. Ghosal, Mr. T. C. Srinivasa Aiyar and Prof. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri.

The session adjourned at 9.30 and met again at 2 p.m. on the same day, when seven papers were read and discussed. These were:

1. The Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan and the Nizam's Dominions; by Pandit Reu of Jodhpur.

2. Gonka II and the Cālukyas; by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri of Madras University, the paper being read by Mr. M. Rama Rao of Guntur.

3. Need for Better Co-operation between men of Science and Oriental Scholars; by Mr. A. R. Khan--also read by Dr. M. Rama Rao.

4. New Light on the Origin of the Jethwas; by Prof. A. S. Altekar of the Benares Hindu University.

5. The History of Warrangal; and (6) The Kākatiyas and the Yādavas, both by Mr. M. Rama Rao. This was followed by a discussion in which Dr. Altekar and Mr. C. S. Srinivasachari took part.

7. The Right of a Maiden to Dowry under Hindu Law; by Mr. A. S. Nataraja Aiyar, Advocate, Madras. This was followed by a debate in which Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan and Prof. Altekar participated and the implications of Pradānikam were explained.

It being now the time for the meeting of the General Session (4 p.m.), the History Section closed; and the following papers of which the authors were not present were taken as read.

1. 'The Revenue History of Oudh' by Syed Abu Muhammad, Allahabad.

2. 'The Nature of the Administrative Divisions of the Mughal Empire' by Dr. P. Saran, Benares.

3. 'The capitals of the Vākāṭakas' by Prof. V. V. Mirashi, Nagpur.

4. 'A Few Moghul Documents' by Khan Bahadur Zafar Hasan, Agra.

5. 'Ancient Indian History and Research Work' (2 copies) by Mr. P. C. Divanji, Ahmedabad.

6. 'Badapa and Tala' (Two Eastern Cālukya Kings), by Prof. K. R. Subramaniam, Vizianagaram.

7. 'Studies in Early Buddhist Historiography' by Prof. U. N. Goshal, Calcutta.

8. 'The Eastern Ganga Era' by Mr. R. Subba Rao, Rajamundry.

9. 'An incident of the last days of Nawab Mr. Nizam Ali Khan' by K. Sajun Lal, Hyderabad.

10. 'Ashok Dislodged' (Printed pamphlet) by Dr. T. L. Shah, Ahmedabad.

The paper of Dr. N. Venkataramaniah, University of Madras on 'Jatācoda Bhima' was instructed not to be read as having been published elsewhere. The paper on 'Vañci' the Capital of the Ancient Cera Kingdom, identified with Tiruvañcikalam in the Cochin State may be transferred to the Tamil Section if deemed advisable.

A vote of thanks was proposed to the President of the Section and to the Secretary by Dr. A. S. Altekar and carried.

(Sd.) C. S. SRINIVASACHARI,

President,

1-4-1940

9. Ethnology

21st March 1940

Met at 9 a.m. in the room assigned for the section in the T. T. Devasthanam High School.

Dr. M. H. Krishna, the Section President took the chair and read his address from a type script. Among those present were Rao Bahadur Dr. Belvalkar, Prof. B. M. Srikantiah, Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu and about 30 others. The following papers were read and after each of them an interesting discussion followed. (See book of summaries).

1. By M. D. Raghavan.
2. Sunworship by Mr. M. Yamuncharya.
3. Read and discussed.
4. Buddhism in Ancient Kerala—Read and discussed.
5. Taken as read.
6. Temples of Kerala.
7. Coorg.
8. On worship in Mysore.
9. Spirit dances.
10. Dead.
11. Hayavadana Rao.

The Section closed at 12 noon.

(Sd.) M. H. Krishna,
President,
Anthropology Section.
25-3-1940

10. Fine Arts

(a) *Sculpture and Painting*

In my opinion the following papers contributed to my section should be printed :

1. K. R. Venkataraman : Two unique South Indian monuments.
2. R. S. Panchamukhi : The Gandharvas and Kinnaras in Indian Iconography.

I take this opportunity to contratulate you on the very successful sitting of the Conference due to your untiring industry and skilful organization.

(Sd.) O. C. Gangoly,
President.

(*b*) MUSIC

1.	Presidential Address. ...	T. V. Subba Rao.
2.	The Seven svaras in Carnatic music...	S. Subramanya Sastri.
3.	The scheme of 72 Melas in Carnatic Music ...	T. L. Venkataraman.
4.	The influence of Exotic Music on the development of South Indian Music.	Prof. P. Sambamurthi
5.	Saṅgita Sāra Sangraham ...	Dr. V. Raghavan.
6.	Cathurdāṇḍi in Carnatic Music ...	M. Ramakrishna Kavi.
7.	Some of the main features of the South Indian Music ...	Mr. C. Ponniah Pillai.
8.	Pallavi Doraswami Iyer—A life sketch.	C. Subramania Iyer.
9.	Rāgas and Rasas with particular reference to South Indian operas ...	Srimati K. Varadalakshmi, B.A.
10.	Resolutions at the Conference	

RESOLUTIONS

This Conference suggests to the Government of India, that a Commission of Music scholars be appointed to visit Greater India and submit a report on the influences suggested by the Music of India on the developments of the Music of Greater India.

2. This Conference suggests to the Government of Madras to take early steps for the starting of music courses in the Presidency College, Madras, as no other college in the Madras Presidency has sought affiliation in the subject so far.

3. This Conference suggests that early arrangements be made for the starting of the Saṅgita S'ironmaṇi Course in the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Research Institute, Tirupati.

(Sd.) T. V. SUBBA RAO,
President.

12. PHILOLOGY

22-3-1940

10.30. a.m. to 11 a.m. :

Presidential Address. By Dr. V. S. Sukthankar.

Papers read :

(1) Dr. Manilal Patel : Hoplologies in O.I.A. Obsérvation by
(i) Goda Varma.
(ii) Chidambaranatha Chettiyar.

(iii) Chairman.

(2) K. Ramkrishnayya: Dravidian Infinitive Remarks by Goda Varma, K.

(3) S. P. Chaturvedi, Scholastic disquisition in the Pāṇinian System of Grammar.

(4) Goda Varma; Dravidian Pronouns of the First and Second Persons.

(5) Narahari: Kumārila's Contribution to Philology and Mythology.

(6) Chidambaranatha Chettiyar: Tamil Syntax.

(Sd.) V. S. SUKTHANKAR,
President.

13—(*a*) TELUGU

Minutes of the Meetings held—High School Building

22nd March, 1940, 9 a.m.

Presidential address delivered.

Papers Read: (1) "The influence of Sanskrit Grammar on Grammar" by Mr. G. J. Somayaji, M.A.

(2) "Andra Bhasha Samskaramu" by Mr. T. Venkataratnam, M.A.

The meeting was adjourned at 10-30 a.m.

23rd March, 1940.

Sectional meeting was held at 9 a.m.

Papers read: (3) "Bhāskara Rāmayaṇa Samasyā" by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, M.A., Ph. D.

(4) "Naṛasabhūpālīya" by Bulusu Venkataramana Sastri. There was some discussion about some points in the paper in which Mr. Y. Venkataramana, M.A. and Mr. N. Venkata Rao, B.A. have taken part.

(5) "Historical importance of Narasabhūpaliya" by Mr. Y. Venkataramana, M.A.

(6) "Contemporary poets of Bhoja by Mr. E. V. Raghavachari, M.A. With the closing remarks of the President the meeting came to a close.

Of the papers presented the following two papers may be accepted for printing in the Proceedings of the Conference.

(1) The Influence of the Sanskrit Grammar on Telegu Grammar by Mr. G. J. Somayaji.

(2) The date of Bhāskararāmāyana, by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya.

(Sd.) K. RAMAKRISHNAIYA,
President,
23-3-40.

(b) TAMIL

22-3-40

9 a.m. to 11-30 a.m.

1. PRAYER : By Mr. C. K. Subramania Mudaliyar, (Coimbatore).

2. Welcome by Mr. M. S. Koteeswaran, B.A., L.T., Vellore, and proposal of the President.

3. Reading of the Presidential address by Dewan Bahadur M. R. Ry. P. Subbiah Mudaliar. Avl., B.A., B.L. (President) which lasted half-an-hour. It dealt with such matters as the antiquity and the special features of the vast field of Tamil literature and the Tamil language. Love towards fellow-beings and to all animals. Love towards God and Service, etc., etc.

4. Altogether 17 papers were received and taken as read as the summaries of many of them had already been supplied to the members. Short discussion and mention of peculiar features of the papers read by members present was then invited by the President and the following gentlemen spoke about 10 minutes each about their respective papers, *viz.*

(i)	Messrs.	A. Chidambaranadha Chettiyar, M.A.	(in Tamil).
(ii)	"	P. S. Naidu	(in English).
(iii)	"	E. S. Varadaraja Aiyar	(in Tamil).
(iv)	"	A. M. Satagoparamanujachariyar	(in Tamil).
(v)	"	C. K. Subramania Mudaliyar	(in Tamil).
(vi)	"	Rao Bahadur C. M Ramachandra Chettiyar	(in Tamil).

5. M. T. C. Srinivasa Aiyangar thanked the President in a short speech of about 10 minutes. A programme for the sitting of the Tamil Sangam was also disussed and drafted.

(Sd.) C. K. SUBRAMANIA MUDALIYAR,

(c) KANNADA

PRESIDENT : RAJASEVASAKTHA PROF. B. M. SRIKANTIAH

The following papers were read :

1. Sesha Aiyengar, H. ... State of Kannada Language from early times to the 13th Century.
2. Panchmukhi, R. S. ... Kannada Manuscripts.
3. Yamunacharya, M. ... Vaiṣṇava Mysticism in Kannada literature.
4. Ramachandra Rao, S. ... The delineation of Bhima in Kannada literature.

5. Kasturi, N. ... Relations between Karnataka and Kerala
6. Sivarama Sastri, N. ... The Poetry of Bendare.
7. Nandimath, Dr. ... Some problems regarding Basava.
8. Krishnaswami, M. A. ... Tendencies in Kannada literature.

(Sd.) B. M. SRIKANTIAH,
President.

(*d*) MARATHI

N. C. Kelkar's Presidential address was read by Prof. P. V. Kane.

Dr. R. G. Harshe acted as Secretary.

Marathi Summary of the papers of those who were not present was read out by the President :

1. Dr. H. R. Divekar spoke about his paper showing Rāmadās' indebtedness to Devīdāsa, the author of the well-known Venkaṭes'vara Stotra. His priority to Viṣṇudāsa—whom he identified with Viṣṇudāsa-Nāma.

2. Mr. Shende explained the nature of his paper on 'The Territorial extent of Maharashtra as found in the Aihole inscription in the 7th Century A.D.

2nd paper by Mr. Shende—Antiquity of Maharashtra—In the 5th century B.C. Maharashtri was a universally accepted language. The three Stages—Maharashtri, Apabhrams'a Marathi names. Mr. Shende will later on send a typed copy of the paper.

3. *Prof. Karandikar, Belgaum.* Elements of Marathi Vocabulary. Four classes of words—Vaidik, Hindi, Cali,—words found in Dictionaries.

Kannadi, Dravidian languages—Borrowings from the modern languages.

(Sd.) P. V. KANE,
Chairman
22-3-1940.

(*e*) MALAYALAM

22-3-40

A meeting of the Malayalam Section was held at 4 p.m. on the 22nd instant under the presidency of Dr. C. Achyuta Menon of the University of Madras. After the Presidential address a paper on 'Aromalcavakar' and his times' was read by Mr. M. D. Raghavan, Assistant Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras. This was followed by a discussion and the session

was adjourned for the next day after a lecture on 'Lilātilakam' by Mr. P. Anantan Pillai of the Travancore University.

23-3-40

The Malayalam Section met again at 9 a.m. on the 23rd instant with Dr. C. Achyuta Menon in the Chair. The following papers were read and discussed :

1. 'Lilātilakam' and its texts by Mr. P. Krishnan Nair of the Madras University.

2. 'Kerala Culture between S'ilappadhikāram and Rāmacaritam' by Sri Joseph Mundasseri.

Reference were made to the following papers contributed to be read at the Conference :

1. 'Kalamezuttum Pattum' by Mr. R. V. Poduval, Director of Archæology, Trivandrum.

2. 'Forms and Movements, Themes and Types in the Folk Dance of Kerala,' by Mr. M. D. Raghavan.

3. 'Vañji problem' by Mr. T. K. Krishna Menon.

4. 'The Fusion of Aryan and Dravidian Elements in the Language and Literature of Kerala' by Prof. P. Sankaran Nambiyar.

5. 'The Date of Bhāgavatham' by Mr. P. V. Krishnan Nair which were taken as read.

The session terminated after the concluding remarks of the Chairman who made a general survey of the papers contributed.

(Sd.) C. A. MENON,
President.

(f) HINDI

The Hindi Section of the All-India Oriental Conference met at 9. a.m. on 22-3-40 under the presidentship of Dr. P. D. Barthwal, M. A., D.Lit., Lecturer in Hindi of the Lucknow University. The meeting was attended by many north Indian scholars as well as the local lovers of the language. The President read out in Hindi his learned thesis about the popularity and the richness of the Hindi literature. He dwelt at length on the Niranjan current of Hindi Poetry.

Mr. Sivatta Sarma read his thesis on the fifth canto of Svapnavāsavadatta.

A paper on the origin of the Urdu language was also read.

The Secretary for the Hindi Section, Mr. M. Satyanarayana, proposed a vote of thanks and the conference came to a close.

(Sd.) SATYANARAYANA,
Secretary.

14. Indian Languages (Non-Local)

Held on the Morning of the 22nd March 1940

The Proceedings commenced at 9.30 a.m. when Prof. Sunitikumar Chatterji, President of the Section, read his Presidential Address. Among others, the President of the Linguistics (Philology) Section, Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, was present. After the reading of Prof. Chatterji's Address, the reading of other papers was adjourned till 11 o'clock, and the meeting of the Linguistic Society of India (which is held on the occasion of the All-India Oriental Conference under the joint auspices of the Linguistics and Indian Modern Languages Sections) was then held. A statement was made by Prof. S. K. Chatterji about the work of the Society, which, since it was so decided at the last Oriental Conference at Trivandrum, has been removed from Lahore to Calcutta and is functioning from the latter place, and Prof. Chatterji placed for the inspection of persons interested the three numbers of the Society's bulletin *Indian Linguistics* published so far from Calcutta. A statement of accounts was made, and the prospects of the Society were discussed. New office-bearers for the next term of three years were elected.

At 10.30 the Indian Modern Languages Section adjourned to the Linguistics Section to listen to the Address of its President, Dr. Sukthankar. At the close of the Address, the members of the Section reassembled in their own room to read and discuss papers. The following papers which were received were read:

1. A Western Hindi Dialect discovered in Khulna District of Bengal, by Krishnapada Mitra, B.A., Calcuttta. (Paper read by author who was present). This is being printed in *Indian Linguistics.*)

2. Polyglottism in Namdev, the poet-saint of Maharashtra, by Dr. S. M. Katre, Poona, who state briefly his thesis. There were comments on this paper from Mr. S. R. Shende from Sangli and Prof. S. K. Chatterji.

3. Comparative Study of the Story of Padmāvati in the Original Hindi of Malik Muhammad Jaisi and in its Bengali version by Alaol, by Kalidasa Mukherji, M.A., Calcutta.

(An abstract of the paper was given by Prof. S. K. Chatterji as the author could not attend.)

4. Types of the Past Participle in Assamese, by Prof. Dr. Banikanta Kakat, M.A., Ph. D., Cotton College, Gauhati, Assam.

Prof. Chatterji read and then discussed this paper the author not being able to attend.

5. Dravidian Elements in Place-names in Bengal, by Krishnapada Goswami, M.A., Research Assistant, Calcutta University.

This paper was read and discussed by Prof. Chatterji, the author being absent. It is now being printed in the *Journal of Department of Letters*, Calcutta University.

6. Some suggestions for the Improvement of the Study of Oriental Language, by N. R. Kedari Rao, M.A., L.T., Rajahmundry.

This paper could not be read at the Meeting, but subsequently in the afternoon the author met the President of the Section and one or two others interested in the work of this Section, and discussed his points before them.

The reading of the above papers (except the last) terminated the business of the Indian Modern Languages (non-local) Section of the Conference.

(Sd.) SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI,
President.

1st April 1940

II. THE TAMIL SANGAM

22-3-40

1-30 P.M. TO 5-30 P.M.

(Combined sitting of the Tamil and Malayalam Sections)

Mr. T. A. Ramalinga Chettiyar opened the Session by a speech welcoming the Pandits and delegates and started the proceedings by briefly referring to the objects of the Sangam as a new and desirable adjunct to the conference this year, and said that the one important subject for discussion and consideration by the Sangam was the location or identification of *Vañcimanagar*- the ancient Capital of the Ceras-Vañci - and said that this was arranged at the desire of Sir R. K. Shunmugham Chettiyar, Dewan of Cochin State. He added that other subjects may also be taken up if time permits, and proposed Dewan Bahadur M.R.Ry. P. Subbiah Mudaliyar, B.A., B.L., to take the chair, which was carried unanimously.

The President then took up the chair and started to debate a part the said subject by calling upon the several Tamil and Malayalam paṇḍits and Professors to speak.

1. *Mr. C. Achyuta Menon* said the old and established theory that Tiruvañcaikalam and Kodungolur (Cranganore) was Vañci, the ancient Capital of the Ceras, and that it is good that both Tamils and Malayalam and the old and new theorists sat together and discussed the question (in English).

2. *Mr. M. Raghava Aiyangar*, Paṇḍit (in Tamil), supported the theory of Mahāvidvān Sri R. Raghava Aiyangar that Vañci was the present Karur and cited some authorities.

3. *Mr. C. K. Subramania Mudaliyar* (in Tamil), of Coimbatore and

4. *Paṇḍit Mr. N. M. Venkataswami Nattar*, Tamil Lecturer of Annamalai University spoke next: Both these supported the old theory and observed among other things Kongu could not be termed or called Cera country proper and there were 3 divisions of Kongu and that Karur was never known as Cera Capital. The theory that Karur was Vañci is not supported by old Tamil Literature.

5. *Mr. V. R. R. Dikshitar* supported the theory that Karur was the old Vañci.

6. *Dr. Goda Varma* (in Malayalam).

7. *Mr. Vidvan A. M. Satagoparamanuja Acharyar* (in Tamil).

8. *Mr. C. Pannirukai Perumal Muḍaliyar* (in Tamil).

9. *Mr. Joseph Mundaseri* (in Malayalam).

10. *Mr. Rao Bahadur C. M. Ramachandra Chettiyar* (in Tamil), all these (6 to 10) supported the old theory that Tiruvañcaikalam—Cranganore was the ancient Vañci for various reasons they each mentioned.

11. *Mr. Mahāvidvān R. Raghava Aiyangar* (in Tamil), next spoke at some length supporting his theory that Karur was the ancient Vañci and referred to the various reasons mentioned in his essay on the subject.

12. *Mr. Anujan Achan* (in Malayalam).

13. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar then spoke at some length confirming the old theory that Cranganore (Westcoast was the old Vañci.)

OBSERVER

Mr. T. C. Srinivasa Aiyangar summarized all the speeches abovementioned and classified the arguments on both sides and said the question is one that should be settled by the both literary and historic authorities put together.

The President in concluding the debate observed that sufficient materials are yet to be gathered on the subject.

Mr. V. V. Srinivasa Aiyangar observed that, that it was doubtful if the Ceras while shifting their Capital for various reasons might have carried and put the name of their own old Capital to their new towns. He thanked the President, the several Pandits, Professors and all those present.

(The All-India Radio, Trichy, recorded the entire debate in radio.)

Coimbatore (Sd.) C. K. SUBRAMANIAM,

Convener

3-4-1940 Tamil Section and Sangam

H

अखिलभारतवर्षीय प्राच्यविद्याविपश्चितां संमेलने दशमाधिवेशनस्याङ्गभूता पण्डितपरिषत् ।

तिरुपति

अखिल भारतवर्षीय प्राच्यविद्या विपश्चित्संमेलनस्य दशमाधिवेशनावयवभूता विदुषां परिषत् तिरुपति श्रीवेङ्कटेश्वर महाविद्यालयीये विशाले भवने १९९६ तमे वैक्रमेऽब्दे फाल्गुन शुक्ल पूर्णिमायां (23-3-1940) शनिवासरे महता सह समारोहेण समपद्यत । तत्र आवाराणस्याः आचकुमारिकाभ्यः आगताः शताधिकाः पण्डितप्रकाण्डाः परिषदमलञ्चक्रुः । प्रात रष्टवादनसमये त्रयीनिर्घोषपुरस्सरं सभा प्रावर्तिष्ट । विश्वविश्रुतकीर्तयः सर्वतन्त्रनिष्णाताः महामहोपाध्यायदिविविधबिरुदावलीविभूषिताः. पं. श्रीप्रमथनाथतर्कभूषण महोदयाः काशीहिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयीयसंस्कृतविभागे डैरक्टर्पद मलंकुर्वाणाः सभापतेरासनमध्यतिष्ठन् । अधिष्ठाय च सुरभारत्याः सर्वोत्तमत्वमैश्वरशक्तिमत्वं तदवलम्बिनां सर्वेषामपि शास्त्राणां परस्परमैककण्ठ्यं परमेश्वर एव तात्पर्यं चाधिकृत्यात्मवाग्वैभवं अनतिदीर्घया हृदयङ्गमया च सरण्या श्रोतृजनमनस्समावर्जयन्तः प्राचीकशन् ।

ततः "गीर्वाणभाषा पुनः लौकिकव्यवहारोपयोगिनी भवितुमर्हति न वा" इति विषयमधिकृत्य पण्डितप्रवरा बहवः भूरिश अभाषन्त सार्धैकादशवादनं यावत् । अथ माध्याह्निक कृत्यकरणाय विसृष्टायां पुनस्त्रिवादनसमये संमिलितायां सभायां तमेव च विषयमवलम्ब्य बहवो विद्वद्वराः वाङ्मुखान्यारचयन् अन्ते "यथा संस्कृतभाषा लौकिकेषु सर्वव्यवहारेषु उपयोगं प्राप्नुयात्तथा संस्कृतानुयायिभिस्सर्वैरपि सर्वप्रकारेणापि प्रयतितव्यम्" इति प्रस्तावः उपस्थापितः सर्वसंमत्या स्वीकृतश्च[1] ।

अनन्तरं महामहोपाध्याय पं. प्रमथनाथतर्कभूषण महोदयानां आगामिनि पञ्चसप्ततितमवयःपूर्तिसमये तैः अद्य यावत् गैर्वाणवाण्याः कृते कृतं महान्तमवर्णनीयमुपकारं अनुस्मरद्भिः सर्वैरपि गैर्वाणवाणी प्रणयिभिर्देशव्यापिमहोत्सवस्संपादनीय

[1] A sub-committee was appointed on the question of Basic Sanskrit. The report has not been received for printing.—Ed.

इत्यपि प्रस्तावः परिषदा स्वीकृतः । ततः सभापति महोदयानां परिषदर्थ मागतानां पण्डितप्रवराणां च सहार्दधन्यवादप्रदानपुरस्सरं व्यसृज्यत परिषत् ।

तिरुपति श्रीवेङ्कटेश्वर महाविद्यालयः, चैत्र शुक्ल द्वितीया वै.सं. १९९७, (9-4-40)

अ. चिन्नस्वामिशास्त्री,

तिरुपति श्रीवेङ्कटेश्वर संस्कृतमहाविद्यालयाध्यक्षः, अखिलभारतवर्षीय प्राच्यविद्या संमेलनदशमाधिवेशनान्तर्गत पण्डितपरिषत् कार्यनिर्वाहकश्च ।

SUCCESSION LIST OF PATRONS AND PRESIDENTS

SERIAL NUMBER	PLACE	YEAR	PATRON	GENERAL PRESIDENT
I.	Poona	1919	H. E. Sir George Lloyd, Governor of Bombay	Sir Ramakrishna G. Bhandarkar; Poona (Deputy President Dr. A. C. Woolner).
II.	Calcutta	1922	H. E. Lord Ronaldshay, Governor, Bengal	Prof. Sylvain Levi, Paris.
III.	Madras	1924	H. E. Viscount Coschen, Governor, Madras	Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha, Allahabad.
IV.	Allahabad	1926	H. E. Sir William Maris, Governor, U.P.	Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. J. J. Modi, Bombay.
V.	Lahore	1928	H. E. Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency, Governor of Punjab	Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Haraprasad Sastri, Calcutta.
VI.	Patna	1930	H. E. Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson, Governor, Behar and Orissa	Rai Bahadur Hiralal Kanti.
VII.	Baroda	1933	H. H. The Maharaja Sayajirao III, The Gaekwar of Baroda	K. P. Jayaswal, Bar-at-law, Patna.
VIII.	Mysore	1935	H. H. The Maharaja Sir Krishnarajendra, Mysore	Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., PH.D., Madras.
IX.	Trivandrum	1937	H. H. The Maharaja of Travancore.	Prof. F. W. Thomas, Oxford.
X.	Tirupati	1940	The Tirumalai Tirupati Devasthanam	Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, (Deputy: Dr. R. C. Majumdar).

I. STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE DEPUTY-PRESIDENT'S ADVANCE

(FROM 1-1-1939 TO 31-7-1940)

RECEIPTS

		Rs.	A.	P.
1.	Balance on hand (as per statement III, Trivandrum Report) on 1-11-39 ...	51	11	6
2.	Cash Balance on hand on 6-12-1939 from the Sales account as per statement (p. vii) at the end of Trivandrum Report ...	108	10	8
	Total ...	160	6	2

EXPENDITURE

		Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
1.	Second class Railway fare (Single) from Poona to Tirupati and back ...	96	14	0			
2.	Typing and clerical charges ...	18	8	0			
3.	Postage and telegrams ...	9	5	9			
4.	Office sundries ...	2	7	0			
					127	2	9
	Balance returned to the Savings Bank account on 15th January 1941 ...				33	3	5
					160	6	2

(Sd.) S. K. BELVALKAR,
Deputy-President.

II. STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY'S IMPREST

FROM 1-11-1939 TO 31-7-1940

(DR. M. H. KRISHNA)

RECEIPTS

		Rs.	A.	P.
1.	Opening balance as per statement IV published in the Trivandrum Report ...	390	10	5
	Total ...	390	10	5

EXPENDITURE

		Rs.	A.	P.
1.	Banker's commission ...	2	0	0
2.	Remuneration, etc., for clerical, typing and other assistance from 1-11-39 to 31-7-40 ...	110	0	0
3.	Postage and telegrams ...	50	0	0
4.	Printing charges ...	30	12	0
5.	Second class railway fare to the General Secretary (Dr. S. K. De) both ways between Dacca and Tirupati *via* Calcutta—including commission ...	120	15	6
6.	Balance with the bankers ...	76	14	11
	Total ...	390	10	5

(Sd.) M. H. KRISHNA,
General Secretary.

III. STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS OF IMPREST CASH WITH GENERAL SECRETARY

DR. S. K. DE

RECEIPTS

	Rs.	A.	P.
By Cheque dated 30 Aug. 1938 from Hon. Treasurer, Dr. A. B. Dhruva ...	50	0	0
By Cheque, dated Dec. 16, 1938 from Hon. Treasurer, Dr. Dhruva ...	50	0	0
Total ...	100	0	0

EXPENDITURE

	Rs.	A.	P.
20-9-38. Two Bills for typing letters as per two vouchers ...	2	10	0
20-9-38. Postage stamps ...	2	0	0
15-11-38. Postage stamps ...	2	0	0
2-12-38. Bill for typing circular letters as per voucher ...	13	6	0
10-12-38. Postage stamps for sending circular letters to Societies individuals etc. *re* Academy ...	20	8	0
10-1-39. Bill for printing circular letters, questionaire, envelopes by General Printers Publishers Ltd., Calcutta as per voucher ...	27	0	0
30-1-39. Bill for typing charges as per voucher ...	3	3	0
5-9-39. Postage stamps ...	3	0	0
11-9-39. Typing charges, as per voucher, for the preliminary Report *re* Academy ..	10	13	0
1-12-40. Postage stamps ...	3	0	0
Railway freight for receiving parcels of files and papers of the Conference from Dr. H. Krishna ...	12	8	0
Total ...	100	0	0

(Sd.) S. K. DE,

IV. STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON ACCOUNT OF THE NINTH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

RECEIPTS

		Rs.	ch.	c.
Government grant	...	12,000	0	0
Subscriptions	...	4,244	13	0
Total	...	16,244	13	0
Expenditure	...	15,723	8	10
Balance	...	521	4	6

This agree with the Treasury Balance.

DETAILS OF EXPENDITURE

			Rs.	ch.	c.
1.	Conveyance to delegates	...	3,433	10	15
9.	Catering and Accommodation	...	2,730	13	2
3.	Exhibition	...	628	18	1
4.	Entertainments	...	826	17	3
5.	Travelling Allowance to President	...	2,032	5	2
6.	Miscellaneous: Pandal, lighting, clerical allowance, postage, etc.	...	4,163	3	5
7.	Stationery and Printing	...	1,908	24	14
	Total	...	15,723	8	10

Trivandrum,
29th Makaram 1115

(Sd.) D. GAINNEOS,
Treasurer.

(True Copy)

R. V. PODUVAL,
Local-Secretary.

N.B.— The expenditure is exclusive of the cost of printing of the Report and other miscellaneous expenses.

V. STATEMENT OF ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE VOLUMES IN STOCK AT THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, POONA 4

Names	Copies in stock on 31-12-1935	Copies sold up to 31-12-1939	Copies in stock on 31-12-1939	Remarks
Calcutta				
Vol. II	332	17	315	
Madras				
Vol. III	275	5	270	
Allahabad				
Vol. IV, pt. I	70	11	59	
,, pt. II	47	10	37	
Lahore				
Vol. V. pt. I	294	14	280	
,, pt. II	292	14	278	
Patna				
Vol. VI	595	18	577	
Baroda				
Vol. VII	300	26	274	
Mysore				
Vol. VIII	222	19	203	

R. N. DANDEKAR,
Secretary.

VI. THE HON. TREASURER'S STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE GENERAL FUND AND PERMANENT FUND OF THE ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE AS ON 14-12-1941

A

INCOME

	Rs.	A.	P.
Balance with the Imperial Bank of India at Ahmedabad transferred to their Office at Mount Road, Madras ...	3551	5	5
Post Office Cash Certificates (Matured for Payment) received from the Imperial Bank of India, Ahmedabad now in the custody of the Hon. Treasurer ...	5670	0	0
Amounts received towards Permanent Fund etc.:			
Sri G. D. Birla ...	250	0	0
The Sarabai Family ...	200	0	0
Shri Seth Lalabai Delpat Bhai ...	200	0	0
Shri Seth G. Raghunathmull ...	300	0	0
	10,171	5	5

EXPENDITURE

	Rs.	A.	P.
Advance paid to Dr. S. K. De, Dacca ...	500	0	0
Charges per sending a D/D to Dr. S. V. De for Rs. 500 ...	0	10	0
Commission for the withdrawal of Post Office Cash Certificates from the Imperial Bank of India, Ahmedabad ...	15	4	0
Printing charges ...	2	0	0
Postages ...	3	11	6
Bank's Commission for encashing cheque received on a/c of the Permanent Fund a/c ...	1	10	0
Balance accounted in Statement 'B' ...	9648	1	11
	10,171	5	5

B

BALANCE SHEET AS ON 14-12-41

INCOME

	Rs.	A.	P.
Balance to be Accounted as per Statement 'A' ...	9648	1	11
	9648	1	11

EXPENDITURE						
				Rs.	A.	P.
Post Office Cash Certificates –F. V. Rs. 5,670=(in the custody of the Hon. Treasurer ...				5670	0	0
Balance with the Imperial Bank of India, Mount Road						
General Fund ...	3029	11	11			
Permanent Fund ...	948	6	0			
				3978	1	11
				9648	1	11

P. D. RAMASWAMI,
(*Accountant*)

K. V. RANGASWAMI,
Hon. Treasurer.

VII. STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS BY THE LOCAL SECRETARY OF THE TENTH SESSION, TIRUPATI

SUMMARY OF ACCOUNTS AS ON THE 15TH DECEMBER, 1941

INCOME

		Rs.	A.	P.
1.	Reception Committee Membership Fees ...	744	12	0
* 2.	Subscriptions (Membership, Delegation Fees) ...	2827	10	6
3.	Donations ...	5841	6	0
4.	Miscellaneous Receipts ...	256	8	6
5.	Andhra Parishad ...	259	15	0
	Total ...	9,930	4	0

* Including fees collected at Hyderabad and transferred by Dr. M. Nizamuddin, on change of venue, to Tirupati.

EXPENDITURE

		Rs.	A.	P.
1.	Stationery and Printing ...	2769	3	1
2.	Boarding and Catering ...	2055	11	1
3.	Conveyances and Travelling Expenses ...	1822	2	6
4.	Postage and Telegrams ...	278	3	3
5.	Entertainments ...	101	4	0
6.	Pandals, Decoration and Lighting ...	135	5	6
7.	Sanitation and Cleaning ...	160	15	3
8.	Establishment ...	215	4	5
9.	Miscellaneous ...	796	7	2
	Total ...	8,334	8	3

	Rs.	A.	P.
Current Account in the Madras Provincial Co-operative Bank, Mylapore Branch ...	1567	1	2
Cash in hand, for postage etc. ...	28	10	3
Total ...	9,930	4	0

Notes

This does not include some free printing done by the T. T. Devasthanam Press (*Handbook to Tirupati*, *Summaries*, etc). The final bills of the Vasanta Press, and the Diocesan Press have not been received, and some payments have still to be made to them accordingly, after the work is finished. There is a contingent liability of Rs. 234-14-8 payable to the T. T. Devasthanam for making temporary electric connections in the choultries and schools at Tirupati and for electric current etc., which remains unpaid pending the production of proper vouchers for the amount in question.

The T. T. Devasthanam Committee has claimed a refund of Rs. 1,277-7-1, expended through the Commissioner's Office, (one thousand rupees being an advance to the Peishkar of the Devasthanam, Mr. C. Anna Rao, which he has accounted for), and it has caused a lawyer's notice to be served on me as " ex-Director, Local Secretary and Secretary of the Reception Committee " for which a suitable reply has been sent by an Advocate. The above sum of Rs. 1,277-7-11 is included in the statement of expenditure furnished above.

The summary of Accounts does not include a sum of about Rs. 350 expended by Sri Bavaji Narayandoss Varu, a public spirited citizen, in giving a Garden Party to the Conference.

P. D. RAMASWAMI,
Accountant

K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR,
Local Secretary.

1. VEDIC SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By Mahāmahopādhya Pramathanatha Tarkabhushan

GIFTS OF THE VEDIC LITERATURE TO HUMANITY

The main distinctive feature of the Vedic Sanskrit language is its undated antiquity. That it is the oldest of all the languages known to the civilized world as still in some form living has been proved beyond a shadow of doubt. Its exact date has not yet been fixed and there is little hope of its being definitely fixed in the future.

There is no unanimity of opinion, among the antiquarians of the West, about the period of the composition of the *Ṛgveda Samhitā*, the oldest book in the Sanskrit language. It is variously regarded as composed between 1500 B.C. and 4000 B.C. Among Indian scholars who pursue western methods of investigation the late Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak placed it at about 4500 B.C.; on the other hand, Dr. Abinash Chandra Das, goes so far back as 25,000 B.C.

All the orthodox philosophers of India, however, have held that it is a revelation (*apauruṣeya*) and was not composed by any human being. It cannot be said that like the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, or any other book it was composed by some one and then brought to the knowledge of the people, for there was no time when the study and teaching of the *Veda* was absent in India.

In the midst of this controversy the fact that the *Ṛgveda* is the oldest book in the library of mankind has emerged and is recognized by all.

Though this ageless antiquity by itself suffices to give it a stamp of uniqueness yet its greatness does not rest on this factor alone.

Any attempt, therefore, at basing the greatness of the Vedic Sanskrit language on its antiquity *along* would be of little use. Like its antiquity, its immense variety of literary beauties, poetic and rhetorical, its ingenious devices of metre and rhythm to suit sentiment and occasion, its sweetness, vigour and perspicuity, the condensation of its thought, and other points of greatness have astonished many scholars. Yet these good qualities by themselves, singly, or collectively, have not made it immortal. What is it then that has raised it to the level of immortality?

It has been the medium through which the gospel of the life beyond, the super-sensual existence has been most convincingly revealed. The highest thought of which it is the vehicle has made it immortal. The spirit or the soul being immortal has endowed the body or the language with everlasting life.

Man likes happiness; he shuns misery. This primary liking for happiness and dislike of misery are the motive forces which determine his actions and inhibitions. These two are at the root of all human activities; they are the primal impulses to human activity and civilization; all his actions spring from what are known in our philosophical language as "desire" (राग) and "aversion" (द्वेष).

The history of human civilization is really the multi-form outcome of man's continual struggle under these two impulses. History, philosophy, literature, aesthetics, science, metaphysics and theology are but a few of the white crests of the waves that surge in this ever-agitated sea of human civilization.

The literature, history, mythology of civilized people in all parts of the world are but varied pictures of their activities prompted by their desires and aversions. In this respect there is a fundamental similarity among them all.

On what, then, does the uniqueness, imperishable excellence of the Vedic Sanskrit language depend?

The answer briefly is that it is the only language which gives expression to that unsatisfied yearning which transcends all "desires" and "aversions," and the realization of which is the *summum bonum* of human existence.

The Vedic literature, the most ancient form of all the classical languages, was also the first to announce to mankind the news of this longing:

न तं विदाथ य इमा जजानान्यद्युष्माकमन्तरं बभूव ।
नीहारेण प्रावृता जल्प्या चासुतृप उक्थशासश्चरन्ति ॥

"Oh human beings! None of you know that Reality from which all beings have emanated. Between that and you all intervenes something else. All persons are enveloped in ignorance and give themselves upto empty talk; they hanker after material gains, and crawl upon the surface of this earth, clinging only to sacrificial rites. (X, lxxxii, 7).

यो नः पिता जनिता यो विधाता धामानि वेद भुवनानि विश्वा ।
यो देवानां नामधा एक एव तं संप्रश्नं भुवना यन्त्यन्या ॥

"All beings question about the Absolute One who is our Protector and Progenitor, who knows all the celestial regions along with all creations and Who after creating gave names to all Deities:" (X, lxxxii, 3).

These two mantras clearly proclaim that the Creator of this Universe is not visible to the ordinary eye. He though essentially One appears to different worshippers in different forms under different names. In spite of the presence of an ardent longing to know Him, man cannot see Him as he is blinded by the haze of egoism.

Again,

एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति अग्निं यमं मातरिश्वानमाहुः ।

"The One and the same Absolute Reality has been interpreted in many ways by the learned; some call Him Agni (Fire), others Yama, while yet others designated him as Mātariśvan (Wind)." *Ṛgveda* (I, cxxiv, 46).

This ardent longing to know Him who appears in diverse forms under diverse names, but is essentially the unchangeable, invisible one, this search after the Truth (तत्वजिज्ञासा), is the very life of the Vedic literature. Though it originates in the *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā*, it has subsequently developed in many forms in the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Āraṇyakas* and the *Upaniṣads*.

The quest of the ultimate Truth (तत्वजिज्ञासा) is the keynote which sounds through the whole range of the Vedic Sanskrit literature. If it swells into the fifth note of the scale, so to say, in the life of the student, the Forest Dweller and the Recluse as depicted in the *Brāhmaṇas*, *Āraṇyakas* and the *Upaniṣads*, it attains the seventh in that of the Householder. A very apt illustration may be cited from the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka.*

Maharṣi Yājñavalkya, the preceptor of Rājarṣi Janaka, about to renounce the world and to be a recluse, addresses his wife thus: "Maitreyī, I am going to adopt the ascetic life; but before I leave I would divide my property so that misunderstanding may not arise between you and your co-wife Kātyāyanī. Tell me, Maitreyī, which of my worldly effects you desire."

And Maitreyī replies: "My Lord, even though you give me the whole earth with all its treasures, shall I be able to escape Death thereby?"

And the sage says: "Certainly not, Maitreyī; you may thereby only become the mistress of the world, but cannot evade Death."

Maitreyī says: "Then I do not want money or jewels. Favour me with that, if you have it, which will save me from Death."

The spiritual yearning of Maitreyī which seeks to conquer Death points to the ideal mentality of the women of the Vedic age and is one of the main ingredients of the most ancient thought of our land. It is well nigh impossible to describe the innumerable ways and forms in which this spiritual bent of the race finds expression in the Vedic Literature.

And likewise Gārgi and Vacaknavi approach Yājñavalkya in the Court of Rājarṣi Janaka under the urge of this obstinate longing to know the Truth. And the same impulse leads Devarṣi Nārada to the presence of Sanatkumāra. And the royal sage gives a last of the Arts and Sciences that flourished in India in that hoary past, and most humbly confesses that though he has mastered them all, he yet lacks the one thing needful the knowledge of self:

ऋग्वेदं भगवोऽध्येमि यजुर्वेदं सामवेदमाथर्वणं चतुर्थमितिहासपुराणं पञ्चमं वेदानां वेदं पित्र्यं राशिं दैवं निधिं वाकोवाक्यमेकायनं देवविद्यां ब्रह्मविद्यां भूतविद्यां क्षत्तविद्यां नक्षत्रविद्यां संसर्पदेवजनविद्यामेतद्भगवोऽध्येमि ।

सोऽहं भगवो मन्त्रविदेवास्मि नात्मवित् श्रुतंह्येवमेभगवद्दृशेभ्यस्तरति-शोकमात्मविदिति सोऽहंभगवः शोचामि तं मां भगवान् शोकस्यपारं तारयित्विति । तंहोवाच यद्वै किंचैतदध्यगीष्ठा नामैवैतत् ।

"O Sire, I have studied Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda and also the fourth Atharva-veda. I have also read Itīhāsa (History) and Purāṇa (Antique Lore) which are known as the fifth Veda. I have studied The Veda of Vedas (*i.e.*, Grammar); I have studied treatises on obsequies; I know the Science of prognastications of territorial, supernatural and celestial disturbances. I have studied Minerology, Logic, Statecraft, Philology and Lexicography. I have also studied Physics, Archery, Astronomy, Astrology and Snakelore, and Dancing, Music, and other fine Arts. With all these, I yet regard myself as a knower of "Mantras" only and not one who knows the Self (आत्मवित्); I have heard from sages like you that is he only, who has realized the Self, who can escape from misery. But I am still sunk in the sea of misery; be kind to me, lead me to Self-knowledge and thus help to me cross this sea."

Sanatkumāra replies:

"O Narada, what you have learnt so far is useless, being names only."

This shows that though Nārada had acquired all branches of knowledge which minister to the sense and their need and all that could remove miseries of Physical (आधिभौतिक) or divine (आधिदैविक) origin, yet they could not fill the spiritual void in any way. He supplicated to Sanatkumāra who had that knowledge which only can remove spiritual suffering through self-realization.

This search after the Truth (तत्वजिज्ञासा) without which man's soul cannot attain peace, was first brought home to the soul of Humanity by the Vedic Literature. This very truth has been transmitted from the remote past as by an unbroken tradition in all later Sanskrit Literature through all the phases of its development, Vedic, and Classical.

The search after Truth (तत्वजिज्ञासा) initiated in the Vedic literature is the fundamental basis of Indian Philosophy with all its schools and varieties of thought. It has given rise to Dualism and

Monism, Qualified Monism and Pure Monism, the doctrine of Impermanency of Nature (क्षणभंगुरवाद) the theory of Idealism (विज्ञानवाद) the doctrine of the non-existence of anything, Dualo-monism (भेदाभेदवाद) the doctrine of Agnosticism and many other theories and doctrines.

The different systems of philosophy in the world fall under one or other of the innumerable systems that originated and developed in India and found expression in the Sanskrit language.

Another important contribution of this literature is that it first laid the foundations of the socio-religious policy known as the *Varṇāśrama-dharma*, that is, the division of Society into four castes and life into four stages; and it has held up before mankind the true ideal of this *dharma* as practicably applied to actual social conditions. This *Varṇāśrama-dharma*, a unique and invaluable gift of the Vedic literature by its survival to the present moment has proved clearly how, under it, society can be so organized that all the members can live in concord, amity, love and friendliness, with individual freedom and independence within such limits as conduce to a happy life here, and at the same time ensure immortality of the soul, hereafter and save man from utter materialism.

Another achievement of the Vedic culture is the poetic theory that sentiment (रस) constitutes the soul of poetry and drama. With a pervasive sentiment no composition rises to the honour of poetry. The theoretic basis with the classification, characteristics and effects on the human soul of the different sentiments are worked out in detail in works on Rhetoric. Up to this point criticism in other literatures of a later origin resemble it; but in none of them do we find anything equivalent to the fundamental truth (रसो वै सः—He is Emotion); in fact with irrefutable reasoning Indian philosophy traces the origin of this soul of poetry to one aspect of the Supreme Being, namely Bliss (आनन्द) and thus establishes that the individual human soul has a connection with the Universal Soul. This, therefore, is again a unique gift of the Vedic literature to mankind.

Through every stratum of this literature, through all the forms and phases of its development rings a sweet tune which entering through the ear touches the human heart and sets up vibrations that accord with the music of that ideal world in which individual

pleasures and pains meet into the pleasures and pains of all sentient beings.

He becomes steady-minded and dispassionate; the shackles of worldly life can no longer bind him to gross materialism. This ideal of the serene life, selfless and joyful, is set forth in the most moving accents in the *Gīta*—the Song of Songs, which is the quintessence of the teachings of the *Vedas* and *Upaniṣads* and, though in language a little removed, is in spirit the very heart and core of Vedic culture.

The *Bhagavadgītā* thus defines the wise man, the sage

दुःखेष्वनुद्विग्नमनाः सुखेषु विगतस्पृहः ।
वीतरागभयक्रोधः स्थितधीः मुनिरुच्यते ।

" He, who is not upset by sorrows and who does not hanker after happiness, who is free from attachment, fear and anger and has a steady mind, is called a Muni."

Such men may not be regarded as useful or necessary by a world that lusts for riches and pleasure and power; but the ancient wisdom of India, first of all revealed this great truth that the existence of such persons in the security for the good of the humanity, turns this world, which is full of miseries for the time into the kingdom of heaven.

Let me in conclusion say a word about the *Varṇāśrama-dharma* already referred to. Whether this socio-religious order can be acceptable to all the peoples of the world need not be discussed here. This is not the occasion to consider whether the form of this institution, which is so characteristic of Indian culture, as prevalent in India through the ages, is the real and original form. We must not forget that the picture of the *Varṇāśrama-dharma* as given in the Vedic literature, deserves close study. Every responsible leader feels and admits the necessity of uniting countless persons of naturally divergent natures into groups or societies for general improvement and advancement and for peace on earth and good-will among men.

The difficulty lies in formulating the principles on which the social structure should be so based as to make it useful and beneficent. The ideal society is one in which there is a proper balance between the whole and the individual, in which nobody feels himself neglected or oppressed by others, in which the individual is allowed the liberty of action up to a limit beyond which it may interfere with

the interests or welfare of others or of the whole; in which the individual maintains happy, peaceful and cordial relations with others and there is no clash between the individual and the community.

There is no satisfactory solution of this problem in the social or political literature of the world except in the Vedic Sanskrit literature in which the institution of the *Varṇāśrama-dharma* approached the ideal. This institution which bases the sub-divisions of a social group of constituent nature and action a elaborated in the *Bhagavadgītā*, can be adopted by all peoples of the world.

ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशां शूद्राणां च परन्तप ।
कर्माणि प्रविभक्तानि स्वभावप्रभवैर्गुणैः ॥
शमोदमस्तपःशौचं क्षान्तिरार्जवमेव च ।
ज्ञानं विज्ञानमास्तिक्यं ब्राह्मं कर्मस्वभावजम् ॥
शौर्यं तेजो धृतिर्दाक्ष्यं युद्धे चाप्यपलायनम् ।
दानमीश्वरभावश्च क्षात्रं कर्मस्वभावजम् ॥
कृषिगोरक्ष्यवाणिज्यं वैश्यकर्मस्वभावजम् ।
परिचर्यात्मकं कर्म शूद्रस्यापि स्वभावजम् ॥
स्वे स्वे कर्मण्यभिरतः संसिद्धिं लभते नरः ।
स्वकर्मनिरतःसिद्धिं यथा विन्दति तच्छृणु ॥
यतःप्रवृत्तिर्भूतानां येन सर्वमिदं ततम् ।
स्वकर्मणा तमभ्यर्च्य सिद्धिं विन्दति मानवः ॥

"The duties of Brahmans, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, and S'ūdras are divided, O Parantapa, according to the guṇas bred in their respective natures.

"Control of the mind and senses, practice of austerities, purity, patience, rectitude, knowledge, spiritual perception and belief in God are the qualities of a Brahman, born of his nature.

"Bravery, energy, fierceness, skill, not turning back in battle, giving of alms and lordliness, are the qualities of Kṣatriya, born of his nature.

"Agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade are the nature-born duties of a Vaiśya, while menial service is the nature born duty of a S'ūdra.

"Man devoted to his proper duty attains perfection. Listen how he attains perfection by devotion to his own duties.

"By worshipping Him from Whom all beings have emanated and by Whom all this is pervaded, with devotion to one's duty, man attains perfection."

If the human society is based on this model, conflicts originating in unbridled desire, uncontrolled passions of hate and envy and a gnawing sense of unequality may be removed from the face of the earth. The gospel of *Varṇāśramadharma* has been given to the world in the Vedic Literature.

Without proper and equitable distribution of wealth, human society cannot be placed on a firm basis of abiding peace. The world-wide disturbance of peace at the present moment is due to unequal distribution of wealth.

The sages on whose inspired souls the Vedas flashed, once gave the solution of this great social question. It worked for ages to the ends of peace and harmony, love and well-being. We have at present before our eyes new experiments of social adjustment. Before we throw in our lot with the innovators, let us make sure that we do not discord in a hurry what for untold ages has yielded beneficent results.

On us, who are assembled to view and unfold the precious heritage of India coming from the Vedic times rests a two-fold responsibility. It is not merely to discuss and disseminate the manifold glories of our rich past but also to remember that theories and doctrines turn into husks and empty shells and dead wood, to lifeless dogmas and unmeaning survivals of the past, when they cease to animate society and inspire individuals. It is our duty no doubt to unearth the treasures of thought, but no less to see that the great ideals that are embalmed in our ancient literature fail not of imitation and assimilation, do not cease to work on the surging life around.

NEW LIGHT ON THE VEDIC GOD SAVITṚ

By R. N. Dandekar, M.A., Ph. D.,
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona

1. The personality of *Savitṛ* has been differently explained. Oldenberg believes that *Savitṛ* represents an abstract conception, that of 'stimulation,' belongs to the type of gods like *trātā*, *dhātā*, *prajāpati*, *vāstoṣpati* etc. and that the notion of Sun is secondary in his character. Macdonell concludes that *Savitṛ* was originally a general epithet of Indian origin, applied later on, in a restricted manner, to the Sun-god as the typical 'stimulator.' Thomas seems to corroborate this view when he asserts that *Savitṛ* is the divine power of *Sūrya* personified. Hillebrandt and L. von Schröder actually identify *Sūrya* and *Savitṛ*. Roth compares *Savitṛ* with the Greek *Hermes*, who is the usherer of day and night.

2. Two points have to be taken into consideration with regard to these several views:

(i) In the descriptions of *Savitṛ*, special emphasis is put on certain distinctive epithets of that god, *viz.* ***hiraṇyahasta***, *hiraṇyapāṇi*, etc. These indicate that ***Savitṛ*** did not represent merely an abstract conception, and that there is considerable anthropomorphism to be seen here.

(ii) A critical analysis of vedic references to ***Sūrya*** and *Savitṛ* shows that they are two independent gods. ***Savitṛ*** is evidently a morning as well evening god, while ***Sūrya*** is associated only with morning. *Savitṛ*, like ***asura***, controls the cosmic phenomena, including the movements of the Sun, and thus preserves order. This description cannot be made applicable to *Sūrya*.

The vedic hymns thus clearly indicate that *Savitṛ* is neither mere 'abstraction-divinity,' nor can he be identified with the Sun-god.

3. In the descriptions of *Savitṛ*, his hands and fingers are often given great prominence. The *asura Savitṛ* is said to be raising his huge golden hands high up in the sky, and thus maintain cosmic order. This gesticulation of raising arms is an anthropomorphic representation of a great god giving orders. It is indicative also of producing some sort of divine magic, by means of which *asura Savitṛ* holds supreme sovereignity over the world.

Thus there are two currents of thought associated with the raising up and extending of the huge hands of *Savitṛ* :

(i) *Savitṛ*, as *asura*, gives orders by raising his hands; all worldly powers obey these orders and thus the *ṛta* is maintained.

(ii) This cosmic order, which cannot be comprehended in its completeness, is the work of a great magician, who produces magic by raising up his huge arms.

4. The same currents of thought are also associated with the *Varuṇa-ṛta* conception, which fact may be proved on the basis of comparative philology and comparative mythology. *Savitṛ* represents only another aspect of that great Indo Germanic conception. We may even say that *Savitṛ* is *asura* Varuṇa, described from a distinct point of view, as a "giver of orders" and a "producer of magic,"—*asura Vąruṇa*, who, on account of these characteristics, is the 'stimulator' *par excellence* of life and motion in the world.

5. The *Savitṛ* aspect of this conception is not of purely Indian origin, but must have belonged to ancient Indo-Germanic period. Archaeological sources belonging to other Indo-Germanic peoples, where pictorial representation of this conception is made, are available.

SOMATISM OF VEDIC PSYCHOLOGY

By R. N. Dandekar, M.A., Ph. D.,

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona

1. The *manas* which is usually associated with psychological activities is not "unsubstantial." The philological consideration of the word shows that *manas* was originally regarded as a kind of "matter." *Manas* and other derivatives from it, in vedic Sanskrit as well as in other Indo-Germanic languages, seem to have been borrowed from the primitive conception '*mana*.'

2. The above fact is amply corroborated by the descriptions of the activities of *manas*. *Manas* is said to be capable of such modfications as are usually associated with material substance. It is liable to 'movement' in space; it becomes 'hard' and can be 'softened;' it is either '*pāka*' (ripe) or otherwise. Such descriptions may not be explained away as mere imaginative or poetical representations of the activities of *manas*. They represent actual 'material modifications' in the *manas*—substance. They betray the original 'somatic' nature of *manas*.

3. *Manas* was thus regarded as a kind of 'matter' and psychical activities were regarded as the result of mechanical and dynamic modifications of that 'soul-matter.'

4. This tendency is seen to have been developed also in later Indian Psychology, particularly in Buddhism and in Yoga. The consideration of words like *vṛtti*, *pravṛtti*, *dhyāna*, *upekṣā*, etc. makes it clear that psychological phenomena are here considered as 'disturbances' in the psychic substance.

A NOTE ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF ĀS'VALĀYANA-GṚHYA-MANTRA-VYĀKHYĀ

By M. Lakshmi Narasimhiah,
Assistant Professor of Sanskrit, Mysore University

1. Manuscripts of the work noticed in *Catalogues* of Oriental Libraries. Ascribed to Haradatta.
2. Urgency and value a publication of the work recognized.
3. Failure of certain attempts to publish due to the unavailability of the manuscripts.
4. Dr. C. Kunhan Raja's notes.
5. The recent Travancore Publication—Ascribed to Haradatta. Validity of the ascription examined.

ṚTA AND THE LAW OF KAṚMA

By V. A. Gadgil, M.A.,
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Varuṇa is the chief of the Ādityas, Vedic gods of celestial light. Mitra is a constant companion of Varuṇa and appears simply to be his replica, as there is hardly any quality or characteristic that is found in Varuṇa and is not found at the same time in Mitra in an equal measure. One thing specially noteworthy is that there are no myths surrounding the name of Varuṇa and the Ādityas in general.

Varuṇa is comparatively an older Vedic god belonging to the Indo-Iranian period as Ahura-Mazda of the Avesta corresponds to him. The word *Asura* is particularly applied to Varuṇa and this *Asura* is the same as *Ahura* of the Avesta. Some Vedic scholars even trace Varuṇa back to the Indo-European period on the analogy of the Greek god *Ouranos*. The compound expression such as *Mithra-Ahura* in the Avesta is equal to *Mitra-Asura* in Vedic language. Asura, therefore, appears to be none else but Varuṇa. One can thus see that both Mitra and Varuṇa seem to be very old gods as compared with other Vedic gods excepting Agni. It is to be seen now whether Vedic evidence confirms this assumption. It is generally agreed that Ahura-Mazda represents the highest ethical aspect of Monotheism; it may even be suggested that the same may be true of Varuṇa. That Indra who can be considered as a rival of Varuṇa is comparatively a later god or his position as the most important Vedic god is next to that of Varuṇa may he assumed on the strength or Vedic evidence; for the hymns numbering about nine in which Indra and Varuṇa are jointly invoked clearly indicate that Varuṇa's position as the highest God is acknowledged and that Indra is trying to get into the position of his close rival. Inspite of this rivalry, Varuṇa's greatness as the Creator of the Universe is still discernible. All the gods follow the Law and Will of Varuṇa (cf. *RV*. IV. 42, 1 & 2; V. 69, 4; VI. 67, 5; VIII. 41, 7). He is the Ruler of the universe and has created all things (cf. *RV*. V. 71, 2; 85, 2). In *RV*. II. 27, 10, he is said to be the Lord of all including even gods. His omniscience and omnipresence are well described in *RV*. I. 25. Three Heavens and three Earths are in him (cf. *RV*. VII. 87, 5) and he is all-embracing (cf. *RV*. VIII. 41, 3 & 7). These attributes may explain the origin of the word Varuṇa.

It is evidently to be derived from $\sqrt{vṛ}$: to surround. He surrounds the universe by his presence or rather by his *Māyā* which is so peculiarly attributed to him; for he possesses the *Māyā* of Asura (cf. *RV*. V. 63, 3) and he along with Mitra guards the Ordinances by his *Māyā* (cf. *RV*. V. 63, 7). The act of creation itself is called the *Māyā* of Asura, Varuṇa (cf. *RV*. V. 85, 5 & 6). Aditi (Infinity deified) is the mother of Varuṇa and other Ādityas (cf. *RV*. VI. 67, 4). The word *Aditi* which derivatively means freedom from any binding or limitation may naturally stand for Infinity and as such may be a significant

name for the goddess who is rightly called the mother of all embracing Varuṇa. All the gods gave Mitrā-Varuṇa their high dominion with gladness (cf. *RV*. VI. 67, 5). One suggestion that clearly emerges out of this discussion is that all these attributes are never ascribed to Indra and that Varuṇa is the highest God of the Veda. The examination of Varuṇa's position in comparison with Indra's high place among Vedic gods will lead to the same conclusion. As already said above among the nine hymns addressed to Indra and Varuṇa jointly in the whole of the *Ṛgveda*, three (IV. 42; VI. 68; X. 124) are specially note-worthy as they throw some light on the respective positions of these two gods. In the remaining six hymns both are generally praised by the same common epithets. In the hymns IV, 42 and X, 124, however, a sort of keen rivalry is openly declared; especially it is so done in IV. 42. In X. 124, 4, Agni is said to declare that he as the son of Varuṇa was his close associate and that he is now coming over to Indra. On the whole Varuṇa's claim to priority and superiority is clearly admitted by Vedic poets (cf. *Jyeṣṭha* IV, 1, 2) In *RV*. VI. 68, 3 Indra appears as the slayer of Vṛtras meaning enemies in general whereas Varuṇa stands by (as helper) in troubles. In the same hymn ninth *ṛk* Varuṇa alone is called *Samrāt Bṛhat*, eternal (*Ajara*) who illumines both the worlds with his greatness and power. Mitra waits on Varuṇa in peace and tranquillity whereas Maruts are the companions of Indra (cf. *RV*. VII. 82, 5). In the following *ṛk* Varuṇa's greatness is recognized by Vasiṣṭha. Again at VII. 83, 9 the passage speaks of Indra as the killer of Vṛtras and of Varuṇa as the guardian of ordinances; the latter holds the scattered folk together and the former as usual kills enemies (cf. *RV*. VII. 85, 3). It is clear from these passages that Varuṇa's mission as the creator of the world was essentially a peaceful one whereas that of Indra was concerned with war conditions in which the Āryans found themselves during the course of their progress towards the East. Whatever the respective roles of Varuṇa and Indra may be the Lordship of the former over the universe is beyond doubt established; for in almost all the forty-eight hymns leaving aside stray references in the Xth Mandala in which Varuṇa is invoked singly or jointly, he figures prominently as the guardian of the universe and of *Ṛta* which governs all operations in the world. Agni, Indra and Soma are also called the guardians of *Ṛta* but the unique position which Mitra and Varuṇa occupy in

relation to *Ṛta* whose exact connotation will presently be discussed unmistakably tends to show that Varuṇa can hardly be identified either with the encircling sky or the Moon as Oldenberg and other scholars would have us believe. The only point on which these scholars seem to rely in the case of Varuṇa-sky identification is the encircling feature of the sky and its apparently all-embracing character and in the matter of Varuṇa-Moon identification the chief factors that seem to weigh with these scholars is firstly the luminous aspect of Varuṇa imagined by them because he is a Vedic god of celestial light and secondly their assumption of Mitra-Sūrya identification which leads them to believe that one partner of the dual divinity namely Varuṇa stands for the Moon. It will be clear to an unbiassed critic that both these factors are more or less based on hypothetical grounds. That Varuṇa's supposed luminous character is the chief criterion for judging his nature is one hypothetical ground and that both Mitra and Varuṇa being the Ādityas represent some physical phenomenon is another hypothetical ground. In dealing with a highly civilized race such as the Vedic Āryans and in interpreting their culture and literature the physical plane is not the only ground on which scholars should take their stand for getting a clear perspective but the mental plane especially the spiritual one should not be lost sight of. In the matter of Varuṇa in particular and his intimate association with *Ṛta*, the eternal Law, and his guardianship of that *Ṛta* which governs the universe, one has to go deeper than what the physical phenomenon stands for and to probe the inner meaning rather with an intuitive mind. The passage (at *RV*. v. 62, 1) distinctly points out that Mitra and Varuṇa established *Ṛta* by means of *Ṛta*. This peculiar enigmatical and physical statement can properly be explained only if the term *Ṛta* be taken in the sense of the sacrifice because that was the only institution having a universal character with which Mitra and Varuṇa were intimately connected and which must have been in a way established by them. Vedic mind knows no other institution of such a universal aspect established by any God. Sāyaṇa may therefore seem to be correct in his interpretation of *Ṛta* as sacrifice. This point will be further discussed in detail when we come to the topic of *Ṛta* later on.

Turning to the universal aspect of Varuṇa, the following relevant facts deserve special attention. The Moon and all the Nakṣatras

shine in accordance with the Ordinances of Varuṇa (cf. *RV.* I. 24, 10). Even the three heavens by which the three celestial worlds or *Lokas* namely *Janaḥ*, *Tapaḥ*, and *Satyam* are to be understood and the three earths standing for *Bhūḥ*, the *Candra-Loka* and the *Madhyama-Loka* are placed in him (cf. *RV.* VII. 87, 5). Varuṇa supported both the regions with a pillar and also supported heaven like the unborn (cf. *Aja-RV.* VIII. 41, 10). Again in *RV.* VIII. 59, 6 the Vedic poet-seer says that in time of old Varuṇa gave the *Ṛṣis* revelation, thought and learning with the result that wise priests made places for themselves, performing sacrifices—all these the author of the hymn has beheld by *Tapaḥ*. In view of these characteristics and functions attributed to Varuṇa and Mitra it is not possible to bring oneself to believe that Varuṇa represents either the sky or the Moon which are after all parts of the universe. Moreover one has to interpret the earlier phases of any civilization and culture in the light of their later developments which always retain the essential nature of their origin in spite of various variations caused by circumstances. The Indo-Āryan race is essentially active and at the same time contemplative. The whole of Āryan culture from the Vedas down to the last stages of its literature is an eloquent testimony to this peculiar trait. It, therefore, stands to reason to believe that Varuṇa represents the highest ethical and spiritual aspect of Monotheism, the eternal principle figuring as God, the only Creator of the Universe which is governed by his Ordinances in a certain and definite order, and that he does not represent either the sky or the Moon or any other physical phenomenon. It is this spiritual aspect of Monotheism which later on in the Upaniṣads took a more systematic and definite form culminating in the establishment of Brahman, the Absolute, as the underlying essence of the universe. Of course before this final stage was reached the sacrificial literature of the Brāhmaṇa period shows how much the Āryan mind was obsessed for hundreds of years by the wonderful power of the sacrifice with the result that the means threatened to become an end in itself and the search for the Absolute was arrested for centuries together till the Kṣatriyas, that spiritually unexplored branch of the Āryan stock, took an active part in the matter and showed definite signs of an all-round enlightenment.

Before the discussion concerning the exact nature of Mitra, the replica of Varuṇa, is taken up it is deemed expedient that the term

Ṛta is properly explained. Let it however suffice to say for our purpose that Mitra seems to suggest by his very name some ethical aspect of nature closely related to Varuṇa. It is considered very likely that the exact implication of the term *Ṛta* may throw much needed light on the real nature of Mitra. The consideration in detail of this topic, therefore, is for the present postponed.

There are so many passages in the *Ṛgveda* referring to *Ṛta* that it is not possible to examine all of them in this short paper, nor is it necessary even for getting at a tolerably correct interpretation of *Ṛta*. Vedic scholars are generally inclined to interpret it in the sense of Universal or Cosmic Order or the Eternal Law. But what that Law is and what it stands for is not clear. It is therefore proposed to consider certain relevant Vedic passages bearing on the interpretation of *Ṛta*. Mitra and Varuṇa are called guardians of *Ṛta* (cf. *RV*. VII. 64, 2 and V. 63, 1). In one passage (*RV*. III. 10, 2), Agni is also described as *Ṛtasya Gopā*; he is also called *Ṛtapāḥ* (cf. *RV*. VII. 20, 6; VI. 3, 1). In another passage I. 163, 5 the gods in general are called *Ṛtasya Gopāḥ*. The passages indicate clearly that *Ṛta* is primarily a concern of Mitra and of Varuṇa and Agni as well and only secondarily are Indra and other gods concerned with *Ṛta* as its guardians. As regards the exact meaning of the word *Ṛta*, scholars hold divergent views as already pointed above. In this connection it may, however, be noted that in interpreting *Ṛta* used in the plural there seems to be little difference of opinion between European scholars and Sāyaṇa as both take it generally in the sense of a sacrifice or a sacrificial act (cf. *RV*. *Ṛtā*-occuring at I. 46, 14; 67, 4; 161, 9; VI. 15, 14); *Ṛtānām* at I. 165, 13; IV. 4; *Ṛtāni* at I. 179, 2; X. 122, 6; and lastly *Ṛtaiḥ* at IX. 70, 1). In these passages in the whole of the *Ṛgveda*, *Ṛta* is correctly interpreted as a sacrificial act or a sacred rite. The reason why in these passages the term cannot be interpreted in the sense of Universal Order with any propriety is too obvious; for it is absurd to talk of many Universal or Cosmic Orders. It is only when *Ṛta* occurs in singular that European scholars like to interpret it generally as the Universal Law or Order and very rarely as a sacrificial act and even when they interpret it as a sacrificial act they simply do so with some hesitation. Let us now examine some of the relevant passages in which the context is in favour of the interpretation of *Ṛta* as a sacrifice. In *RV*. I. 1, 8 Agni

is called the guardian of *Ṛta*. How can Agni the most visible of all the Vedic gods be called a guardian of *Ṛta*, the invisible eternal Law? At the most he can guard *Ṛta* in some concrete form. Evidently the sacrifice is the only eternal principle guarded by Agni in the Vedic period. Another word, Sacrifice namely *Adhvara* shows distinctly the eternal nature of the Sacrifice. In this context *Ṛta*, therefore, should mean the institution of Sacrifice. In *RV*. III. 10, 2 Agni is asked to shine in his own house as the guardian of *Ṛta*. Here evidently Agni's house is the sacrificial chamber. What is the propriety then in asking Agni to shine in the sacrificial chamber as the guardian of *Ṛta* meaning Universal Order? Would it not be better for reasons given above to suppose that Agni should be asked to shine in the sacrificial chamber as the guardian of the Sacrifice which represents *Ṛta*? It is needless to point out that there is no other eternal Law (*Ṛta*) excepting the Sacrifice or the institution of Sacrifice with which Agni is primarily concerned as its protector or guardian. In Āprī hymn (*RV*. I. 13, 6) the divine Doors are said to be increasers of *Ṛta*. In this passage the divine Doors are the sacrificial chamber deified that are invoked as the promoters of *Ṛta*. *Ṛta* therefore stands here clearly for the Sacrifice. In two other Āprī hymns (*RV*. I. 142, 7; V. 5, 6). Night and Dawn are described as the Mothers of *Ṛta*. There is no sense in calling Night and Dawn as the Mothers of *Ṛta* in the sense of the Universal Order. The Sacrifice on the other hand which is generally performed in the morning can be aptly called the child of Night and Dawn. Again at *RV*. I. 143, 7, III. 2, 8, and IV. 10, 2 Agni is addressed as the charioteer of *Ṛta*. There is no other ostensible principle of a universal nature excepting the Sacrifice whose charioteer Agni can appropriately be called. At *RV*. III. 27, 11 the priests are said to be eager to set to work *Ṛta*. The only principle with which the priests are so vitally connected is the Sacrifice which is specified here as *Ṛta*. In *RV*. IV. 7, 7, gods are described as rejoicing in the foundation or abode of *Ṛta* (*Ṛtasya dhāman*). Vedic gods can hardly be supposed to take delight in the abstract and vague idea namely the Universal Order when they had before them the concrete symbol, *i.e.*, the Sacrifice. Agni is asked to sit in the abode of *Ṛta* (*Ṛtasya Yonimāsada*), in the abode of herbs (*Sasasya Yonim*) at *RV*. V. 21, 4. The word *Sasa* meaning either herbs or Sacrificial grass unmistakably goes to show that the Yoni of

Ṛta is the Altar and that consequently *Ṛta* means Sacrifice. In the passage at *RV.* IV. 1, 12 it is said that the host of Aṅgirasas came forth wonderfully at first at the place of *Ṛta* and that these seven friends (of Agni) were born for the bull (Agni). This passage is calculated to help us a good deal in getting at the exact connotation of *Ṛta.* The role of the Aṅgirasas in the evolution of *Ṛta* is likely to throw considerable light on this very important aspect of Āryan culture. These Aṅgirasas, who are generally considered as the seven Fathers of the Āryan Race that came to India, founded the Law of *Ṛta* and set into motion a thought of it (cf. *RV.* I. 71, 3). Again in the preceding *Ṛk* of the same hymn it is said that they opened the Path of the great Heaven. What seems to be the implication of these two consecutive *Ṛks*? It is this, namely, the institution of Sacrifice was first founded by the first Āryan Fathers, the Aṅgirasas and thus the Path leading the righteous to great Heaven was opened by them. This idea further suggests that by performing sacrificial acts the righteous worshippers of gods would attain a higher world after their death—a belief that later on developed into a cardinal *principle* in the philosophy of the Brāhmaṇa period and still later into the full fledged *Karma*-theory of Mīmāmsakas. There are many other Vedic passages referring to such activities of the Aṅgirasas. In *RV.* IV. 1, 13 our human fathers are said to be aspiring after *Ṛta* and in the sixteenth *Ṛk* of the same hymn they attain to a thought of it (*dīdhiti*) the sacrificial labour (*s'amyā*) is distinctly called *Ṛta* (cf. *RV.* IV. 3, 4). At *RV.* X. 67, 2 we are told in a similar strain that the Aṅgirasas, the Sons of *Dyaus*, the Asura, thinking aright and praising the eternal Order. *Ṛta* and holding the rank of sages, first thought of the holy Statute of the Sacrifice. From this last passage it is clear that the Aṅgirasas first thought of the Sacrifice as the most effective principle underlying the conception of *Ṛta* that would keep the Universe in order.

The forgoing discussion regarding the meaning of the term *Ṛta* makes it very probable that already in the *Ṛgveda* the conception of *Ṛta* was very well understood by the priests. To them the Universe was governed by a certain definite Law binding on gods and men alike with the result that the smooth working of nature and man in an orderly manner was ensured. *Ṛta*, therefore, in the form of sacrifice was to them the only eternal Law governing the Universe. This

view is further corroborated by certain Vedic passages such as *ṛtena ṛtam s'apante* at *RV*. V. 68, 4 and *yajñena yajñamayajanta devāḥ* from the well-known *Puruṣa-sūkta*. Both these passages can be satisfactorily explained if *Ṛta* is taken to mean the Sacrifice. The first passage in that case implies that they best serve *Ṛta* (*ṛtam s'apante*) by following the Law of Sacrifice, *i.e.*, by performing it (*ṛtena*). Similarly in the second passage it is said that the gods paid their homage to the Law or institution of Sacrifice by performing the Sacrifice. *Ṛta* in the sense taken above, therefore, seems to be the only effective means of governing the World, especially the mutual relations of the gods and men; for it is now an admitted fact that Vedic Āryans honestly believed in the efficacy of the Sacrifice as the only means of propitiating Gods who in turn blessed their devotees by fulfilling their desires. The Sacrifice, thus, already in the Vedic period appears to have attained the position of the eternal Law or Order.

Just as *Ṛta* in the sense of the Sacrifice is binding on all, exactly so are the *vratāni*, *i.e.*, ordinances of Varuṇa. The attitude, for instance, of a pious worshipper towards Varuṇa is marked in a passage *RV*. VII. 86. 7 where Vasiṣṭha says 'slave like may I do service to the Bounteous (Varuṇa).' The transgression of these Ordinances constitutes sin (cf. *RV*. VII. 86). There are also other synonyms for *Vratás* such as *dharman*, *dhāman*, *kratu* and *dakṣa* in the *Ṛgveda*. One, whose *kratu* is *pūta*, is supposed to gain the favour of *Varuṇa*. The words like *sumati* and *mṛlīka* distinctly refer to the grace of Varuṇa.

So far, only one aspect of the Sacrifice namely its efficacy from the point of view of worldly life of mortals has been discussed. There is the other aspect also to be considered. Its powerful influence in attaining a higher World after death as a result of pious and sacrificial acts done by mortals in this World is clearly suggested at *RV*. X. 62, 1. In the first six Ṛks of this hymn the Aṅgirasas, the Fathers of Vedic Āryans, are addressed as Ṛṣis and are said to have attained eternal life in a higher World by means of the Sacrifice; by the power of *Ṛta* they raised the Sun to Heaven and spread out this Earth. They are moreover said to have sprung from Agni. This belief in a higher world after death is further strongly supported by the hymns addressed to Yama and the Pitṛs (cf. *RV*. X. 14, 2; and 15, 1). The first passage

clearly states that men born on the Earth tread their own paths that lead them whither our ancient Fathers *i.e.* the Aṅgirasas and others have deparated. The second passage also refers to a higher life of spirits attained by the departed souls who are righteous. In the light of the above discussion about the meaning and the significance of *Ṛta, i.e.* Sacrifice and its bearing on the life and culture of Vedic Āryans, one is perfectly justified in holding the view that Vedic Āryans believed in eternal and inexorable Law of Karma which is embodied in the institution of Sacrifice and that *Ṛta* itself is to be understood as the same eternal Law of Karma.

The theory of life 'we reap as we sow' very well implied in the *Yathākratunyāya* of the Upaniṣads is a natural corollary from the general proposition stated above. In brief, the only connotation of the word *Ṛta* primarily known to the Vedic Seers was the institution of of Sacrifice and subsequently all sacrificial acts were naturally looked upon as *Ṛta.* Later on, any pious act done with a view to propitiate God becomes *Ṛta i.e.* a sort of sacrificial act and then in course of time the result or reward for such an act came to be known in the Upaniṣads by the term *Ṛta.* For instance, the well known passage '*Ṛtam pibantau sukṛtasya loke guhām praviṣtau parme parardhe etc.*' from the *Kāthaka Upaniṣad* Adhy. I, Valli, 3 abundantly bears out the remark made above. *Ṛta* thus stands in later times for righteousness and *Anṛta* for falsehood; for *Satya* or righteousness is ultimately what is in accordance with the Law of *Ṛta, i.e.* Karma and *Asatya* or *Anṛta* is its antithesis. In view of this discussion about *Ṛta* and its intimate connection with Varuna, Mitra and Agni, the task of finding out the probable nature of Mitra's role in the Vedic period is rendered easier.

It has already been shown above that almost all the traits of Varuṇa are found in Mitra. There is, thus, nothing special in him excepting what is conveyed by the derivative meaning of the word Mitra. Both Mitra and Varuna are apparently so much alike and inseparable that they are jointly invoked in twenty-three hymns of the *Ṛgveda* and are even referred to as *mitrayoḥ* and *varuṇayoḥ* in one hymn (cf. *RV.* VI. 51, 1). Notwithstanding this close association between the two the fact remains that Mitra by himself does not occupy the same position which Varuṇa does among Vedic Gods. There is only one hymn in which Mitra alone is invoked (*RV.* III. 59)

whereas in ten hymns of the *Ṛgveda* Varuṇa alone is invoked and invariably referred to as the Lord of the Universe and the guardian of *Ṛta*. Indra is his only rival as already shown above. On the other hand, there is no indication whatsoever of any rivalry between Indra and Mitra, who is not primarily associated with any other God but Varuṇa. It appears very likely that Mitra most probably represents either some visible Vedic god or some ethical aspect closely related to Varuṇa. Taking into consideration Mitra's intimate connection with *Ṛta* and the fact that between him and Varuṇa the latter alone can be said to represent the highest aspect of Monotheism and that the same cannot be said of the former, the second alternative is not feasible. An attempt, therefore, is made to find out whether relevant Vedic passages may throw some light on the possibility of the first alternative.

There is one thing peculiar to Mitra namely that he is called *yātayajjanaḥ*; both he and Varuṇa together are twice referred to by the same epithet in the whole of *Ṛgveda* (cf. *RV*. I. 136, 3; V. 72, 2) but Mitra alone among the two is so called at *RV*. III. 59, 5 and at VIII. 102, 12. He is said to stir men to activity (cf. *jananyāta ayati* at *RV*. III. 59, 1). The word *yātayajjanaḥ* evidently is to be derived from the causal form *yātaya* of *vyat*. To stir men to activity seems, therefore, his peculiar function and because his activities do not differ materially from those of Varuṇa, both the gods get that epithet. Among Vedic gods, Sūrya and Agni only, being most visible, may aptly be said to stir men to activity. This fact seems to have led Vedic scholars to identify Mitra with the Sun. Vedic passages, however, do not so much support this identification. Both he and Varuṇa have the Sun for their eye (cf. *RV*. VII. 63, 1). They have set the Sun in Heaven (cf. *RV*. V. 63, 7), and have made the pathway ready for him (cf. *RV*. VII. 60, 4). At *RV*. VII. 62, 2 Sūrya is asked to declare the Vasiṣṭhas free from all offence to Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman and Agni. Further it is said at *RV*. VII. 63, 3 that Sūrya does not break the Universal Statute (*dhāma*). Varuṇa and Mitra on the other hand are the upholders and the guardians of *Ṛta* and Ordinances which Sūrya and other gods have to follow. After examining these passages one may hardly agree to take for granted the identification of Mitra with the Sun. The most serious objection, in addition to these, to this identification is the close

relation that exists between *Ṛta*, Mitra and Varuṇa. The Sun is not referred to as the *gopa* of *Ṛta* in the way Mitra, Varuṇa and Agni are. That Mitra has a luminous character like the other Ādityas is not a very decisive argument for identifying him with the Sun in as much as Agni is also luminous in a way. Besides the derivative meaning of the word Mitra shows that this god is a friend of mortals. This friendly aspect because he is called the *priyatama* of men at VII. 62, 4 presupposes a close contact between this god and mortals. Agni alone among Vedic gods may appropriately be called a friend of men (cf. *RV*. 1. 94 ; VIII. 43, 14 ; X. 7, 3). Possibly Mitra therefore may be said to represent Agni and not the Sun. This view is further corroborated by certain other considerations also. Mithra of the Avesta is the guardian of compacts and agreements and the same may be true of Mitra of the Veda (cf. *RV*. X. 89, 9). According to Aryan tradition and practice all the important events and ceremonies such as marriages and others are expected to take place in the presence of Agni who is a veritable divine witness to all such transactions. The fact, therefore, that Mitra is a guardian of such compacts goes to support our view that he represents Agni who is also the guardian of compacts as already clearly shown above. Moreover, in the discussion about the exact significance of *Ṛta*, Agni's distinctive role as its guardian has been clearly established. Next to Mitra and Varuṇa, Agni is the only other Vedic god that is referred to as the *gopa* of *Ṛta* and the Sun is never so referred. This is a very strong argument in support of Mitra-Agni identification. No doubt Indra is also associated with *Ṛta* as its guardian but that is only secondary. Indra is primarily known as the slayer of *Vṛtras*. Further, Agni, the oldest Indo-European and Indo-Iranian God, is hardly ever jointly invoked with Varuṇa, barring a stray instance here and there, in any Vedic hymn in the manner in which Mitra, for instance, or even Indra is. Agni, on the other hand, is associated jointly with Indra, Vāyu, Soma and Viṣṇu. It is interesting to note that he is not also jointly invoked with Mitra, even though, all the three gods Varuṇa, Mitra and Agni are very intimately connected with *Ṛta* ; in fact, among these three gods it is Agni who is visibly connected with *Ṛta*, meaning Sacrifice and as such may even be called the veritable visible counter-part of Varuṇa, the highest God of the Vedic Pantheon and the greatest guardian of *Ṛta*. For all the ordinances

of Varuṇa in accordance with *Ṛta* are obeyed by gods and men alike by the help of Agni, the carrier of oblations. It is, therefore, very strange that Agni should not be associated with Varuṇa, as closely as he ought to, in the Vedic hymns addressed to the latter. The only Vedic god, who is an inseparable companion of Varuṇa in the task of upholding *Ṛta*, is Mitra. This unusual situation can properly be explained if Mitra is taken as the representative of *Agni*. The identification of Mitra with the Sun, can, however, hardly explain this fact. It may be pointed out that Vedic passages lend support to this identification of Mitra with Agni. For instance at *RV*. I. 143, 7 Agni is compared to Mitra and at III. 5, 4 and V. 3, 1 he is called Mitra when he is enkindled. Further, Agni is asked to turn to brother Varuṇa (cf. *RV*. IV, 1, 2); at X. 8, 4 he is said to generate Mitra for his body, he is considered as Varuṇa when he comes to the Sacrifice (cf. *ṛtya veṣi* at X. 8, 5). At *RV*. VII. 88, 2 Agni's face is taken for that of Varuṇa. The last is a reference from Vasiṣṭha's hymn and deserves careful attention, especially because among all Vedic Ṛṣis the Vasiṣṭha family shows more intimacy with Varuṇa as is clear from a pretty large number of hymns, *viz.*, 17 in which Varuṇa is very prominently invoked by them. Moreover the comparison of *RV*. 42 with *RV*. X. 124 goes to show that at one time in the hoary past of Āryan migration to India, Agni was a close companion of his father Varuṇa but later he parted company with his father and formed alliance with Indra, the rising Vedic god and the rival of Varuṇa (cf. *RV*. X. 124, 4). This passage is calculated to explain the fact why Agni is not so conspicuously invoked jointly with Varuṇa in the *Ṛgveda*. The view of Bergaigne (*RV*. III. 169, 174) and Oldenberg (*RV*. 201, 298 and 299) that in the matter of sin and its remission Agni dwelling in the homes of men is the counter-part of Varuṇa dwelling in Heaven may go a long way in supporting the identification of Mitra with Agni. In the light of these considerations stated above it will be clear that it there is any Vedic god, whom Mitra may reasonably be supposed to represent, that is Agni and not the Sun.

The foregoing discussion of Vedic passages referring to Varuṇa, Mitra, Agni and their relation with *Ṛta* shows thus clearly that the Indo-Āryan Race has ever been an active race doing its work in the hope that God helps those who follow the eternal Law of Karma

(*Ṛta*) as represented by the institution of Sacrifice in the Vedic days. This Law in short may be styled as the vigorous ***sakāma-karmavāda***. This attitude towards life so peculiar to the Āryan Race is observed right through the Brāhmaṇa period till the period of the Upaniṣads when slowly the futility of ***sakāma-karma-vāda*** began to make itself felt in the leisurely and rich class of the Kṣatriyas. Janaka Vaideha is a typical example of a Kṣatriya king advocating the ***niṣkāma-karmavāda*** as a counter blast to the pretensions of the orthodox school of ritualists. The reaction of the highly philosophical section to the insistent claims advanced by the *yājñika* school of thought resulted in the swelling ranks of ascetics. Consequently, many heterodox doctrines came to be preached by ascetics all over India to the detriment of the orthodox school of the Vaidikas, with the result that the real *Sānātana S'ruti* school came into disrepute. This state of affairs seems to have continued upto a time when finally the *Jñānamārga* of the Sanyāsins became an accepted doctrine among the highly intellectual class that was dissatisfied with the highly presumptuous attitude of the ritualists. No doubt those who possess higher knowledge are naturally inclined to dispense with the necessity of conforming to prescribed codes of conduct. It is at such a time that the *Bhagavad-gītā* came to be preached by the Lord Kṛṣṇa as a gospel of truth with a view to solve the riddle of life. On the one hand, there is the inexorable Law of *Karma* (*Ṛta*) which emphasizes the performance of our sacred duties and on the other hand there is a natural urge on the part of mortals to try, if possible, to get out of the clutches of this eternal Law. This urge paved the way in the Upaniṣadic period for the establishment of the *Sāṅkhya-mārga* or *Jñāna-mārga i.e.*, the path of Renunciation which affords an escape from the recurring stages of *samsāra* caused by our pursuit of *sakāma-karma*. Apparently this *Jñāna-mārga* makes a strong appeal to many as a safe measure but on mature consideration it will be found that it is not so easy to follow; nay, it is not practically feasible from a strictly logical point of view (cf. the ***Bhagavad-gīta*** III, 5). It is not possible to stay, even for a moment, without some action mental or otherwise for a man of the world. The Lord has put the case very succinctly and logically as well, giving due consideration to both points of view namely the ***Karma-mārga*** and the *Jñānamārga* in the first nineteen s'lokas of the third chapter of the

Gītā. These nineteen s'lokas should be carefully read by any person belonging to any sect or creed without any bias. A closer examination of the universal principles involved in the working of Nature will reveal that these s'lokas shall remain as the highest gospel of truth as long as the world lasts. This is not an empty boast. Suffice it to say that blessed indeed are those who understand and realize the full implication of these s'lokas and mould their life accordingly. The s'lokas nine to sixteen summarize the philosophy of the institution of Sacrifice which has already been discussed in the treatment of *Ṛta* and its relation to Varuṇa. The Lord does not advise us to discard the principles underlying the Sacrifice (*Ṛta*) ; in fact it is impossible to do so. He asks us only to utilize to the fullest extent possible the potentialities of the Sacrifice. He asks us to make the highest Sacrifice of our innermost Ego obsessed by attachment to worldly objects (*āsakti*) and thus to follow the example of Janaka and others of bygone days in the interest of the world at large.

In view of what is said above, *Bhakti* which is preached so conspicuously in the later chapters of the *Gītā* will appear to be not a different course of action but rather an attitude of mind of an earnest seeker after Truth. Any devotee whether he be a follower of the *Karma-mārga* or the *Jñāna-mārga* is urged to put implicit faith (*Bhakti*) in the teaching of the Lord. The *Gītā* refers to only two courses of action namely the *Karma-yoga* and the *Jñāna-yoga* which have been handed down since the Vedic times (cf. *Gītā* III. 2). Let it be remembered that these two paths are not essentially different as in both the inexorable Law of *Karma* is bound to operate. The apparent difference between the two is not of kind but of degree ; certain type of behaviour is emphasized in one course of action whereas its variation is recommended in the other. Nevertheless, one or the other in accordance with the *svabhāva* of a devotee is necessary on account of the binding force of the Law of Karma (*Ṛta*). This, in brief, is a legitimate stage of development in which *Ṛta* has finally reached its culmination after passing through various stages in the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas and lastly the Upaniṣads. Thus, an attitude of calm detachment in the pursuit of our duties recommended by the Lord Kṛṣṇa in the *Gītā* at once solves the riddle of life and bestows on the blessed few a blessing of eternal bliss and peace. One may

indeed be justified in expressing his mind in the words of the *Muṇḍakopaniṣad* II. 2, 2, 8.

भिद्यते हृदयग्रन्थिश्छिद्यन्ते सर्वसंशयाः ।
क्षीयन्ते चास्य कर्माणि तस्मिन्दृष्टे परावरे ॥

SOME MORAL TALES IN THE S'ATAPATHA BRĀHMAṆA, IMPLYING THE CONDEMNATION OF CERTAIN VICES[1]

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Every code of morality—no matter what period it belongs to—praises to the skies the moral and the physical virtues but at the same time leaves no stone unturned in condemning the vices that are likely to beset the path of its adherents. The reason is not far to seek. The legislators that spend their time and leisure in framing the moral code desire to place before the members of the community an ideal which they should endeavour to copy and realize. They do have in mind the psychological principle that 'idealism' can hardly descend into the sphere of 'realism.' In other words they are quite aware of the fact that ideals can never be realized. Yet they are ever actuated with the noble desire that the code of morality on the framing of which they are engaged should not suffer in 'idealism' at least, believing that if a low ideal is set before the commonality even this ideal which, being quite unimportant is not difficult to achieve, cannot be reached by an average person whose efforts are always directed to the acquisition of a thing less important than the one set before him. His jump will always fall short of the thing to be achieved. Hence generally an ideal which is far nobler and more elevated than the one which a person of average wit and talents can think of, is placed before the society. The moral code, therefore, tries to inculcate upon its (future) followers that they should ever endeavour to cultivate some of the many virtues—if not all—extolled therein and that all the vices

[1] For this paper I am much indebted to my teacher Prof. H. D. Velankar, M. A., of the Wilson College, Bombay.

grossly and flagrantly condemned in it must be treated by them as things nauseant. In view of this principle of practical wisdom the code of morality that seems to have prevailed in the days of the Brāhmaṇas on the one hand greatly applauds the virtues and on the other severely condemns the vices, I have adduced elsewhere[1] the evidence of the legends in the Brāhmaṇas to show the types of qualities that were set before the then society. In this paper I propose to discuss by citing of course, the evidence of the legends in the Brāhmaṇas some of the vices that have been dealt with with a very stern hand.

(1) ARROGANCE

The *Antaryāmagraha* is drawn from inside the strainer (literally —from the vessel or stream of Soma which has the strainer inside), the straining cloth being held over the *Droṇa-kalaśa* into which the pressed-out Soma-juice is to be poured. In pouring it thus, the Soma is purified. The reason for thus sanctifying or purifying the Soma is given in the following legend.

I. *S'BR* IV-i-2.

"Soma first oppressed his own family-priest Bṛhaspati; the latter became reconciled to him when the former restored to him his property. Although the two were thus reconciled, Soma was not yet free from the sin because he had contemplated oppressing the priesthood. The gods, however, purified him by means of some purificatory means (*pavitra*) and Soma, thus purified by them, became their food."

Similarly, the *Adhvaryu* purifies him by means of the strainer and Soma being thus purified becomes the sacrificial food of the gods.

This legend seems to refer to the fate of a person who through arrogance oppresses an esteemed kinsman or a leader of a community. Such a person, although he makes amends for his misdeed or misdemeanour is not quite acquitted of the guilt he had once committed unless he expiates for it. Soma had to go through the expiatory ceremony of purification because he had committed a grave offence against

[1] *Journal of the University of Bombay*, September, 1939.

Bṛhaspati—a member of a praiseworthy community among the Divinities. Subsequently only Soma was accepted by the gods as their food. It is only after the expiatory ceremony that the arrogant sinner regains his proper place in the society or the community. Thus an arrogant individual sins against himself more than against others. The legend incidentally suggests that an offence against priesthood was dealt with severely for Brhaspati had become one of the principal sacerdotal deities in the period of the Brāhmaṇas. The importance of the sacrifice—and through it of the priestly class—was on the ascendant in the Brāhmaṇas.

The value of the *Vājapeya* sacrifice is stated in the following legend which has also the same moral at its basis.

II. *S'BR.* V-i-1

" Formerly the gods and the Asuras, both descendants of Prajāpati, contended for supremacy. The Asuras, arrogant as they were, offered in their own mouths while searching for something to offer the oblations into. *As a consequence of this hauteur of theirs they perished.* The gods, on the other hand, while they were also engaged in a similar search, offered into one another with the result that Prajāpati who represents the sacrifice and the year, offered himself to them. This sacrifice—Vājapeya (*eṣa vāva yajño yad vājapeyaḥ*) became the food of the gods." [1]

The legend in emphasizing the importance of the Vājapeya indicates the fruit that would accrue to a person who would perform it. But, while describing the fate of the Asuras who were bold or impudent enough to care for their own self and not for the society as a whole, the Brāhmaṇa strikes a note of warning and morality. It remarks that a person should not be arrogant. If he behaves arrogantly he would certainly perish like the Asuras.

A more or less similar legend occurs at another place in the *S'BR.*

III. *S'BR.* XI-i-8

" The gods and the Asuras, both descendants of Prajāpati, strove together. The Asuras not knowing unto whom to make the

[1] At legend *SBB.* II-iv-2. Prajāpati declared that sacrifice would be the food of the gods, etc.

offering, offered into their own months *through arrogance.* As a consequence they came to naught. The gods, on the other hand, offered unto one another. Prajāpati gave himself unto them and created his counterpart *viz.*, the sacrifice. The entire sacrifice became the property of the gods. Prajāpati redeemed himself from the gods by offering the Full and the New Moon sacrifices."

The legend is symbolical inasmuch as it states the value of the Full and New Moon sacrifices but it has a didactic touch. An arrogant person always comes to rack and ruin. Every action of ours should not be always directed to the betterment of ourself but to the Weal and Wealth of the community. It is the individual that makes or mars the society. He is a component part of the society. Hence an action of an individual must also contribute to bringing about general welfare and not of the self alone. It should be noted here that in the last two legends the Asuras are also described as sacrificing. The only difference in the Āsuric and Daivic forms of sacrifice lay in the procedure adopted by the rival groups. The Asuras offered into their mouth, *i.e.*, used the sacrificial food for themselves; the gods did so to one another. The legends thus may indicate the superiority of the Aryan culture over the non-Aryan one.

The moral of these three (XXI-XXIII) legends together may safely be compared with a Pehlevi proverb which can be translated thus—" when you want to sit down on a seat at a wedding banquet, do not choose a sit high up lest they pull you away from that seat and put you on a seat further down".

(2) NEGLIGENCE, BETRAYAL AND TREACHERY

Before the *paryagnīkaraṇa* the Adhvaryu cleanses his fingers with the waters. This water is to be offered to the Aptya Devatas *viz.*, Trita, Dvita and Ekata. The following legend offers the reason for this ritualistic procedure.

IV. *S'BR.* I-ii-3

" Formerly Agni had a four-fold form. That Agni whom the gods had chosen for the office of the Hotṛ-Priest passed away. The 2nd and the 3rd forms of Agni also suffered from a similar fate. The

fourth, however, lay concealed in the waters through fear of meeting with the same fate as his predecessors. The gods knew that he had concealed himself in the waters and dragged him out *per force.* Agni, thereupon, disrespected the waters by spitting upon them because they did not protect him. Agni thought that had the waters protected him he would not have been taken away against his will. The *niṣṭhīvana* served as a *vīrya* or the germinal fluid and from that were produced the deities Trita, Dvita and Ekata. As they were produced from the waters they came to be designated as Aptyas."

"They wandered with Indra as the priests roam with the King (*Yathaidaṃ brāhmaṇo rājānaṃ anucarati*). When Indra was about to kill the three-headed Vis'varūpa, the son of Tvāṣṭra, these Aptyas also visualized that he was going to be killed. Trita, therefore, killed him on behalf of Indra. The Tvāṣṭra Vis'varūpa was the sister's son of the Asuras and Purohita to the gods. He was killed by Indra because he had secretly contrived to let the oblations go to the Asuras instead of the gods. By thus killing him Indra (or Trita according to this version) was guilty of the most hideous crime *viz.*, *brahmahatyā* but was relieved of this sin because he was a god. The sin of *brahmahatyā* was transferred to the Aptyas because they had abetted the crime (*upaivema eno gacchantu ye asya vadhasya avediṣuḥ*). But how was that sin to be transferred? The priests hit upon the plan of the sacrifice. By pouring the water used for cleansing the dish and fingers the sin was passed on to the Aptyas. For the plan adopted by the Aptyas for divesting themselves of this guilt." (See *S'BR*. I-ii-3).

We cannot deny the sacrificial value of this legend. It refers to the position which the Aptyas occupied in the far developed sacrificial cult of the Brāhmaṇas. "Trita seems to have been a prominent deity of the early Indo-Iranian Mythology, the prototype in many respects, of Indra the favourite God of the Vedic hymns. The notion of wishing evil or misfortune far, far away from him is a familiar one to the Vedic bards. The name Traitana also occurs once in the *RV*. I-158-5 though in a rather dark passage. Trita or Traitano corresponds to Thraetona of the Iranians." This Trita, as the legend points out, has not suffered in importance in the days of the Brāhmaṇas. Here, as in the *Ṛgveda*, he is spoken of as the companion of Indra in his

fight against Vis'varūpa Tvāṣṭra. It is he who had to bear the brunt of the fight and who subsequently killed the demon. But the value of the legend, in my opinion, does not lie in the presentation of the importance of the Aptya-deities or in the exhibition of their powers but in the moral principle attached to it. Agni was chosen as the Hotṛ, to officiate at the cosmic sacrifice which occurs periodically but he neglected his duty towards the gods and disappeared with the result that this cosmic action had to be suspended temporarily. He had to pay for this negligence of his because physical force was used by the gods against him. Superficially Agni's behaviour towards the waters appears to be condemnable. Some may think it to be quite indiscreet. I cannot, however, accuse Agni of any indiscreetness or discourtesy towards the waters when he in a fit of rage spat at them. Agni expected that the waters would protect him. Relying on the good sense of the waters he gave himself up to them. But, to his profound amazement he found that his so-called protectors had betrayed him and being unable to control himself he spat at them. The waters paid for their betrayal. 'One reaps as one sows.' The episode of Tvāṣṭra Vis'varūpa elucidates the nature of the penalty that a person had to pay for his treachery. Vis'varūpa lost his head because he was bold enough to violate the trust confidentially reposed in him. It may appear rather strange that an asura *viz.*, Tvāṣṭra Vis'varūpa was tolerated as a 'Purohita' by the gods. But it is not at all difficult to account for the selection (or election) of the three-headed Asura Vis'varūpa as the 'Purohita' by the gods. This was evidently due to Vis'varūpa's blood-relationship with Tvaṣṭṛ who in the *Ṛgveda* is sketched as the architect of the gods. Tvaṣṭṛ had married an Asura-*Kanyā* who bore him a son namely Vis'varūpa. This Vis'varūpa was the *Bhāgineya* of the Asuras. The gods thinking that the association of the germinal fluid (*bīja*) would always weigh upon Vis'varūpa and that he would not be influenced by his mother, placed him in charge of the priestly duties. They believed that this Vis'varūpa would carry them out as efficiently and as faithfully as one of their kith and kin would do. Unfortunately their plans about this sister's son of the Asuras were completely frustrated for the '*god-cum-asura*' could not resist the influence of his mother and proved a traitor to his benevolent employers. As we have seen above, he paid a very heavy price for this treacherous deed. This *purohitatva* of Vis'varūpa does

not indicate that the gods were quite simple-minded. Nor should it be regarded as an index to the amicable relationship of the gods with the Asuras. The general evidence presented by the legends in the Brāhmaṇas precludes the possibility of the gods being very simple-minded folks and of the harmonious kinsmanship existing between the Devas and the Asuras. An analysis of the Deva-asura legends would at once show that the gods were clever, intriguing and always machinating to score over their kinsmen *viz.*, the Asuras. The former are again represented as fighting with the latter either for supremacy or for the possession of the paternal property *viz.*, the sacrifice. Thus, the relations of the gods with the Asuras were never cordial but always hostile. On the contrary the fact that a person having a definite connection with beings of avowed wicked tendencies was selected to act as their purohita by the gods shows that the gods (and therefore the Vedic Aryans) attached greater importance to the *bīja* than to the embryo.

(3) THEFT

V. *S'BR.* II-v-2

"The beings which Prajāpati created from the Vais'vadeva offerings ate the barley of which Varuṇa was the master originally. Varuṇa enraged at this bold action of the creatures seized them and the latter were rent up or swollen all over. They lay down and sat breathing in and breathing out. Fortunately they did not perish entirely. Prajāpati performed the *Varuṇa-praghāsa Iṣṭi* and delivered the born and the unborn beings from the noose of Varuṇa."

A sacrificer offering this *Iṣṭi* in the fourth month after the Vais'vadeva finds his offsprings safe from Varuṇa's noose.

The main purpose of this legend is to account for the performance of the seasonal offering *Varuṇa-praghāsa* and to explain the title of the same *Iṣṭi.* The offering came to be called *Varuṇa-praghāsa* by implification since the creatures ate of the barley of Varuṇa without the latter's knowledge and permission. To deliver these *praja's* from the noose of Varuṇa the offering is to be performed. (" *Varuṇasambandhi-yava-praghāsanāt prajāḥ Varuṇapraghāsāḥ tat pās'agṛ-hītānāṃ ṭāsaṃ*

pās'avimocanāya kriyamāṇā yāgā api upacāreṇa varuṇapraghāsākhyāḥ saṁjātāḥ iti arthaḥ.") All the same the legend is not without its moral. A crime can never go unnoticed and unpunished. A criminal will necessarily suffer from the consequence of his own crime and will not be freed of the sin incurred thereof unless he has paid for it. The *prajas* of Prajāpati suffered trom a terrible fate because they stole away and ate of the barley without the knowledge and permission of the owner *viz.* Varuṇa. They were released from the devastating *pās'a* of Varuṇa only through the intervention of their father Prajāpati. A more or less like fate once awaited Indra because of a crime deliberately performed by him. This will be evident from the following two legends which speak of the exorbitant passion of Indra for the intoxicating drink soma.

VI. *S'BR.* I-vi-2

"Tvaṣṭṛ had a three headed, six-eyed and three-mouthed son. As he was thus multi-formed or all-shaped, he was named Vis'varūpa. One of his mouths was Soma-drinking, the 2nd wine-drinking and with the 3rd he swallowed the other kinds of food. Indra hated him and therefore cut off all his three heads.[1] Tvaṣṭṛ, Vis'varūpa's father became furious at Indra because he mercilessly killed his son. In a spirit of vengeance he brought a feast of Soma from which he excluded Indra. Even as Soma was brought to the exclusion of Indra, so was it offered by Tvaṣṭṛ, *i.e.* he did not invite Indra to partake of it (*sa ca Somaḥ yathā apendraḥ prasūtaḥ evam pradāne api apendraḥ eva abhūt.*") Indra, then, reflected, "These excluded me from the Soma-feast." With an air of determination he entered the sacrificial hall though he was not invited to attend and receive his share at the sacrificial feast and forcibly drank off what pure soma had remained in the tub even as a strong man would deprive a weakling of his

[1] The Brāhmaṇa hereinafter refers to the production of certain birds from the three heads of Vis'varūpa, giving quite fantastic reasons for the same. Thus, from the Soma-drinking mouth sprang up the Kapiñjala. (*Kapih iva jīrnah kapiḥ iva javataḥ iṣat piṅgalo va.*) Both Soma and Kapiñjala are brown in colour (*tasmāt sa babhrukāḥ iva babhruḥ iva somo rājā*). From the spirit-drinking mouth arose the bird Kalaviṅka (sparrow). Since this bird as though stammers when he cries, an intoxicated person also stammers. From the 3rd mouth was produced the Tittiri bird (*tittiriḥ hi bahurūpavan dṛs'yāte*). The bird has spots on the body. These spots resemble the butter-drops and the money-meads. Since it was created from the food which consisted of various articles, it came to possess a variegated form (*yato so bahurupād annabhakṣakāt mukhāt saṃbabhūva ataḥ so atyantaṃ bahurūpavan dṛs'yate.*)

wealth without the latter's permission. This soma troubled or pained Indra and oozed out of the openings of all the vital airs such as the nose etc. except from the mouth, in the form of the *karkandhu* fruit [1]........................."

The latter part of this legend refers to the creation of the demon Vṛtra by Tvaṣṭṛ for the destruction of Indra who had committed a profane act and to the subsequent demolition of this demoniacal being by Indra released of the sin. I shall have an occasion of alluding to this part of the story in another paper, on this subject. I have narrated only that portion of the legend which immediately concerns us here. The lesson of this part of the legend will not be lost on us. Indra was not excused for his rather heathenish deed. The Soma that he had devoured greedily stealing it from the tub, could not be digested by him and it exuded from all the openings of his body except the mouth. It must have been, indeed, a ghastly site to see such a prominent deity of the sacrificial cult as Indra suffering from a tragic fate. The punishment meted out to Indra for his crime is comparatively milder than the one inflicted on the *prajas* of Prajāpati of the last legend although the nature of the offence of the accused in these two cases can be relegated to the same section of the Code of criminal procedure. This can be explained on the assumption that the status of the accused in the sacrificial cult probably weighed upon the mind of the then judges who, thereupon, passed 'simple imprisonment' in one case and a 'rigorous one' in the other. Indra had assumed in the times of the Brāhmaṇas a unique importance, having become a dominating divinity or the overlord of the sacrifice. That such a weighty personality should not escape from the clutches of law is an eye-opener to the fact that criminals were severely dealt with in those days. There is another version of the same legend occurring at another place in the *S'BR.* which describes the tragedy that overtook Indra more sharply than what the one narrated here does. Below is given a summary of this version of the legend.

[1] The Brāhmaṇa says that from this was produced the *Sautrāmaṇī Iṣṭi*, cf. *S'BR* V-5-4-2 and *Taitt. S.* II-4-2 12-1 where it is explained how the gods found out Indra with the Soma flowing from the body and how they ultimately healed him. One of the objects of the performance of the *Sautrāmaṇī Iṣṭi* is the expiation for an immoderate and wanton consumption of Soma by a priest (atha *Karkandhvādipadārtharūpeṇa sṛtebhyaḥ tebhyaḥ sakās'āt sautrāmaṇī sutrāmṇaḥ saṁbandhinī iṣṭiḥ niṣpannā, some s'ṛte yena prakāreṇa taṃ Indraṃ sṛtasomaṃ devāḥ vicikitsitavantaḥ tat sautrāmaṇīprakaraṇe vispaṣṭaṁ āmnāyate.*)

VII. *S'BR.* XII-vii-1

"Indra slew Vis'varūpa Tvāṣṭra. Tvaṣṭṛ was enraged and in order to exorcise Indra brought Soma-juice liable for witching. He withheld it from Indra. Indra, the great lover of Soma, forcibly drank it off. He, thus, desecrated the sacrifice. For this guilt of his he was sent asunder in every direction, his energy or vital power flowing away from every limb of his.[1]"

"Indra had to kill Namuci Asura. The latter, seeing Indra done once for all, seized upon his energy, vital power, Soma-drink and food. Indra was thus dissolved and the gods, thinking of healing him, the best among them, but now smitten with evil, gathered round him. They approached the two As'vins the divine physicians and Sarasvati the healing medicine. At their request the gods formed as As'vins' guerdon a he-goat produced from the fiery spirit that flowed from Indra's eyes and a ram created from the energy of his nostrils, as the compensation for Sarasvati's mission. The two As'vins and Sarasvati collected the energy or vital power from the Asura Namuci and restoring it to Indra saved the all-powerful god from evil. Since the gods said that Indra was *su-trāta*, it became the *sautrāmanī* Iṣṭi."

He who performs the *sautrāmaṇī* saves the self from death and repels evil. There are thirty-three *dakṣiṇas* for thirty-three gods healed Indra.

The legend symbolically states the origin and the significance of the *Sautrāmaṇī* Iṣṭi. But what strikes us most prominently in the legend is the appalling calamity that Indra had to wade through. This dreadful fate again, was of his own making. None but Indra himself was responsible for it. It was the result of the crime of the desecration of Tvaṣṭṛ's sacrifice by the theft of the Soma from which he was purposefully excluded by the Yajamāna. No crime—be it of a smaller or a greater magnitude—goes unretributed in the world. Indra suffered from the repercussions of his own criminal action so miserably that the other gods of the Vedic Pantheon could bear it no longer and they had to intervene to stop any more evil from invading Indra the cream of godhood in general. The reference to exorcising and witching through sacrifice, that we find in the legend deserves to be noted. It

[1] Here the Brāhmaṇa describes in detail the *vīrya* of Indra flowing away from him and being transformed into one object or another.

should not, however, be conceived that the Asura-kind (and hence the aborigines of India) alone practised sorcery and witchery as the present legend would lead a casual reader to believe but the evidence presented by the post-Ṛgvedic literature in general and by the Brāhmaṇas in particular points out that the sacrifice which was quite a dignified affair in its conception and the earlier part of its development, gradually degenerated into a vehicle for instituting charms and incantations against the enemies of humanity particularly of the priestly class. This was quite inevitable for the priestly class had to battle against the original inhabitants of the land where they were trying to spread their culture and civilization.

A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE CONTENTS OF TWO RARE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE UNPUBLISHED ĀS'VALĀYANA-MANTRA-SAṀHITĀ IN THE LIBRARY OF THE INDIA OFFICE

Paper I

BY V. M. APTE, M.A.,
Poona

THE *Ās'valāyana-Mantra-Saṁhitā* gives all the mantras from the *Ṛgveda* cited by Pratīkas for liturgical employment, in the S'rauta and Gṛhya Sūtras of Ās'valāyana, *in the order in which they occur in the Ṛgveda Saṁhitā*, the more modern division of Aṣṭakas, Adhyāyas and Vargas, being followed. This work is an entirely different work from the '*Ās'valāyana-S'ākhokta-Mantra-Saṁhitā*,' wrongly described by Max Müller in his *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 474 as "giving the mantras quoted in the *Ās'valāyana-Gṛhya-Sūtra*" and referred to, by him in his Second Edition of the *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā*, Vol. IV, p. 536, footnote 2 to Khailika Sūktas as "Bodl. MS. Walker 144." Max Müller's wrong description has been quoted without verification in the *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Bodleian Library*, Vol. II, p. 92 and in the *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bikaner Library*, compiled by Rajendralal Mitra (Calcutta, 1880), p. 26. The *Ās'valāyana-S'ākhokta-Mantra-Saṁhitā* of Max Müller, like many other similar Mantra-Saṁhitās of the *Ṛgveda*, many manuscripts of which were examined by the writer, puts together all the mantras recited at domestic rites which were developed *at a late* date among adherents of the Ās'valāyana-S'ākhā of the *Ṛgveda*. Thus the work is unique and gives, besides, *some Khila verses not traced to any of the existing collections of Khila hymns of the Ṛgveda.*

A TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE ĀS'VALĀYANA-GṚHYA-SŪTRA BASED UPON THE NON-INCLUSION IN THE ĀS'VALĀYANA-MANTRA-SAṀHITĀ (DESCRIBED IN PAPER I) OF R.V. SOME MANTRAS CITED IN THE ĀS'VALĀYANA-GṚHYA-SŪTRA

Paper II

By V. M. Apte, M.A.,
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If the *Ṛgveda* mantras cited in certain *Sūtras* of the *Ās'valāyana Gṛhya-Sūtrà* are not traced to the *Ās'valāyana-Mantra-Saṁhitā*, then *a doubt, atleast, is possible* as to the genuine character of these Sūtras because the *Ās'valāyana-Mantra Saṁhitā* (which gives all the *Ṛgveda* mantras cited in the *S'rauta* and *Gṛhya* Sūtras of the *Ṛgveda*) in relation to either the *S'rauta* or *Gṛhya Sūtra* taken *singly* for comparison is apt to err on the side of excess in the number of mantras it contains. This doubt would be considerably strengthened if the genuine character of the Sūtras in question, is liable to suspicion on *independent grounds also.* From this point of view, the following Sūtras of the *Ās'valāyana-Gṛhya-Sūtra* are examined :

I. *1.* 3-4 ; *7.* 17 ; *8.* 2-3 ; *12.* 3 ; *23.* 6, 24.

II. *6.* 5, 7, 12, 14, 15.

III. *6.* 5 ; *7.* 8-9 ; *12.* 12-16.

IV. *2.* 18, 20 ; *6.* 7.

TREATMENT OF BRAHMACARYA

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The object of this paper is to indicate the importance attached to the Institution of Brahmacārya by the ancient Hindu Ācāryās. Attempts are made to set forth clearly the points on which the preceptors agree in the exposition of Brahmacārya, but emphasis is laid on the points of difference between Gautama, Āpastamba, Manu and Yājñavalkya in the treatment of this important religious order of life. Attempts are also made to understand the reasons which might have actuated one preceptor to differ from another in the exposition and treatment of the nature and duties of a Brahmacārin.

PROBLEMS OF IDENTITY

By Vidyāsāgara Vidyāvācaspati
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I

Vedic Bṛhaspati and Classical Gaṇapati

गणानां त्वा गणपतिं हवामहे कविं कवीनामुपमश्रवस्तमम् ।
ज्येष्ठराजं ब्रह्मणां ब्रह्मणस्पत आ नः शृण्वन्नूतिभिः सीद सादनम् ॥

Ṛg-veda, II. Maṇḍala, 23rd Sūkta.

The above stanza is very interesting. According to the canons of Vedic exegesis, the whole hymn is devoted to the praise of Bṛmhaṇaspati or Bṛhaspati as he is also called, the preceptor of the gods. But owing to a curious evolution of practice, the opening words of the hymn seem to have prompted the classical ritualists to transfer bodily the first stanza of the hymn as a stanza to be invoked for the presence of Gaṇapati, the elephant-faced God of the later purāṇic and classical periods, who is usually praised to ward off all obstacles at the very commencement of all rituals by smārtas. Indeed, Gaṇapati or Gaṇeśa as the elder brother of Subrahmaṇya and as one of the sons of Pārvatī and Parameśvara, does not seem to have been a familiar figure with the Vedic Seers or the authors of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.

II

Govindānanda and Rāmānanda

In almost all the known manuscripts and printed editions, *Ratnaprabhā*, the commentary on the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* of S'aṅkarācārya is attributed to Govindānanda. The colophons and the titles make it very clear that the author is Govindānanda, the pupil of Gopālasarasvatī. The author of the *Pūrṇānandī*, a commentary on the *Ratnaprabhā* states definitely in the very beginning that the author of the *Ratnaprabhā* is Rāmānandācārya. And Rāmānanda or Rāmānandatīrtha is indeed the author. Rāmānanda is also the author of the *Vivaraṇopanyāsa* to which he refers in his *Ratnaprabhā* (*Vide*, closing portion on I-1-1). The following stanza occurs among the maṅgalas'lokas in both the *Ratnaprabhā* and the *Vivaraṇopanyāsa*.

कामाक्षीदत्तदग्धप्रचुरसुरनुतप्राज्यभोज्याधिपूज्य-
श्रीगौरीनायकाभित्प्रकटनशिवरामार्यलब्धात्मबोधैः ।
श्रीमत्गोपालगीर्भिः प्रकटितपरमाद्वैतभासा स्मितास्य-
श्रीमद्गोविन्दवाणीचरणकमलगो निर्वृतोऽहं यथाऽलिः ॥

From the above it will be clear that Rāmānanda is the pupil of Govindānanda, the pupil of Gopālasarasvati. The Sṛṅgeri tradition is clear that *Ratnaprabhā* and *Rāmānandīyam* are both identical.

2. IRANIAN SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By Prof. D. D. Kapadia, M.A., B.Sc., I.E.S., (Retd.)

RACE CHARACTERISTICS OF IRANIANS

Owing to a very limited time at my disposal, and not being ready with any critical scholarly subject for discourse, I with many apologies have selected for my discourse, the subject *Race Characteristics of Iranians*. Having a life-long interest in the ancient languages and culture of my native country of Iran, and having had the opportunities to travel extensively through Iran, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Erak and also through far Eastern countries like China and Japan, I have had opportunities to form my own conclusions about our old country of Iran and its people. I intend here to put before you a few important salient points in this short discourse and I hope to be excused for my presumption.

Of all the countries of the world which have passed through varying phases of civilization and vicissitudes of ups and downs during the course of their known historical existence, the history of Iran and her people is the most varied, pathetic and full of terrible vicissitudes and upheavals. At no less than half a dozen epochs in her existence, Iran was a mighty Empire with its boundaries from Europe in the West to India in the East, and its religion which was first promulgated in a systematic form by the Iranian prophet Zoroaster (Zarathūshtra) thousands of years ago, was a favourite religion of millions of people, but which unfortunately at present is professed only by a handful of Zoroastrians throughout the whole world. Iran, has suffered many vicissitudes, and owing to her peculiar race characteristics has regenerated herself repeatedly, and only but from a date as recent as 1921 has entered into her present phase of regeneration with wonderful

success. Is it not then an important as well as a salient question to inquire into the characteristics of a nation which can regenerate itself after a disastrous downfall, the moment favourable conditions are restored? We shall try to do this in a popular manner in this discourse.

The Iranians and the Hindus represent the result of the first schism amongst our Aryan forefathers, during the course of their southward migration from their ancient home somewhere in Central Asia or even elsewhere. Worship of nature in its manifold manifestations which was bound to result in a mental creation of multiplicity of gods, *i.e.*, polytheism, and the natural proclivity of Iranians to fight for Good against Evil, instead of propitiating Evil and thus save oneself from its scourge, it is presumed, may have led Iranians to separate from the Hindus, nay, may even have forced them to fight against them to force them to adopt their Iranian belief and persuasion.

During the regime of Pishdadiyan Monarchs which is supposed to be somewhat pre-historic, we have monarchs like Yima, θrita, etc., (Vedic यम, त्रित) and the names of a host of Iranian Daevas, corresponding to Hindu gods. These show a remarkable parallel between the two principal Aryan races. But it is not known when the actual schism took place.

Having migrated to a little south-westerly direction towards the Hindukush Mountains and Afghanistan, they (Iranians) had to fight and make their way against their Turanian neighbours; and their religious beliefs also in the course of time are supposed to have been receiving gradual modifications transforming monotheistic Iranian beliefs to polytheistic ritualistic doctrines.

With the advent of prophet Zoroaster the fight between the Iranians accepting the tenets of Zoroaster, and non-Iranians who opposed, tooth and nail, promulgation of this new religion, became more conspicuous, and we have semi-historic accounts of these religious wars, which shook the very foundation of the reign of King Vistasp and the Kayānian Monarchy. Iran seems to have received a severe shaking in these wars. We have in *Avesta* allusions to these wars but there are no historic records of what happened subsequently, and who were the real masters of Iran during subsequent centuries—upto the historical reign of King Cyrus (B. C. 558 to 529). Cyrus, an

ambitious and able Median chief, succeeds in subjugating petty Median monarchs scattered over different parts of Iran, and establishes the famous Parsi Dynasty of Achaemenians in Iran.

This is the first historical revival as a great power of Iran after her disintegration subsequent to the first promulgation of Zoroastrian religion in Iran; and this regeneration could only take place, because of the race-characteristics of the Iranians, of which, amongst others—*one*, the peculiar adaptability of the nation to time and circumstances and its ever cheerful and optimistic temperament; *secondly*, their avidity and thirst of something better, more ennobling and more appealing to their sentiment and their fondness for progress; thirdly, the virility and elasticity of the race, are specially to be noted.

Iranians have all along, as is well noticed from historical facts, never lost heart by defeats and disasters, and miseries to which they have been reduced during bad times. They have always remained optimistic, and have borne all difficulties with patience and have always wonderfully adapted themselves to exigencies of time and circumstances.

Their thirst for progress, both spiritual and material, is a well known historical fact. They never fail to take advantage of oportunities to improve themselves both spiritually and materially whenever such occasions arose. This psychology is strange and the promulgation of various religious and spiritualistic movements during the successive stages of Iran's life-history, illustrates very vividly this characteristic.

The virility of the race is also very remarkable. Even after the most crushing and irreparable disaster, they have wonderfully regenerated themselves the moment the causes which depressed them and oppressed them, were slightly relaxed. Defeat was no bar to them; fighting against odds has been their pleasure and under no circumstances they ever gave up fighting against evil or against things which checked or hampered their progress. We shall now make a rapid brief survey of this quality of virility which has been regenerating Iran on successive occasions.

The disastrous wars which the Iranians had to face against the Turanians, even before and after Zoroaster, did not deter them from regenerating. Indeed there is no authentic historic record of what happened to Iranians before and after Zoroaster except the *Shah*

Namah and sparse allusions in *Avesta.* But coming to historic facts when once they got regenerated under the leadership of the mighty Cyrus, the Achaemenian, (Cyrus the Great), they soon became a mighty nation and during the regime of Darius Hystaspes (B.C. 521-485) they were masters of the whole length of country between Egypt and the Indus. They fought even with the Greeks, and it was nothing but a wonderful feat of warlike strategy that they should have gone so far away from their Iranian base to fight across the sea against the Greeks. It is true that Xerxes' (B.C. 485-465) armies got defeated in Grecian passes at Platea but it displayed a remarkable optimism of a race, which went far off into enemy's own country to fight against them.

However, as the latter Achaemenian monarchs became rather easy-going and neglected the hardy pursuits of their forefathers, Darius Codomanus, the last monarch (B.C. 336-330) was signally defeated by Alexander the Great in the battle of Arbela on 1st Oct. 331 B.C. and the whole mighty empire was crushed to pieces. Their valuable library containing valuable Iranian lore was burnt and a major portion of Iranian culture and literature was thus wantonly destroyed, and Iran became a province of the Grecian Empire and Hellenistic influence supplanted the vivid Iranian culture.

After Alexander, his successors were not able to maintain their grip over the whole of Iran, and Iran got split up into a number of Parthian monarchies and until Ardeshir Babekan (A.D. 226-240) the first monarch of the Sassanian Dynasty gathered together the scattered Iranians, Iran was in a depressed and unconsolidated state for nearly 5 centuries, after her crushing defeat at the hands of Alexander the Great.

It took a very long time before the literary output of ancient Iran so ruthlessly destroyed by Alexander the Great could be resuscitated. Pahlavi writings inform us that during the regime of the Parthian King Valkhash (=Vologeses I, a contemporary of Nero) (A.D. 51-78) attempts were made to collect together scattered remnants of old Iranian literary works, and this good work then began, could only be somewhat successfully accomplished during the times of Ardeshir Babekan and his son Shahpur, two centuries later.

The Sassanian monarchy continued from A.D. 226-A.D.652, when its last monarch Yezdgird Sheriyar, Yezdgird III, succumbed to

the Arab onslaught, and Zoroastrianism received its deathblow—after a period of some 500 years of prosperity. Iran again sunk into a state of abject subjugation, and the Iranians groaned for several centuries under the tyranny both of Semitic rule and Semitic culture. Different moslem monarchies were established at different times and consolidated Iran was gone for centuries.

Iran during the days of the Abbaside Caliphs (625-900 A.D.) passed through dark ages of tyranny and ignorance, and was governed by Vazirs (Viceroys) from Baghdad. Then came the Safārians (A.D. 867-901=A.H. 253-289) and then the Samanians from (A.D. 901-998=A.H. 289-389). It was only during the reign of Ghazniyans (A.D. 904-1187=A.H. 322-583) that Iran began to breathe freely and there was both political and literary regeneration. Persian language suppressed for nearly six centuries, found a wonderful revival, and a great literary output by Iranians was the outcome. Iran saw a better day under the Ghazniyans. Then came the Saljooks, a Tarter Tribe with their Atabeg followers who governed Iran for about 200 years, (A.D. 1037-1206). The period of the rule of the last three-Samanians, Ghazniyans and Saljookians—was one of regeneration for Iran, and it is said that "the Samanians sowed the seeds, the Ghazniyans nourished the plants and the Saljookians fructified them." The calender was also revised in the reign of Malekshah Saljook, and the new Fasli calendar was founded in Iran.

Then followed again a period of darkness for Iran, when Halāku, son of Chengiz Khan established the *Mughal* Dynasty in A.D. 1206. Chengiz Khan himself oppressed and massacred Iranians and destroyed Georgiana, during the reign of Muhammad Khārezamshāh; but what his successor Tamerlane did in A.D. 1387 and subsequently surpasses any description. The fertile country of Iran, became a barren desert under these Mughals, and Iranians became irretrievably ruined and lost, for about 200 years, when Uzbegs from the steppes of Kabchāk wrested the country from the Mughals in A.D. 1505. The character of the Mughal rule in Iran is so well cryptically but fully described by the Persian words, *Āmadand, zadand bastand, koshtand, rikhtand. shēkashtand, sūkhtand, raftand, i.e.* they came, they struck, they bound, they killed, they scattered, they broke, they burnt and they went away. Then came the Safāvians from Azar Baizan, and they established a reign of peace. (A.D. 1520-1722); and one of the

greatest monarchs amongst them was Shah Abbas the Great (A.D. 1585-1627), during whose time Iran produced wonderful works of arts and public utility and there was prosperity everywhere.

Then followed a brief period of tyrannical Afghan rule in Iran, when they wreaked terrible vengeance on the Iranians (A.D. 1722-1727). Iran was recovered from the Afghans by Shah Tamasp (1727-1736) who was assassinated in 1736 and whose throne was usurped by the rebel Kooli Khan in 1736 under the name of Nadirshah. Nadirshah's tyrannical rule is proverbial, and on his death in 1753, Karim Khan Zend became the ruler of Iran with his capital at Shiraz. During the Zend monarchy, Iran had again a short respite of peace and prosperity, when their last monarch Lutf-Ali-Khan, was defeated and killed by Muhammad Ally Kajar of Astrakhan in 1788. Muhammad Ally Kajar's atrocities could be best judged by the fact, that, during his campaign against the city of Kerman he got so wild at the resistance offered by the Kermanis, for one week in favour of their Zend monarch, that this Muhammad Ally Kajar demanded an immediate penalty of 20,000 human eyes as a toll for the appeasement of his wrath. Thus they say 10,000 Kermanis got massacred in one night, and the city of Kerman even today presents a horrid appearance of its empty broken houses owing to fright and sad massacre of its occupants who either escaped or fell victims to his cruel wrath.

Kajars were, really speaking, not Iranians; they were Tartars, and they had no racial sympathy with the Iranians. They shifted their capital to Teheran near Caspian Sea, and they relegated the work of dispensation of justice according to principles of Islam, into the hand of Kazis and Mullas. This gave rise to a religious revolt by Babis and subsequently by Behais and one of these Behais in 1895, killed Shah Nasaruddin Kajar (1846-1895) as he was returning from the Mosque. Kajar's rule was never happy; people were universally discontented and there was strong political upheaval for parliamentary rule; and Shah Muzfar-ud-din (1895-1906) was forced to sign an edict for parliamentary constitution in 1906; but when people found that the existence of the Kajar Dynasty was hampering their constitutional work, they deposed the last puppet King Shah Ahmad in 1926 and appointed Reza Shah Pahlavi as their constitutional monarch. It may however incidently be mentioned that during the rule of the Kajar Dynasty, British and Russian influence over Iran was paramount.

There was a treaty of capitulations surrendering important political rights to Russia in the North and Great Britain in the South of Iran. And can it not be asked with legitimate pride what Iran has been enabled to achieve during this short spell of years since Reza Pahlavi has taken up the reins of Government in his hands? Is it not now the visible manifestation of the race characteristic of the Iranian, that the moment he gets a respite of peace, he is wonderfully able to manage his own affairs both efficiently and creditably?

Having thus given an idea of the quality of virility and elasticity of the race, I intend casting a brief glance at their unquenchable thirst for moral and material progress, especially the former, when the land of Iran has been able to produce so many prophetic missionaries.

Some of the Kings of the (pre-historic) Pishdayan dynasty are recognized as the first prophets—such as Gaio-marz, Hushang, Tehmouras, Jamshid, Faridun, Haoma etc.; in course of centuries we come to *Zarathushtra* (*Zoroaster*) who proclaimed his new religion during the reign of King Vishtasp. The Schismatic movement of the Iranian Aryans was due to the gulf between their religious beliefs, when the Iranian mind refused to acknowledge the so-called polytheistic doctrines. When once the schism began, it had no difficulty in becoming soon, both bitter and antagonistic. As mentioned somewhere above, the disastrous wars of King Vishtasp and his Iranians with King Arjasp and his Turanians played no mean part in shaking the foundation of Kayanian monarchy, and dismembering Iran into a group of states.

During the time of the subsequent Median rule, tradition relates the wonderful spiritual powers wielded by the Median priests, known as Magii. It is presumed that these Magi priests were good masters of spiritual and occult sciences. But as the proper history of the Medians is shrouded in mystery, nothing definite can be said in this matter.

The Achaemenians, (B.C. 550-330) as it appears from their rock-cut inscriptions, believed in Ahura Mazda, the Almighty God of *Zoroaster*. What their religious doctrines were, is not well known, but on analyzing their moral principles one finds them as an exact replica of *Zoroastrian* tenets; and it is said in Pahlavi writings that the Royal libraries of Dara-e-Darayan (Darius Codomanus B.C. 336-330)

contained two sets of copies of all the works of Zoroaster and his disciples representing the ancient Gathic, Datik, and Hadha-Mathric lore—one set at the Library of Ganj-e-Shapigan, and the other at Dizh-e-Napisht. There does not seem to be any important religious upheaval during the Achaemenian regime. But their contact with the Greeks, did in no small measure influence them to borrow fascinating pictures of Hellenistic gods like, Jupiter, Pluto, Venus etc., and in direct corroboration of Iranian character as perfect imitators and adapters, the Iranians in those days are said to have erected statues of "Anahita" and other Zoroastrian angels; and thus in their zeal for appreciation of the art of statuary, they even leaned towards idol worship. The ruins of Pasargede and the world renowned palaces of Darius and Xerxes at Persipolis are wonderful monuments of works of arts of those days copying the Greecian art until so wantonly destroyed by Alexander the Great. After the Greek conquest of Iran, we have no record of religious movement in Iran except that as hinted in Dinkart the Parthian King Valkhash or Vologes I (A.D. 51-78) attempted to gather together the scattered volumes on Zoroastrianism. It is said that the Birth of Jesus Christ was predicted by Magi priests, some three of them believing that the traditional mention of the births of Soshhosh, Hoshidar Mah and Hoshidar Bamik by a virgin at the end of the last Millenium to renovate the world as stated in Zoroastrian traditions, agreed with the history of circumstances of the birth of Jesus, are believed to have gone from Iran to Jerusalem to greet Jesus Christ at his birth. The bones of these Magii, who in their fascination to be the first to greet Jesus at his birth, are in the Cathedral of Cologne (Germany), and are worshipped as pious relics. This is the most typical instance of Iranian mentality, of their ardent pursuit after spiritual thirst however great the difficulties in the way may be. Even before my eyes, I have known a Parsi medical officer, of strong Zoroastrian proclivity, getting converted to Christianity after his visit to Cologne, believing the same story as what those three Magii priests may have done in their own days.

The advent of Christianity was no mean obstacle to Zoroastrianism in Iran, and in some of our Pahlavi books we have mention of bitter controversies on points of religion and philosophy between Zoroastrians, Jews and Christians. It was but quite natural that the

Iranian mind well adapted to novelty found some fascination for Christianity which became the natural antagonist of Zoroastrianism, until Zoroastrianism was restored to its former position by the efforts of the Sassanian Monarchs. Meanwhile the ever—curious Iranian mind in its unquenchable thirst after spiritual pursuits did not find proper satisfaction even in the ordinary Christian doctrines and earned for something better; and soon a bright enthusiastic Irani Mani with his conglomerate doctrines as culled from the existing religions came out with his new cult and perturbed Iran. Mani's movement was an important religious movement and one is tempted to speak something about it.

Manism or Manichaeism, the first and the most important of the two schismatic movements in Zoroastrianism (the other, Mazdakism, being considerably later) arose in the third Christian century within the Iranian Empire. It was there combated and execrated as violently by orthodox Zoroastrianism as it was by orthodox Christianity when it spread westwards into the imperial domains of Rome. Mani was an Iranian by birth. His father, well born, was a native of Hamadan. His mother came of the Royal stock of Parthian Ārsacids. The Father, a religious eclectic, removed from Hamadan to Babylonia which was a part of Parthian Empire. Mani was born in a village, called Mardinu, near the site of the modern city of Baghdad in about 216 A. D. He was accorded, it is said, a spiritual vision in his early youth and when about 20 years of age, inspired by divine Revelation, he came forward as a prophet: the date of his first appearance was on the coronation day of the Sassanian Monarch Shahpur I which is usually reckoned to have been March 20, 242 A. D. Although his preaching seems to have met with favour for a time in Iran, the growing opposition of the Zorastrian Priests to this "fiend incarnate" (or better translated '*Crippled Devil*' since he appears to have been lame) led King Shahpur to banish him from the Iranian realm. During his long period of exile that followed (nearly more than 20 years) he is said to have preached his doctrines in the regions of Northern India, Tibet, Chinese, Turkistan and Khurasan, undoubtedly absorbing new ideas wherever he went. He ventured to return at last to Iran, meeting with royal consideration during the short reign of Hormazd I (272-273): but shortly afterwards, owing to the Priestly intrigues at the court, Mani was put to death by the latter monarch's successor

Behram I early in the year 274 A. D. in a horrible manner, by being flayed alive, and the body then decapitated, whilst the skin was stuffed with straw and hung up at the Royal Gate as a warning to future heretics. His adherents were cruelly persecuted in Iran, soon after his martyrdom: but that did not hinder the rapid spread of Mani's Faith both towards the East and the West. Though banned in Iran Manichaeism was soon disseminated westward to the extreme boundaries of the Roman Empire as a mighty adversary of the Christianity and Eastwards through Central Asia, reaching ultimately as far as China where, though it was always sporadic, there were definite traces of it as late as the 17th century.

Mani has endeavoured by a synthesis of elements from various existing religions, to form a new religion, eclectic in character and inspired by the fervour of his own idealistic enthusiasm, one that should not be confined by National borders but be universally adopted. In other words, by taking all what was deemed the best from Zoroaster, the Buddha and Jesus, as pioneer revealers of the truth, Mani's aspiration was to bring the world, orient and occident, into closer union through a combined faith, based upon the creeds known in his day.

An unusual revival of interest in Manichaeism took place early in the present century, when actual Manichaeistic documents were discovered amidst sand-buried ruins in the oasis of Turfan in Eastern Chinese Turkestan. These Turfan tablets are written in pure Iranian Pahlavi and have led to the discovery of long-lost Bible of Mani.

The martyrdom of Mani and his followers, did not put a complete stop to the avidity and the unquenchable thirst after spiritual progress of the Iranians, and did not allow Zorastrianism to have its full sway peacefully all along. The spark was in their hearts and it only required fanfire to make it blaze into full brilliance some 300 years after.

The ritualistic tyranny of the priestly class, and the unequal, uneconomic distribution of wealth amongst the rulers and the ruled during the latter part of Sassanian monarchy in Iran, led to an upheaval of a new and socialistic character in Iran, which suddenly assumed a vigorous force under the leadership of ***Mazdak***. The economic depression of the people at large, and the inherent avidity of Iranians for something novel to attain a speedy relief in their helpless condition—made the common populace follow Mazdak with eagerness and facilitated dissemination of his dangerous doctrines. Mazdak

began his career as minister in the Royal Court of King Kobad (487-531 A. D.). By gradual persuasion he made King Kobad favourably inclined towards his socialistic doctrines, and it is said that even at one time the King gave up his Zoroastrian Faith in favour of Mazdakian doctrines. This led to a peculiar upheaval in Iran shaking for a time the very foundation of social and economic superstructure of Iran. But when his socialistic doctrines were pushed to the extreme, and when Mazdak openly propounded his doctrines of equal distribution of wealth and women uniformly amongst the people, Iran came to the very brink of a terrible revolution. Owing to the nature of his doctrines which appealed to the popular mind very strongly, Mazdak had a very large following in Iran and his socialistic doctrines spread like wild bush-fire, and about the latter end of the King Kobad's reign plunder, pillage, immorality and fornication were practised everywhere under the guise of Mazdakian doctrines, which did an irreparable harm to Iran. Mani's faith was a synthesis of generally good points in the then existing faiths, but Mazdakian doctrines struck at the very roots of society, family life, economic fabric, peace and order. And in the latter part of the reign of King Kobad, his son Noshervan, afterwards known as the Just (531-579 A.D.), who was afterwards a capable and a very popular monarch, and during whose regime Iran had again arrived at its zenith both in glory and affluence, checkmated Mazdak, defeated him and assassinated him along with a large number of his followers, and thus a powerful heretical movement was checked.

With the death of King Noshervan (Khosroes) the Just, rapid disintegration of Sassanian power began, and except for Khusro Parviz (during the first part of his reign), there were successive weak monarchs on the Iranian throne and the Sassanian Dynasty utterly collapsed in 652 A.D. and the new faith of Islam replaced Zoroastrianism as national religion generally.

Prophet Muhammad (A.D. 570-632) was born during the reign of Noshervan the Just, and he began preaching his religion in Arabia about 610 A.D. Islam became a great antagonist of Zoroastrianism in Iran and when during the latter part of the Sassanian Dynasty, when the disparity between the conditions of the Princes and the common populace was so great that there was a seething ferment in the nation, and their minds were in such a state of uncertain tension, that in their

fondness for a new change and for betterment of their conditions, they did not hesitate to give up their allegiance to Zoroastrianism and embrace Islam and welcome Islam to the soil of Iran (A.D. 652). A great part of Iran embraced Islam, which was propagated generally by force whilst some still remained faithful to their old faith, and suffered great hardships and privations in faithfully following their ancient Faith. In the active propagation of Islam, the hand of a Zoroastrian Irani is known historically. And just as the three Magi priests who próceeded to Jerusalem to offer their allegiance at the birth of Jesus, Salman of Pars had his no insignificant share in Islam. He is mentioned in *Al-Koran*. Ibn-Haukal in his memorable travel memoirs writes that "Salman" Farsi (Salman the Irani) also was one of those illustrious men: his piety is celebrated throughout the world; he sought the truth of religion in all quarters, until he found it at Medina, with the prophet Muhammad, the peace and blessing of God be on him! in consequence of which, Salman became a true believer." This is again another typical instance of what an Iranian does in his insatiable thirst for spiritual progress!

At this stage, Iranians may be considered to have got divided into three classes or sections—the first and the major one consisted of the Iranians who embraced Islam and gave up Zoroastrianism and remained in Iran: the second consisted of those Iranians who continued to maintain their ancient Faith and remained in Iran and suffered religious persecution and disabilities; and the third, a microscopic section consisted of those who in their zeal to observe and maintain their ancient Faith unmolested travelled to India to maintain their religion in peace without outside interference. The history of these three sections though different yet shows the same peculiar race characteristics. The Arab conquest of Iran dealt a death-blow to Zoroastrian language, culture and literature from which it never completely recovered. Some literary works continued to be published in Pahlavi by the Zoroastrians of Iran for some centuries after the conquest, yet the continuous contact of Islam for centuries gradually dwindled the number of Zoroastrians and their influence in Iran. Today there are hardly 10,000 Iranians in Iran professing the Zoroastrian Faith. It took the Arabs nearly 250 years before they were able to bring the whole of Iran under their sway, and though a majority of Iranians embraced Islam, yet even then, they refused to accept it *in*

toto in the form in which it was proposed to them. Owing to the peculiar race characteristics of the Iranians after the quest of something novel and original, they formed a peculiar adaptation of Islam, and introduced certain amendations in the old Islamic beliefs and traditions, and called themselves Shiahs. This Shiah faith is absolutely peculiar to Iran, and nowhere in the world there exists a home for Shiahs except in Iran. Shiahism is really a revolt against orthodox Islam which the Iranian race did not like to embrace in its original form.

During the regime of the Abbaside Caliphs of Baghdad, Arabic was the language in vogue and ruthless attempts were made to kill Iranian language and culture, by all means in their power. It was a wonderful anomaly of nature, that convert Zoroastrians became more ardent followers of Islam, than the original Arab invaders themselves, and masterly and scholarly works in Arabic produced by them are ample evidence of the wonderful literary and philosophic output of these convert Iranians.

But after some four or five centuries of Arab repression, during which nothing but Arabic was the language in vogue, Iranian culture began to revive; and when during the reign of Mahmud Gazni, Firdousi was entrusted with the task of writing out a complete history of Iran in Persian, Arabic was nearly given up and old Persian language was well regenerated. This illustrates fully the typical race characteristic of the nation as regards its wonderful virility and elasticity. The moment the pressure of oppression was slackened, what was actually in their hearts sprang out with a wonderful spontaneity. After some centuries of usage, the nation found that Shiah Islam was also not sufficient to satisfy their thirst for spiritual progress, and the Iranian minds wanted something more rational to satisfy their thirst for spiritual advancement, and the peculiar sect of Sufis arose and doctrines of Sufism gave a wonderful fascination to the Iranian mind. It is generally believed that most of the Sufis were convert Zoroastrians, and as their minds could not reconcile with the tenets of Islam, they started the Sufi cult. Sufistic literature began to be produced voluminously by such masters as Hāfiz, Sāadi, Maulana Rumi, Jāni, Omar-Khayyam etc., and the curious Iranian mind found some satisfaction in preaching and practising Sufistic doctrines. There were some other spiritualistic sects as " Kalandars " etc., but their influence

of Iranian life was not so very marked. Again between successive alternative waves of orthodox Islam and liberal Islam, during the successive dynasties which ruled Iran, the practice of Islam, during the last Kajar Dynasty in the rigorous orthodox form produced a violent reaction amongst the nation, and a religious revolt in the beginning of the last century under the leadership of Mirza Ali Muhammad "the Bab" a young seer of Shiraz sprang up in Iran, and Babism began to have its sway on Iranian mind. Babism was tried to be ruthlessly suppressed by the Kājārs and their orthodox bigoted priests. Bab himself and his followers by hundreds were massacred, yet the religious influence of Bab did not diminish and hundreds of thousands of people willingly accepted his doctrines and discarded Islam in the form in which it was preached and practised then in Iran. Bab was executed in July 1850, and Mirza Yahya (a lad of 19) was nominated by Bab to succeed him under the title "Subh-i-Ezal", and on the death of the founder, Subhi-i-Ezal was unanimously recognized as the head by the Babi Community. Subh-i-Ezal had a half-brother "Beha'ullah", a man of much more resolute and ambitious character, who gradually became the most prominent figure and the moving spirit of this sect of Babis. For some time Beha'ullah continued to do all that he did in the name of Subh-i-Ezal but after a while, though at what precise date is still uncertain, about the summer of 1866, he threw off all disguise and publicly proclaimed himself to be "Him whom God shall manifest" and called upon all Babi churches throughout Iran, Turkey, Egypt and Syria to acknowledge his supreme authority, and thus a renovated form of Babism as Behaism sprang up. Beha began promulgating the God's Word the revelations, and continued till his death on 16th May 1872.

It is needless to dilate on the stupendous ferment which was produced amongst the Babis, by this sudden usurpation of authority by Beha'ullah; but gradually Babism began being supplanted by Behaism and at the present times we have hundred of thousands of Behahi's throughout Europe and Asia, and their religion is being actively propagated by all means in their power. Since the accession of H.M. the King Reza Shah Pahlavi to the throne of Iran, religion is relegated to a subsidiary position; the tyranny of the clergy is gone, and anyone in Iran is free to follow any religious pursuasion, and there is no state interference as regards belief and faith so long as it does

not come in conflict with present constitution and the politics of Iran.

The second section of Iranians, who remained in Iran after the Arab conquest had very little freedom either of speech or of action to indulge in spiritual dissertations. During the early centuries of Islamic occupation of Iran, some Pahlavi books were composed like *Shikand-Gumanik-Vichar, Dadistan-i-Dini,* etc., yet they were subjected to so many disabilities and persecutions that in their efforts to preserve and follow their ancient Zoroastrian Faith and tenets under the most unfavourable circumstances in which they were living, they had hardly any peace of mind to indulge in new spiritual disquisitions. Notwithstanding even today some of them are staunch exponents of Behaism. Their decline was gradual but highly regrettable. Yet they stuck to the old Zoroastrian Faith with such a fidelity and tenacity that we have but the highest admiration and sincere approbation for their faithfully preserving up to this day under such unfavourable circumstances and religious persecution what little they were able to do as regards their ancient Iranian Faith and Culture. They first came to know of the existence and to establish contact with their fellow Zoroastrians in India in the 15th Century 1478 and 1486 when a deputation of Indian Zoroastrians waited on them, to get light on several Zoroastrian doctrines and tenets which were either not properly known to them or lost to them in India. Such contacts continued during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. But during the rule of Kajar monarchs, the tyranny and persecutions were so severe that many got converted to Islam, whilst some migrated to India to escape persecutions. Their numbers gradually decimated and they now hardly number 10,000 souls, whilst a century or two ago they could be counted by thousands. Their condition is now reversed, and what knowledge of Zoroastrian Faith they formerly possessed is either forgotten or lost to them. There had been a veritable flow of valuable manuscripts of works in Avesta, Pahlavi and even in Persian to India and Europe from Iran for a long time, but the stock is by now so much depleted that in 1930, hardly any manuscript of note was to be seen in Iran.

The third microscopic section of Iranians (the forefathers of the Parsis of India) which migrated to India to escape persecution by the Arabs, got settled on the western coast of India They were very

small in number and though they possessed the same virile characteristics they had considerable difficulty during their sojourn in India in maintaining their own against powerful odds. However the Priestly class soon interested themselves in Sanskrit and Dastur Nairyosang Dhawal translated some of their religious works in Sanskrit. These Sanskrit translations are of substantial help to the present day Parsi scholars for the interpretation of Zoroastrian religious lore. Parsis remained peacefully amongst the Hindus of Gujarat, but by centuries of contact amongst non-Zoroastrians, they began losing gradually their interest and genuine knowledge of Zoroastrianism. Further the history of the Parsis in India during the earlier centuries of their settlement is all lost in oblivion. There are no genuine records. But it is traditionally reported that the first work of merit which they accomplished after their arrival in India, owing to their extreme religious zeal was the establishment of Iran Shah Atash Behram (Fire Temple) at Sanjan in about Samvat 777 (A.D. 834). The first genuine record of the adventurous nature of these people is an inscription in Pahlavi recording the visit of some 17 Parsis on 2nd December 999 to Canary Caves, in the island of Salsette near Bombay. A second inscription on the wall of another of the same group of caves records the visit of a second party of some 10 Parsis on the 5th November 1021, the four names of the visitors in the latter inscription begin identical with the four names in the former. These inscriptions show that even after four centuries of settlement in India, the Parsis knew the Pahlavi language and could read and write in that language. It is also traditionally reported that from amongst those who happened to have settled in Sind, about the year 1144 A.D., a priest named Mahiyar went to Seitan to obtain information about Zoroastrian doctrines, and seemed to have stayed there for some six years, and when he returned to India, he brought with him a manuscript copy of *Vendidad* in Pahlavi made by a competent scribe Ardeshir Bahman of Seistan. This copy is regarded as the *first copy* of Pahlavi *Vendidad* brought to India.

According to Kisseh-i-Sanjan, an instance of their adventurous and impulsive character was recorded in A.D. 1414, when a band of fearless Parsis under the leadership of one Mr. Ardeshir volunteered to fight to death against the Muhammadan army of Sultan Muhammad Begda of Gujarat on behalf of the Hindu King of Sanjan. In the

initial encounter Ardeshir was successful, but in the subsequent struggle against heavy odds the Parsis suffered a signal defeat, and got killed in large numbers, and were forced to flee away from Sanjan to the Bahrot Mountains.

By their prolonged stay in India with non-Zoroastrians, the Parsis gradually began to lose all proper knowledge of the technicalities of their religious doctrines and the Parsi mind, curious and adventurous as it always is, hit upon a plan to send some one competent man to Iran to obtain answers and solutions to certain questions and difficulties which had cropped up during these years, and in 1478 A.D. one Mr. Nariman Hushang of Broach was deputed to Iran to get elucidations of their difficulties by consulting Zoroastrian priests of Iran. The same gentleman was again deputed to Iran in 1486 A.D. Emboldened by the successes of these missions, various deputations were sent to Iran from time to time for three successive centuries, and these religious expositions and dissertations as received from Zoroastrian Priests of Iran are preserved upto this day as " Rivayats " in Persian Language.

During the reign of Emperor Akbar, as is historically recorded, there were free religious discussions on the merits of various existing religions; and for this purpose he used to gather together in his court priests of various denominations, and in such religious concourses Dastur Meherji Rana of Navsari represented the Zoroastrian Faith. Emperor Akbar was highly pleased with Meherji Rana's religious erudition and gave him an Inam of 200 Vinghas of land (which Inam was subsequently enhanced to 300 Vinghas by a special Sanad to his son Kaikobad, dated 24th February 1595). In recognition for his valuable services in creating a favourable impression about Zoroastrian religion in the Court of Emperor Akbar, Dastur Meherji Rana was unanimously appointed the First High Priest of the Parsis at Navsari on his return from Delhi by a Sanad dated March 1579, and since then his heirs are enjoying hereditary High Priesthood.

A Zoroastrian priest of Iran, named Jamasp Irani (nicknamed as Jamasp Vēlayati) having started from Iran on 26th November 1720, arrived at Surat in 1721, and during his intercourse with the Parsis of Surat discovered that the Parsis there were grossly ignorant as regards correct tenets of the Zoroastrian religion and that their calendar was also one month behind that in vogue in Iran. He did not like

seriously to express himself and thrust himself into bitter controversies which were then going on. But he first took as his disciples three intelligent priests and instructed them into the correct doctrines of Zoroastrianism, and drew the attention of the Parsis to the mistake in their calendar as compared with that of Iran. This was the beginning of a prolonged and bitter controversy amongst the Parsis which resulted in a schism amongst the Parsis of India—into Kadimis *i.e.*, those following the Iranian calendar, and Rasamis *i.e.*, those following the calendar in vogue in India. This Kadimi and Rasami controversy continued for a very long period and produced unconceivable bitterness, but in recent years when the members of the two sections had entirely given up their animus, the *Fasli* calendar controversy has come to the forefront, and agitates the present day Parsi mind.

When the Europeans first came to India, the Parsis with their usual characteristics were the first to profit by their contact with the Westerners. They successively got themselves into good the looks of the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the Englishmen, and were of good help to them first in their commercial, and next in their political enterprises; and when in 1758 A.D., Anquetil du Perron, a French amateur Orientalist, took away with him a number of books on Zoroastrian language and literature and made these languages known to the scholars in the West, giving his own way of interpretations, etc., which he had learned at Surat under Dastur Darab (popularly known as Kumana Dadadaru), the foundation was laid of philological and critical study of Avesta and Pahlavi in Europe. The Parsis in India took advantage of these western methods of interpretation of their sacred languages, and about the years 1857, 1858 the late Mr. Khushedji Rustomji Cama was the first Parsi to receive first hand instruction of philological study of Avesta and Pahlavi under European savants especially under Prof. Spiegal of Erlangen (Germany) and Prof. Mohl of Paris (France). Soon after his return to India, in November 1858, Mr. Cama gathered together a band or earnest students and initiated them into the mysteries of Philology, and upto the very hour of his death did all in his power for the progress and elucidation of Iranian study, associated with and assisted by a small band of equally devoted and ardent Parsi scholars. The rivival of the study of Avesta and Pahlavi on western lines in India is due to their efforts, and the present generation is

infinitely indebted to them for the facilities it enjoys during these present days.

This well illustrates how the Parsis in their thirst for progress and novelty have combated even under unfavourable circumstances and have tried to secure the first advantage over their fellow countrymen in India of every western innovation. Every new and novel religious or spiritual movement has its first following of curious Parsi disciples, and when in 1879 the movement of Theosophy was first inaugurated by Madame Blavatsky, she had an ardent group of Parsis to follow her and help her in her Theosophical movement. Similarly one always finds a group of spiritually minded Parsis following the "Radhakrishnan" faith or "Ramakrishnan" mission; and when only but recently one Mr. Byramshah Shroff of Surat started his "Elm-e-Kshnum" mission, a group of intelligent Parsis has equally enthusiastically jumped into it with fervancy and zeal and forms staunch devotees of that movement to-day.

Thus by this brief survey, I have endeavoured to give an idea of the peculiar race characteristics of Iranians, as to their unquenchable thirst for progress and knowledge. Iranian mind adapts itself wonderfully and rapidly to changes of time and circumstances and is always ready and first-hand expert in moulding itself either by imitation or adaptation to the exigencies of Time and Circumstances. With a mind full of levity and joviality, the Iranian forgets his grief and loss; and endeavours to recoup his loss, the moment a new aspect of life is presented to him. Every new innovation has its charms in his mind, and it is not very often uncommon that in their endeavour to seek the new, the old is condemned to blissful oblivion.

THE TRADITIONAL DATE OF ZARATHUSHTRA: IS WEST'S "CORRECTION" NECESSARY?

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OPINION is strongly divided among Iranists about the value of the traditional date of Zarathushtra, the great religious reformer of Ancient Iran. Many would unceremoniously reject it on the ground of the great resemblance that his *Gāthas* bear to the language of the *Ṛgveda-samhitā* which is assigned to about 1,000 B.C. or a very much earlier date. I am showing elsewhere[1] that this linguistic argument has no probative values as (1) the language of the *Gāthas* also shows many post-vedic forms, (2) it bears a more marked resemblance with the language of the Achæmenian Persians from the sixth century B.C. downwards, and (3) different dialects in different areas do not have the same rate of development. The historical arguments against the traditional date are also of no value. I am showing there that there is no real difficulty in accepting the traditional date. It is hard to understand why the mediaeval Iranians should have invented a very late date for the founder of their religion.[2]

I am here concerned with the problem of what is actually the "traditional" date of Zarathushtra. E. W. West supposed that Iranian tradition gives two dates for the birth of Z., 625 B.C. according to the *Bundahish* (XXXIV, 7, 8) and 660 B.C. according to the *Zāt-sparam* (XXIII, 12) read in the light of the *Artā Vīrāf Nāmak* (I, 2-6) and he accepts the latter date, A. V. W. Jackson's acceptance of West's "correction" of the *Bundahish* date[3] gives to it great authority.

[1] *(A. V. W. Jackson Memorial Volume).*
[2] *SBE. XLVII*, pp. xxvii ff.
[3] *Zoroaster*, pp. 150, 159 and 179.

It is necessary, therefore, to examine the credentials of West's evidence.

Let us see what is the available evidence on the point. The *Bundahish* (XXXIV, 7-8) says:

"Kaī-Viṣtāsp, till the coming of the religion, thirty years, altogether a hundred and twenty years; Vohūman, son of Spend-dāt a hundred and twelve years; Hūmāī, who was the daughter of Vohūman, thirty years; Dārāī, son of Cihār-zāda, that is, of the daughter of Vohūman, twelve years; Dārāī son of Dārāī fourteen years; Alexander the Ruman fourteen years." (West's translation, *SBE*, V, pp. 150-1)

This gives an interval of 90 + 112 + 30 + 12 + 14 + 14 = 272 years between "the coming of the religion" and the end of Alexander's reign (323 B.C.), *i.e.*, it places "the coming of the religion" in 595 B.C. It is obvious that the individual reigns making up the total of 272 years are mistaken. But the total must have followed a traditional reckoning current in the religious calendar. We have similar cases in Indian tradition of the totals being correct, without the individual items making up the total, being so, *e.g.*, the Jaina tradition of 255 years elapsing between the accession of Candragupta Maurya and the start of the Vikrama Era. Similarly, an era reckoned from the *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddha, seems to have been in use in India even as early as the time of Aśoka. It is easier to preserve the memory of an individual incident in a people's religious history, like the birth, the first preaching or the death of the founder of a religion, through a continuous reckoning, than to have correct and complete record of all facts of past history.

West would have us reject the tradition of 272 years between "the coming of the religion" and the death of Alexander on account of two statements in the *Selections of Zāt Sparam* (XXIII. 11-12) and the *Artā-Vīrāf Nāmak* (I. 1-2). The former says:

"Of the six great upholders of the religion there are the two daughters of Zaratūṣt, whose names are Frēno and Srītọ, *with* Aharūbo-stôtô, son of Mēḍyōmāh, and another three, who *are* renowned for their religion for a hundred years, who are Vohūman that is born in the fortieth year of the religion, Sēnō is *afterwards* born and passes away in the two-hundredth year, *and* as to his hundred-discipledom, it exists day and night till the

three-hundredth year. Afterwards the religion is disturbed and the monarchy is contested." (West, *SBE*, XLVII, p. 166)

and the latter:

"They say that once upon a time, the pious *Z*aratūșt made the religion which he had received, current in the world, and till the completion of 300 years, the religion was in purity, and men were without doubts. But afterwards the accursed Evil-spirit, the wicked one, in order to make men doubtful of this religion, instigated the accursed Alexander, the Rūman, who was dwelling in Egypt, so that he came to the country of Iran with severe cruelty and war and devastation, he also slew the ruler of Iran, and destroyed the metropolis and empire and made them waste." (West, *Artā Vīrāf*, p. 141).

These two texts appear to place an interval of exactly 300 years between "the coming of the religion" and the conquest of Persia by Alexander (331 B.C.). These two statements seem to bear a strong family resemblance to each other. Though West later[1] withdrew his earlier[2] view that the *Artā-Vīrāf Nāmak* makes a reference to the *Dinkart*, it is quite likely that the *Artā Vīrāf Nāmak* is later than and based on the *Selections from Zāt-Sparam*. The statement in the latter books that 3 incidents happened, one after another, exactly at intervals of 100 years, makes too great a demand on our credulity. If, however, we believe that the reference to 100 years is to be interpreted as reference to centuries in round numbers, everything becomes easy. I may again cite a parallel from India. The northern Buddhists have made many references to incidents in Buddhist history in terms of centuries[3]. If we understand the statement in the *Selections from Zāt-Sparam* as meaning only centuries in round terms, we do not at all require to "correct" the definite statement in the *Bundahish*.

If the *Bundahish* tradition is to stand, let us see what it amounts to. The "coming in of the religion" took place in 595 B.C. What is this *coming in of the religion?* Surely it cannot mean the birth of Zarathushtra. Nor is it likely that it means the conversion of Vishtāspa when Zarathushtra was 42 years of age, because Z., had

[1] *Pahlavi Literature* in *Grundriss d. iran. Philologie u. Altertumskundes*, I, p. 108.

[2] *Sitzungsberichti der philosophischen und historischen classe der k. b. Akademie* der Wissenschaften, 1886, I, p. 437.

[3] *See, e.g., Vasumitra's Origin and Doctrines of Early Buddhist Schools*, translated by I. Masuda, from the Chinese of Yuan Chwang, pp. 15ff.

begun his preaching and made converts before this. We are, therefore, left with the alternatives that it either means, (1) his going into conference with the Immortals at the age of 30 or (2) his first preaching of his religion 2 years later. The date of Zarathushtra's birth has to be accordingly placed in either (1) 625 B.C. or (2) 627 B.C. If we accept the second interpretation, taking a clue from the importance given by the Indian Buddhist tradition to the first Revolution of the Wheel of Law by Buddha at Sarnath, we come very close to the definite statement made by the Syrian scholiast, Theodore bar Khoni, of about the end of the sixth century A.D. that

> "From Zaradusht to the revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ are six hundred and twenty eight years and seven months." (Jackson, *Zoroastrian Studies*, pp. 249-251).

Even if we follow West in taking "the coming of the religion" as referring to Zarathushtra's Conference with the Immortals,[1] we get a date (625 B.C.) not far removed from that given by Theodore bar Khoni.

Jackson has cited a well authenticated tradition current in Persia of a cypress tree planted by Zarathushtra or Vistāspa at Kashmir to commemorate Vishtāspa's acceptance of the Religion, which was felled by orders of the Caliph Mutawakkil in the year 861 A.D.[2] The tree is represented as having lived 1450 years. Consequently, if we are to calculate these as solar years, as we should, because the tradition was Persian and not Arabian, the tree was planted in the year 589 B.C., which would be the year of Vishtāspa's conversion when the prophet was 42 years of age. This tradition would accordingly place his birth in the year 631 B.C., which is not very different from the dates given by the *Bundahish* and Theodore bar Khoni. If, however, 1450 is to be taken as a round figure for a period between 1400 and 1500, the date of the Prophet's birth may be shifted a little this way or that way of 631 B.C., and we may have here a tradition corresponding to that in the *Bundahish* or given by Theodore bar Khoni.

Under these circumstances, I suppose that we would be justified in taking 627 B.C. or *circa* 625 B.C., as the traditional date of the birth of Zarathushtra.

[1] *SBE*, XLVII, p. xxvii.

[2] *Zoroastar*, pp. 163-4; *Zoroastrian Studies*, pp. 255-66.

THE STORY OF SANJAN

THE HISTORY OF PARSI MIGRATION TO INDIA
A CRITICAL STUDY

BY LT. COL. M. S. IRANI, I.M.S. (RTD.)

KISSEH SANJAN

IN the year 1599 an unknown and as could be judged from his writing, an ignorant Parsi priest of Navasari, Bahaman Kaikobad by name, produced a small book in Persian poetry which he called *Kisseh Sanjan* or the Story of Sanjan. This story of Sanjan has very little to do with the history or the description of this small village in Gujarat. It gives the supposed history of the Parsis from the time of the downfall of the Sassanian empire, where *Shah Namah* ends, till the conquest of the supposed Hindu Kingdom of Sanjan by Mahmud Begda, the sixth independent Moslem ruler of Gujarat, and covers a period of about eight centuries.

The original writing of the author is not available, but there are at least three old copies in different libraries in Bombay. It has been translated into Gujarati prose and verse and into English. Lt. E. B. Eastwick, who had spent some years in Iran and knew the language well, first rendered it into English in 1842 and his translation was published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in that year. His translation has some minor errors, which is very natural, as the language used in the book is very defective with many archaic words and in many places there is a complete disregard for all the rules of grammar. The meaning of some of the couplets is obscure, and if translated literally, they would convey no meaning at all. Similies and comparisons used are very far-fetched and inappropriate, the style is poor and jarring, the imagery grotesque and childish and the

whole composition a very poor attempt at versification. The wonder is, not that Eastwick has made some mistakes, but that he has been able to translate it so well.

The other well-known English translation by Mr. R.B. Paymaster is fairly accurate, but he has in many places glossed over the defects and obscurities in the original by a free translation. The book has done much harm as it has paralyzed all research into Parsi history since their arrival in India, as this somewhat romantic and flattering account has been blindly accepted without any question as true history, not only by Parsi writers but by European historians also, and it has found a place in serious works of history.

It does not require a critical study or a deep research or any extrinsic evidence to assign a proper place to this amazing fiction, which has passed off as genuine history for about three and a half centuries, because, the intrinsic evidence alone found in every page, nay every line of the book commencing from its very title, is enough to show the true nature of the story. The title of the book *viz. Kisseh Sanjan* is highly suggestive of the nature of the story. "Kisseh" is an Arabic word meaning story or fiction; it is never used for history, for which *tarikh* or *ahval* is used.

The whole book contains 430 couplets or 438 lines including the headings of different episodes. The first 63 are in praise of God and thanks-giving, as is usual with such books to start.

Apart from this story of Sanjan, there is no evidence of any kind available anywhere that before the production of this book in 1599 there was any written record or even an oral tradition about the history of the Parsis since they left Iran for India. Even the author suggests in his writing that no such written record existed in his time; and before he heard the story from a learned priest, he himself knew nothing, which makes it clear that there was no oral tradition current among the Parsis in his time. If there had been one, it is very likely it would have been put on record in a much better form by one of the numerous learned Parsi priests, who, as we know for certain, did exist during all these years prior to the appearance of this story; but so far we have not found any such record nor any reference to it in any of the old writings. Such an important and interesting account concerning their migration to a foreign country, would not have been so thoroughly neglected by the learned men

so as to be left to an unknown and ignorant person to be put on record.

It is proposed to examine, in this place, some few events and incidents given in *Kisseh Sanjan* to prove the thoroughly fictitious nature of this story, and it is hoped to explode this myth of Sanjan, once for all, so as to stimulate a healthy research into this much-neglected subject of Parsi immigration into India. Some few Parsi writers have expressed their doubts as to the authenticity of this very fantastic story.

According to the author of the *Kisseh Sanjan*, he learned the whole of this story in one day from a learned priest whose name is not given. The learned informer gave him in a very long account but he recorded only a hundredth part of it. He does not give any reason why the story was so much curtailed by him; perhaps his versifying capacity could not cope with the whole of it. As could be seen from the story that the pious old priest, if he existed outside the imagination of the author, must have been as grossly ignorant of all knowledge of history, geography and religious literature, as the author himself.

This learned priest told him that it was predicted in the sacred literature which he calls *Zand Avasta*, that the religion would be ruined three times. But even on closest research there is no such prediction found anywhere in the sacred literature, on the first occasion, as narrated to him, by *their own* king Alexander, who burnt all the sacred books he got hold of. Further we are told that three hundred years after Alexander, the first Sassanian king Ardeshir, when he came to the throne, restored the religion. While as a matter of fact we know that Alexander overthrew the Achaemenian empire in 331 B.C. after the battle of Arabela and 557 years after this, *viz.* in 226 of the Christian era Ardeshir came to the throne after defeating the last Parthian king Artabanus (Ardban).

Further we are told that the religion suffered a second time, but we are not told by whom and when. According to him after this second catastrophe, king Shahpur restored the religion a second time. But we know from history that Shahpur was the son and immediate successor of Ardeshir and both father and son together restored the Zoroastrian faith in Iran. There was no interval nor an interregnum between these two reigns and the religion had no occasion to be

destroyed. After this, he says, one thousand years after *Zoroaster*, Yezdegard, the last Sassanian emperor lost his throne. It seems from this that these two learned men knew the date of *Zoroaster* very accurately which comes to 359 B.C. according to their calculation, as the last Sassanian king lost his throne at the battle of Nehavand fought in the year 641. Upto the present day all the oriental and occidental savants have not been able to determine the date of *Zoroaster* within thousand years. It has been put down by different scholars between 5000 and 500 B.C.

After Yezdegard lost his throne, we are told, *all* the *behedins* (laymen) and *mobeds* (priests) left their home in the *city* of Khorasan and hid themselves in *Kohistan* or mountainous country for a period of one hundred years. Very little knowledge of the geography of Iran is necessary to show that there is no city of this name in the country nor any such city existed in olden days. There is a province of this name situated in the north-east, and in old days it was much more extensive than at present and its boundaries extended into Central Asia and included a part of modern Afghanistan. The whole of this and the adjoining province of Mazinderan are mountainous and no particular part of these is known as Kohistan.

If we look at the history of Iran at this particular period and especially that of Khorasan we find that the fugitives from Khorasan, if there were any, had no reason whatever to run away and hide themselves in mountains for a hundred years and then march southward to the Iranian Gulf to escape from their Arab persecutors. Khorasan was not conquered or overrun by the Arabs after the third and the decisive battle fought at Nehavand and which settled the fate of the last Zoroastrian empire, and the young king and his court ran away to Khorasan where the king was murdered by one of his feudatory chiefs. After some time when the invaders came to this province the prince and his followers escaped further north and ultimately reached China where they were well treated by the Chinese emperor but received no military help.

If the population of Khorasan wanted to run away from their enemies, they would, naturally have gone to the nearest and the safest places in Central Asia towards China, Afghanistan or north-west India as, these places were for a long time free from invasion, instead of hiding themselves in some unknown mountains surrounded by the

enemy for one hundred years, without any means of subsistence and then march 800 hundred miles to the south through a difficult and impassable desert to the Iranian Gulf, the country around which was at a very early date occupied by the Arabs. From here they crossed over to the island of Hormuz, a desolate and completely barren island where they could find no food or means of subsistence and stay there for fifteen years where they could have obtained no shelter or protection against a ruthless enemy.

For a long time after the overthrow of the Sassanian empire there were many independent provinces especially in the north in the mountainous regions of Khorasan and Mazinderan and these supposed fugitives could have obtained shelter with their co-religionists in these places. Instead of taking this sane and easy course, we are told, they packed up their goods and with their families migrated *en masse* to the south, a thoroughly suicidal course to adopt under the circumstances. The only conclusion that one could draw from this is that no such fugitives ever existed outside the imagination of the author.

Taking it for granted that such a body of men, women and children did come to India from Khorasan with all their belongings, the question arises, why were they called *Parsis*, that is, the inhabitants of Pars, and not *Khorasanis*, that is, the inhabitants of Khorasan ? Pars was and still is, the southernmost maritime province of Iran, the inhabitants of which were traders and had been travelling extensively in foreign countries and they were known as *Parsis* that is, belonging to Pars. It is therefore reasonable to believe that the ancestors of the modern Indian Parsis were not fugitives from Khorasan but were from Pars. We have other substantial reasons for such a belief.

There is enough authentic evidence to show that even before the Sassanian and Parthian times the inhabitants of the southern province of Pars were a sea-faring people and were great ship-builders and traders in foreign countries. They possessed a large fleet of mercantile marine and were freely trading with the west coast of India. The ancestors of the present Indian Parsis were great foreign traders and freely traded with Ceylon, East Indies, Burmah and China. They were also famous for their skill in ship building and had earned a great reputation in this line as late as the time of the East India Company. It stands to reason that they inherited this skill from their sea-faring

ancestors from Pars and not from the supposed immigrants from an inland province like Khorasan.

Many of these Iranian traders from Pars had already settled down temporarily or permanently on the western coast of India long before the downfall of their empire. Many of these temporary settlers made India their permanent home and many others, their relatives and friends joined them when the empire was lost to the Arabs. These immigrants must have come in small batches and at different times and joined their co-religionists who had already settled in cities like Surat, Broach, Cambay, etc.

In spite of persistent and ruthless persecution in Iran for generations, there were millions of Iranians who were following their ancestral faith in that country; as a matter of fact real persecution did not commence for a very long time after the Arab conquest. Many reliable European travellers who visited Iran as late as the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries of the Christian era have recorded the existence of a very large Zoroastrian population in different cities and provinces of Iran like, Kerman, Isfahan, Yezd, Mazinderan, Gilan and even Khorasan who were more or less thriving in the country in spite of the wholesale conversions. Under these circumstances the account given in the *Story of Sanjan* of the whole-sale migration of all the *behedians* and *mobeds* soon after the overthrow of the empire, to the mountains where they hid themselves for a hundred years and marched across a waterless, tractless sandy desert for 800 miles to the Gulf, seems highly improbable and difficult to believe.

Another crushing argument against the Parsis of India being the descendants of Khorasani emigrants, is ethnological. The old province of Khorasan and the country beyond are referred to in the ancient history of Iran as Turan or the country of the Turks, and the inhabitants of Khorasan have been, practically all, of Turanian or Turkoman origin, with marked Mongolian physiognomy, while the Parsis are clearly of pure Iranian or Aryan type.

The battle of Nehavand in which the Iranians were decisively defeated, was fought in the year 641 and the Khorasanis hid themselves for one hundred years after that, so this brings us to the years 741 of the Christian era. About this time, according to the *Story of Sanjan*, a pious priest among them informed them that it was not safe for them to stay in that place any longer, so they all marched to the

city of Hormuz. There is no city of Hormuz, but there is a small barren waterless island of that name in the Iranian gulf. Here they lived without any incident for 15 years, *i.e.*, till the year 756, when once more a learned priest who was well-versed in the science of astrology divined that their time was up in that city and that for their own safety and the protection of their religion they should depart for India. So the obedient faithful got ships ready and sailed for their new destination. They had no idea as to where they were going to in the new country, but arrived by chance at Div in Kathiawar where they landed and made themselves comfortable. There is no mention of any king or prince whose permission they had to take for landing and taking up land for their habitation as they had to do later on while arriving at Sanjan. There is no information as to their numbers and how they maintained themselves in a new country.

They spent 19 years at Div without any trouble or incident, but in the year 775, as on the previous occasion, another learned priest informed them, from calculations made from astrological charts, that it was necessary for them to move on once more; no reason was given for this fresh move, nor does it seem to have worried the settlers at Div. On the contrary they rejoiced at the prospects of another sea voyage to an unknown destination and promptly embarked in ships. Even the learned astrologer priest had no idea as to where they were going, nor anyone asked him the reason for this fresh migration; the Arabs were not likely to bother them at Div and the local population did not evidently worry themselves about the new-comers. It seems very strange that having lived for 19 years in what was once a very busy port they did not know or hear of any other important coastal town in western India where a very large number of their countrymen had permenantly settled and there was a free commercial connection with Iran.

As soon as they sailed from Div a terrific storm arose at sea which frightened them very much and they were in imminent danger of being drowned. They offered prayers to Almighty God and vowed that if they reached land in safety they would build a fire-temple (Atash-Beheram) in that place. God accepted their vows and the storm at once subsided and with the help of a favourable wind they arrived safely at Sanjan. This brings us to the year 775.

The author tells us, that in Sanjan a wise and a generous king called Jadi Rana was ruling at the time. A deputation of wise and learned priests went with precious gifts and poured their blessings on him and informed him of their difficulties and requested him to be allowed to stay in his country. On hearing them the attendants of the king rejoiced but the king himself had some misgivings and was afraid of losing his kindom at the hands of these strangers whose dress seems to have frightened him; so to make sure he asked the learned priest to explain to him the esoteric and exoteric practices of their religion. He also imposed on them certain conditions before he could allow them to occupy any part of his country. These conditions are just as meaningless as the rest of the story.

It is not at all necessary to possess any great knowledge of the history of Gujarat to determine the fictitious nature of this very improbable story. Sanjan was, as it is at the present day, a small insignificant village; it never was the capital of a mighty Hindu kingdom or a principality in Gujarat, and there never was any king of the name of Jadi Rana. Possibly it is a corruption of Jadav Rana, but there has been no king of that name or any name remotely resembling it ruling in Gujarat at this particular period whose capital was at Sanjan.

If such a body of immigrants did really exist and sailed from Div, it is very likely that they would have selected some larger and better known place than a small fishing village like Sanjan which was situated about eight miles inland on a creek. Larger ports which were nearer to Div than Sanjan were well known to Iranians, where traders and travellers came freely and frequently. In 625 an embassy from Khusrav II of Iran came to India and landed at Surat before proceeding to the Cālukya king of Vātāpi. This was not the first nor the only one that visited India from Iran. One of the Emperors of Iran came in person to India by sea and married a Hindu princess. There are many other instances of close intercourse between the two countries.

However, the selection of Sanjan as the first landing place of the immigrants from Iran to India is not without some hidden or unconscious motive as the author and his ancestors hailed from this village, as could be seen from his name, *viz.*, Sanjana, meaning from or belonging to Sanjan; and very naturally he wanted to glorify the small village.

If a mighty king lived at Sanjan, it is very unlikely that he would be frightened by a small band of fugitives, who after 134 years of hardships and wandering were in such a condition as to be a serious meance to a king. More ridiculous is the method adopted by the king for the safety of his kindom against the new comers. He asked them to explain the practices of their religion and imposed some other equally useless conditions upon them, only one of which could be said to be of any use as a protection against the new comers, *viz.* giving up of their arms.

The first of the conditions, as we have seen, was that the priest should explain the tenets of their religion. The explanation offered by the priest is exactly the same as could be expected from an ignorant person of the type of the author, *viz.*, the worship of the sun, moon and the cow, bowing to the elements of nature, wearing of the *kushtī* or the sacred girdle made of 72 woollen threads, seclusion of women during menstruation, isolation of the lying-in women for a period of 40 days, etc. There is no mention of the philosophy, moral or the ethical precepts or any other important matter about this ancient religion. This was all the explanation given by the learned priest to the king which seems to have pleased the king immensely. The second condition was that they should give up their language and henceforth adopt the language of the country. The third was that their women should discard their national dress and adopt that of the women of India. The fourth was that they should remove their arms and the fifth and the last was that they should celebrate the marriages of their children in the evening. There does not seem to be any sense in any of these except the fourth.

The unfortunate immigrants, being helpless, had to accept these terms imposed upon them by the king. They were then allowed to select a site for their settlement. This was entrusted to the *behedins*, who having done this duty informed the priests. Finally the priests also approved of this site which was in a desolate waste. The work of constructing soon began and in a short time the waste land was converted into a thriving city which the priests called " Sanjan " and the inhabitants of the place were known as Sanjanas. If this history is correct all the present-day Parsis of India should be called Sanjanas.

It is impossible to understand this part of the story, as we were informed that after sailing from Div they arrived at Sanjan where they

met king Jadi Rana but in this place he tells us that having selected a site in the barren and desolate waste they founded a new city which they named Sanjan. So far no trace nor any record of this new city founded somewhere near Sanjan by the Khorasani immigrants, is found anywhere. The village of Sanjan was so small and insignificant that throughout the whole of the history of Gujarat we do not find any mention made of it anywhere, much less of its king and the Hindu dynasty that is supposed to have ruled there. There is no local tradition left behind by the supposed rulers of Sanjan, nor any signs of the palace in which they lived, nor of the city founded by the Khorasanis.

Having comfortably settled in the newly founded city of Sanjan, the new-comers thought of erecting a fire-temple (Atash Beheram) in order to fulfil the vows they had offered while they were in danger of their lives at sea before landing at Sanjan. So one day they all went to the king and the priest informed him of their desire to erect a fire-temple. For this purpose it was necessary to have an extensive area of land which should be free from *juddins i.e.* non-Zoroastrians, for a distance of three *farsakhs* (nine miles), because, even if the voice of a *juddin* was heard anywhere within the area selected for the construction of the fire-temple the work was likely to be spoilt and the sacred building polluted. The king was much pleased that such a pious work was to be undertaken in his time; and readily gave them the permission and granted them a suitable piece of land for the purpose; and had it cleared of all *juddins* for the required distance of nine miles all round and the *behedins* alone were allowed to remain there. The priests kept watch there night and day and the *behedins* began to erect the building with the tools which they had brought with them from Khorasan.

As for the funds required for the purpose we are informed that Jadi Rana supplied them with some materials while the rest was provided by some alchemists who had accompanied the fugitives from Khorasan. It is also hard to believe that the fugitives had the same tools with them one hundred and thirty four years after they had left home.

Another thing which strikes us as very strange is the presence of so many wise and learned *mobeds* or priests among them after about a century and a half of hiding in mountains and wandering from place to place and one country to another, to advise the faithful on suitable

occasions, to approach the king for asking special favours and to perform the necessary rites and ceremonies for the consecration of the newly erected fire-temple at Sanjan. A Parsi priest to be fully ordained has to undergo prolonged training and certain complicated ceremonies in a special fire-temple before he can become a full-fledged priest. These persecuted fugitives away from home living in mountains and wandering from one place to another for one hundred and thirty four years could not possibly have any place or means to produce new priests during all these years. Those very pious and learned *mobeds* who left Khorasan in 641 could not be alive in 775 to consecrate the newly erected fire-temple at Sanjan.

These settlers lived in peace and comfort in that place for about three hundred years when some of them began to migrate to other places in Gujarat like Navsari, Vankaner, Broach, Variav, Anklesar and Cambay. Many of them remained behind at Sanjan. In this way they passed about seven hundred years since their departure from Khorasan and about five hundred years since their arrival at Sanjan. As they had landed there in 775, this brings us to 1275, when, we are told by this historian, Moslems came to Champaner and Mahmud Begda became the king of Gujarat. It seems from this history that the Moslems for the first time came to Gujarat from Champaner and that Mahmud Begda ascended the thorne about this time.

Apart from other improbabilities, inaccuracies, chronological and historical errors, this one error is enough to condemn this story. We know from the history of Gujarat that the Moslems had conquered the whole of Gujarat about two centuries before Mahmud came to the throne and that he was not the first Moslem king of the province but was the sixth of the independent sultans of Gujarat and that he was not born till 1445, he could not, therefore, have conquered the country in 1275.

Ever since the raid and conquest of Gujarat and Kathiawar by Mahmud of Gazni in 1025 until emperor Akbar annexed Gujarat to Delhi in 1572, the province was the scene of unceasing wars, rebellions and revolutions by the governors appointed from Delhi. But according to our historian during all these long years the happy Khorasani subjects of equally happy Hindu king of Sanjan, lived in peace, oblivious of the happenings outside their undisturbed kingdom of Sanjan, and the outside world also remaining equally ignorant of the

very existence of this Hindu kingdom until it was discovered by Mahmud Begda long before he was born. When the discovery was made, Mahmud sent his general Alf Khan to conquer it, and Alf Khan succeeded in doing so at the second attempt.

Alf Khan was the brother and general of Allaud-din Khilji and he had conquered Gujarat in 1297 and was appointed the governor of the conquered province where he ruled till 1316 when he was recalled and executed. In *Kisseh Sanjan* he is made the general of Mahmud Begda who ascended the throne in 1459, and Karan Raja whom he conquered is substituted by the unnamed imaginary Hindu king of Sanjan. The obvious reason for mixing up persons and events separated by two centuries is, no doubt, due to the utter ignorance of the author and is not at all difficult to understand as we shall see later on.

The history of Gujarat is rather vague and wanting in details during the early Hindu period, but it becomes more lucid and fuller in details during the moslem period from the time the province was conquered by Alf Khan in 1297. But during all this time there is nowhere any mention of any Hindu kingdom of Sanjan. We do not find any reference to it during the very eventful reign of Mahmud Begda. This warrior sultan was constantly fighting and we have a full account of his expeditions, yet there is no mention anywhere when his army was routed by the Parsis of Sanjan fighting for the Hindu king. However, let us see what our historian has to say about the two sanguinary battles that were fought between Sanjan and Mahmud's armies.

According to him when Mahmud Begda came to know of the existence of the Hindu kingdom of Sanjan, he ordered his minister to despatch an army to take the place. The minister sent for his general Alf Khan and informed him of the wishes of his master. Alf Khan took with him thirty thousand selected mounted warriors and marched against Sanjan. When the army approached Sanjan the king heard of the news of the invasion of his country. On hearing the disquieting news he promptly fainted in the manner of kings and warriors in the *Shah Nameh* who, on hearing such news faint at once and keep the whole audience waiting until they recover consciousness. When the king regained his senses he sent for the Parsis and asked their advice and reminded them of the shelter given to them by one of his

ancestors. He asked them to take the field and give their guidance on the battle-field. This request was made in spite of the fact that five hundred years ago the ancestors of these people were disarmed by Jadi Rana, one of his ancestors. Once more an old *mobed* came forward and told the king not to be down-hearted because as long as they lived they would sever the heads of his enemies. This statement pleased the king very much and he distributed robes of honour among these brave men who offered to fight and repel his enemies. A census was then taken and it was ascertained that there were fourteen hundred young and old among them, who put on armour and saddled their horses and took up their position with the king on the field of battle.

Now the battle started in right earnest and the field was thickly crowded with warriors, their horses and elephants. The two commanders standing facing one another like two whales; we are not informed the name of the commander of the Sanjan army. The officers on either side were trying like tigers, and the world became dark on account of the thick rain of swords, arrows and spears and the ground was covered with mountains of the dead. When the battle was thus raging fast and furious, one of the *behedins* made a discovery that there were no Hindus on the battle-field as they had all run away leaving only the fourteen hundred young and old Parsis to carry on the fight with Mahmud's thirty thousand selected and mounted warriors. The *behedin* who discovered this fact immediately communicated it to others and exhorted them to fight like tigers. At the same time another *behedin* by name Ardeshir came forward on his horse, raised his spear and with sword in hand and armour on his body joined the combatants in the fight. As soon as he came forward there was such a heavy shower of arrows that all the clothes of the warriors were torn and their weapons broken. The sky became so dark on account of the dust that was raised that no one could tell whether it was night or day. Many warriors were slain and the earth became red from the blood that was spilled, and even the shields that were carried by the warriors were cut to pieces. In this way the remnants of the fourteen hundred *behedins* alone carried on the fight for three days and three nights without a moment's rest against Alf Khan's mounted warriors. These fourteen hundred performed prodigies of valour so that a very large number of Moslems were slain and

Alf Khan taking advantage of the darkness of the night fled from the battle-field, leaving behind all the tents, baggage and all the military equipment. The redoubtable hero and the leader of the Parsi warriors Ardeshir took possession of all the property left by Alf Khan on the field of battle.

The whole description of the fight is quite puerile and is a very poor imitation of many a battle described in the *Shah Namah.* This first battle of Sanjan lasted for three days and three nights, just like the battle of Kadisiya, the first great engagement between the Arabs and the Iranians. However, the imitation does not stop here, as several battles were fought before the country was ultimately conquered by the Arabs and in one of them, called the " Battle of the Bridges," the invaders sustained a heavy defeat at the hands of the Iranians; so here also the Moslems were repelled before they finally overthrew the Hindu king and his Parsi allies.

Almost immediately after his defeat, Alf Khan was ready with another large army and the battle-field became once more lively with martial music. The commander of the *behedins*, the undaunted warrior, Ardeshir came running and informed the king that the number of the enemy troops was hundred times larger than the army of Sanjan; however, they were determined to kill them or die in the attempt, and that God would help them in this difficult task. On hearing this they were all very delighted and put on armour and came out to fight. Brave Ardeshir came forward with a lasso like a black serpent round his body, an Indian sword and a lance in hand and shouted at the enemy like a lion and asked them what they were doing there and who was their commander and what was his name. On hearing this challange a warrior came forward from the enemy ranks on a prancing horse and holding a spear in hand began to run about in all directions. He informed Ardeshir that he was a warrior and challenged him to show his skill with the weapons. All these preliminaries having been completed in the manner of single combats so well described in *Shah Namah,* these two warriors began to fight, while both the armies watched the fun. Ardeshir overcame the Moslem warrior, threw him down from his horse and with the lasso he had on his body, tied him up and promptly cut off his head, as many a warrior had done before him in single combat in *Shah Namah.* On seeing one of his chiefs coming to such a sad end, Alf Khan was

very much upset and ordered his men to kill all the Parsis and the Hindu king also. Now the general fight began in right earnest and rivers of blood began to flow in every direction.

When the fight was at its height, Ardeshir was wounded by an arrow which pierced his loin and came out on the other side of the body and fountains of blood began to flow from the wound, and he fell from his horse and died. When the man saw Ardeshir fall they were all disheartened and when the son of the king was also slain in the battle, the day was lost. The author does not say anything as to what happened afterwards and what Alf Khan did, but that the whole city was desolate. Now, there arose another occasion for migration for the unfortunate Khorasanis from Sanjan, not to a foreign land this time, but like Iran they found a convenient mountain close at hand.

The Sanjan army after being routed by the armour-clad warriors of Alf Khan disappears completely as does all history about Sanjan and its defeated king; only the *behedins* and *mobeds* packed up their things and with their sacred Atash Beheram on their backs, started on their migration once again and having found a mountain close to Sanjan, called Bahrot, which we are told, is in India, hid themselves there and remained in that place for a period of twelve years. This socalled mountain of Bahrot in India, is a small isolated hill and is within a very short distance and in sight of Sanjan. It is extremely strange that after a severe defeat at the hands of Alf Khan who had ordered his men to kill them all, they were able to return to Sanjan, take all their goods and chattel and their families and the sacred fire and march to a hill quite close and hide themselves without being persued by the mounted troops and remain in hiding for twelve years without being detected. How they managed to obtain food and other necessities for maintaining life are very difficult to imagine. This story is just as improbable as the one about hiding in Kohistan in Khorasan.

Taking it for granted that such a body of men women and children did live in hiding on this all for a period of twelve years, they would have left some signs of their existence on the hill or at least a burial place. But on a very careful examination there is absolutely no sign that any large or a small body of persons ever lived there, in fact there is no place on the hill where even a couple of hundred people

could manage to live. Some years ago a few young Parsis from Bombay went to the mountain of Bahrot for exploration and called themselves "The Baharot Exploration Expedition." They had no knowledge of archaeology or exploration, and in the course of their search they found a small piece of coloured tile and a piece of bangle. They were pleased with the discovery and considered these as enough evidence of the occupation of the place by the remnant of the Parsi warriors of Sanjan. No comment is necessary on this discovery and the conclusion arrived at by the "The Baharot Exploration Expedition."

Just as the Khorasani fugitives had to leave their hiding place in the mountain a hundred years after the Arab conquest, so now they had to leave their hiding place in Baharot and march to Bansda after twelve years. The inhabitants of this place came out to receive them with three hundred mounted men. Thus escorted by the inhabitants and the mounted men they entered Bansda and installed the sacred fire there and from that date Bansda became a place of pilgrimage for the Parsis from other places where they had settled.

Fourteen years after they arrived at Bansda, a pious *behedin* by name Changashah arrived there on a pilgrimage and finding it difficult to reach the place in the rains, he persuaded the people of Bansda to transfer the fire to Navsari which was done by them. After thanking the Creator and showering blessings on the unnamed *mobed* who told him all this story, and mentioning his own name and tracing his own ancestry for two hundred years he concludes this story. The date of writing the book, as given by the author, is the sixth of Fravardin in the year 969 of the Yazdegardi era corresponding to 1599 of the Christian era.

Although the Story of Sanjan is by no means a true or an accurate history, on careful examination it reveals a very thin substratum of historical facts on which the author has based this fictitious account. Through his utter ignorance of the history of Gujarat the author has mixed up two very notable and outstanding events in its history. These two events though separated very nearly by two centuries must have left very strong oral traditions among the local population at the time this story was written; and even to this day these traditions do exist in Gujarat. The first is the invasion and permanent occupation of the province by the Moslems, who under Alf Khan, brother of Allaud-din Khilji, defeated the last Hindu king, Karan Rāja of the

Vaghela dynasty and annexed the province to Delhi in 1297. The second of the events was the reign of Sultan Mahmud Begda, the sixth of the independent Moslem rulers of Gujarat, who came to the throne in 1459. He was a great warrior and was constantly fighting abroad during his long reign. He was a staunch Moslem and converted many Hindu princes and people. It is highly improbable that an independent Hindu king ruled at Sanjan at any time in the history of Gujarat, much less during Mahmud's time, also that a small army of 1400 young and old Parsis armed with bows, swords and spears inflicted a serious defeat on his army which did possess artillery which was first used in India in 1356.

As for their departure from Div the author gives on reason at all; as before, an old *mobed*, who consulted his astrological charts told the faithful to leave the place and go somewhere else. No one seems to have asked him the reason for this new move and no one knew, not even the astrologer, where they were going. There is some reason to believe that a migration of some Parsis who had for some time settled at Div, did take place to other parts of Gujarat. These settlers were not Khorasani fugitives but were some of those Iranians who had settled there for a long time. The migration did not take place for the reason and under the circumstances described by the author, but for another reason altogether. It is a well-known fact that when the Portuguese took Div and occupied some other places on the western coast, they began to convert the people to Christianity by force, and the Parsis of Div must have run away from there to other places to escape persecution. Oral tradition of this must have been very fresh among the Parsis at the time this story was written and the ignorant author has found a place for it in his history. The two big battles, which the Parsis are supposed to have fought somewhere near Sanjan as the allies of the supposed Hindu king, seem to be quite imaginary and never took place. The whole account is so absurd and palpably false that even with a great stretch of imagination it is impossible to believe it.

Psychologically considered, most of such fictions describing heroic deeds of ancient people or of one's ancestors arise from the minds of writers belonging to a vanquished or a down-trodden nation, who, having no king or country of their own, gratify their vanity by dreaming of their past glory and their coming greatness and bragging about

the heroic deed performed by their ancestors. The Parsis are not free from this weakness, and this is the reason why they so firmly believe in this palpably false and most ridiculous story and repeat it on every occasion in spite of its absurdity and in the face of all evidence to the contrary.

A question might naturally be asked, if the Parsis did not migrate from Iran in the manner described in the Story of Sanjan, how did they happen to be in India? It has already been pointed out that long before the downfall of the last Zoroastrian empire there was free intercourse between Iran and India. Ships from Iranian Gulf as well as the Tigris and the Euphratis rivers used to call regularly at the ports on the west coast of India and the Iranian merchants from the maritime province of Pars, used to carry on the trade with this country. Many of these merchants had temporarily and some permanently made their abode in India, just as many enterprising Parsis have at the present time, settled in foreign countries like Ceylon, Burma, China and in Europe and America.

After the Arab conquest the trade naturally passed into their hands, and those Iranians who were in this country had to sever their connection with their motherland when they found that the Arabs were not only bent on destroying their language and culture but their religion also. In course of time many friends and relations joined them in their country of adoption and the exodus continued for some time until the process of proselytizing was complete, or means of communication completely interrupted or passed into the hands of the Arabs. Such a process of gradual immigration would naturally leave no record, as indeed we find there is none. This gradual immigration did not take place to any one city like Div or Sanjan, but must have been to many other places on the west coast, and in course of time for economic or other reasons, the Parsi population slowly spread to other cities inland, and this slow process of spreading to other parts of India and even other countries has continued to this day.

There is a vast and completely unexplored field for research in this important and interesting subject and it is earnestly hoped that this paper will draw the attention of Parsi historians to it.

RAGHĀ—BIRTH PLACE OF THE MOTHER OF ZARATHUSHTRA

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ANCIENT SACRED CITIES OF IRAN

SOME of the cities of ancient and glorious Iran are sacred and revered in memory, and of great historical and political importance from the standpoint of Zoroastrian scriptures. These are Raghā or Raē, Bulkh, Merv, Persepolis, Istkher, Ecbatana (Hamadan), Ispahān. Nishahpoor, Tus, Herāt, Zābul and Kābul. I had the good fortune of visiting some of them twice in 1925 and 1932. Some are still existing and some are in total ruins. The subject matter of this paper—RAGHĀ, I have visited twice. The Persian name *Raē*, by which the ruins are now known, is derived from the Avestan name Raghā. The ruins of Raē are situated some 5 miles south-east of modern Teheran, capital of Reza Shah's Empire of Iran. This site is for more than one reason a very sacred and revered place to the Zoroastrians.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS

The immediate cause of my taking up the subject is the archaeological excavation carried on in Raē since a few years, by the expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, and subsequently by the Archaeological Service of the Iranian Government. These have aroused considerable interest in the Parsis of India as well as in learned Iranians. The official *journal* of the Iran League, has several times noticed the progress of the researches in its columns. Many of my co-religionists entertain hopes of shortly hearing startling discoveries of the sacred literature of Zoroastrianism being unearthed there. But I know from studies, that their pious expectations would

not be realized till after some years of hard labour. I, therefore, have taken up this subject primarily to enlighten my co-religionists about the possibilities of finds from the ruins, as well as to prove my belief that it will take some years to come to the particular 'layer' of the buried city, which was flourishing during the times of Lord Zoroaster.[1] My intention is also to write exhaustively in Gujarati on the history, antiquity, commercial importance, political status and ecclesiastical eminence of this City from the Zoroastrian point of view.

Its hoary antiquity: From a study of the holy scriptures of Zoroastrianism, a European scholar, after having ascertained the positions of certain stars and constellations alluded to in ancient books, has declared that Righteous Zarathushtra flourished some 21,000 years ago. The Zarathushtrian scriptures say that Raghā (Raē) was the birth-place of Dughdhova, the mother of Zarathushtra. We know that the age when Zarathushtra flourished is not yet unanimously agreed upon by scholars. Some scholars put it 10,000 years back, some 8,000; and some even place it within 1000 B. C. At present, we have nothing to do with the precise age of Zoroaster, but the majority of scholars have agreed that Zarathushtra lived in a very remote time. From this we can take it that the City of Raghā also must be a very ancient city.

Now a ruin: Raghā as a centre of Iranian civilization flourished for thousands of years, and only lost its importance and its very existence some years ago, on account of the devastating invasions of the barbarous Mongols Changis and Taimur. Both these savage conquerors have so thoroughly sacked, burnt and demolished the city, that only artificial mounds of earth, traces of a few foundations of buildings and forts, and finds of pottery, stuccos and bricks in abundance indicate the location of this great city.

FOUNDERS OF RAGHĀ ACCORDING TO ZOROASTRIAN TRADITIONS

Zoroastrian traditions say that Raghā was built by the Pishdadiyan King Houshang; and another tradition gives the honour to

[1] I am informed by my friend Prof. O. G. Ohanian, of the Akademia Asiatica, that in examining fissures in land near the Chashme Ali stream at Raē, layers of 12 cities built upon one another have been observed.

Kayanian Emperor Kaikhosrow; whereas some historians write that it was built by King Manoucher, the grandson of Irach, son of the Great Emperor Feridun. It is also said that Prince Aspandiar, a contemporary of Zarathushtra, was born in the city. According to *Bündahishn*, chapter 31, page 40, the Kayanian Emperor Kaikhosrow had the seat of his government in Raghā. It seems from these records that Raghā was built in some hoary antiquity. Its situation at the foot of the great Alburz Range and on the centre of the great Trade Route, which started from China, passed through Raghā and went right up to Europe, must have given it a great political and commercial importance from olden times.

Raghā Known to all Ancient Peoples

Another proof of its importance can be gathered from the records of some ancient nations which came into direct contact with Persia. In the sacred Zoroastrian scriptures it is named *Raghā*. In the Pahlavi translation of the *Vendidād* (Spiegel, Chapter I, page 10), it is "Rāk", whereas in Pahlavi literature it is recognized as "Rāg" or "Arāk". In the Old Testament it is named *Ragau* or *Rages*. The Achaemenian Emperor Darius (521-480, B. C.) has twice mentioned "Ragā" in his historical Bahistan Rock Inscriptions. The Greeks called it "Ragai;" the Latin historians wrote "Rhagae." During the Islamic period from A. C. 651 to the 14th century, it is variously called "Shaikh-ul-balād (King of Cities), or "Um-ul-balād" (the Mother of Cities), or "Arus-ul-balād" (the Bride of Cities).

Raghā in Zoroastrian Scriptures

The importance and greatness of Raghā can be gauged by its position in the Zoroastrian Scriptures. At two places it is mentioned in the sacred Avesta:

Yasna, chapter 19, section 18
Vendidād, chapter 1, section 15

In the *Yasna*, it is mentioned as "Raghā Zarathustri;" and therein Zarathushtra's successor is mentioned, as its Ratu or Ruler, as well as its Zarathushtra or Pontiff. The association of the name of "Zarathushtra" with Raghā, lends its sanctity and reverence. Zarathushtra

is mentioned as its "Ratu" "Lord." These Ratus were over the house, the village, the city, the district and one over whole Empire. From this, we get a good idea of the excellent organization of the government of the country by the Ancient Aryans and the Iranians. The Supreme Spiritual Head was known as "Zarathushtratemo," meaning, "the One like unto Zarathushtra." It is natural that a long line of many such Zarathushtratemos must have flourished for centuries in Zoroastrian Iran. It is rightly argued that non-Zoroastrian historians in ignorance of this succession system, wrote them merely as "Zoroaster," and thereby created confusion in determining the Age of Zarathushtra. It was through this error that when foreign writers such as Plutarch (46-125 A. C.), Apuleuis (2nd century), Clemens Alexandrianus (3rd century A. C.), etc., wrote that Pythagoras (6th century B. C.) was the disciple of Zarathushtra, they confounded him with the First of the Line.

It seems in the case of "Raghā," the spiritual and temporal powers were first vested in the person of Zarathushtra, and after him in his successors.

12TH BEST PLACE CREATED BY GOD

In Chapter I, para 15 of the *Vendidād*, Raghā is mentioned as the twelfth Best place and Land created by Lord Ahuramazdā. The passage runs as under :

> "The Twelfth best place and land, that I Ahura Mazda created, was "Raghā" of Three Races (Thri-zantu), but Angra Mainyu full of death in opposition, created there doubt."

THRI-ZANTU RAGHĀ

Thus Raghā in Avestan Literature has a prefix of "Thri-Zantu." Why this title is given to Raghā, requires an explanation :

The word "Thri" means 3, and "Zantu" means Races, or Castes or Classes. Thri-Zantu, therefore, means of "Three Races, or Castes or Classes."

It seems that in Zarathushtra's time, the Iranian Society was divided into three Classes, *viz.*, the Priest, the Warrior and the Agriculturist (Athornān, Rathestār and Vastrios). We may, therefore, surmise that these three classes were first made in Raghā.

Later on, a Fourth Class, *viz.* Hutokhsh (artisan) was created. According to Mr. K. R. Cama's *Zarthost Nama*, p. 43, "Prophet Zarathushtra had created three classes, over each of which he gave leadership to each of his three sons." *Būndahishn*, chapter 32, expresses the same view.

HEAD-QUARTERS OF ZOROASTRIAN ARCH-BISHOPS

Dr. Sir J. J. Modi, in his book *My Travels out of Bombay*, page 386, writes with reference to his visit of Raē, that to the Parsis these ancient ruins of Raē are worth a pilgrimage for two reasons: (1) It was the birth-place of the revered mother of Prophet Zarathushtra, and (2) it was the Headquarters of the holy successors of our Prophet called "Zarathustratemo." To speak in modern terms, Dr. Modi writes that in ancient times for a considerable period, this city of Raghā was the Metropolis of the Zoroastrian Arch-Bishops.

WAS ZARATHUSHTRA BORN IN RAĒ?

In the Holy *Avesta* there is no definite mention that Prophet Zarathushtra was born in Raghā. But some scholars assert so for the following reasons:

1. In Chapter I of *Vendidad*, Raghā is mentioned as "Thrizantu";
2. In the 19th Chapter of *Yasna*, it is called "Zarathushtra Ragha";
3. In Persian *Zarthost Nama* and other works of later time, "Raghā" is mentioned as "Zarathushtra's birth-place;
4. Some learned men called "Zarathushtra" as a "philosopher of Media," which clearly indicates Zarathushtra's intimate contact with Raghā;
5. According to an explanation given by the well-known Parsi scholar Mr. K. R. Cama, Zarathushtra may be considered both a Median as well as a Bactrian. Having been born in Raē (a city of Media) the Prophet might have laid foundation of his religion there, and then having gone to Balkh in Bactria, he might have preached his religion to King Vishtāspa and his subjects;

6. This subject is further referred to in :
   A Glossary of Proper Names in Avesta, page 159, by Dr. J. J. Modi (*Shatroiha-i-Iran*) ;
   Social Life in the Avestan Period, pp. 139-140, by Dr. J. J. Modi ;
7. In *Zāt-sparam*, chapter 16, sections 12-13 ;
8. " *Dabistan-ul-Madhaheb* " (17th century) ; and
9. *Shatroiha-i-Iran*, section 16.

In spite of the above mentioned reasons, many scholars and historians refuse to acknowledge the fact that Raghā was the birth-place of the Prophet, and they adduce arguments that he was born in the Azerbaijan District of Iran. The *Shatroiha-i-Iran* (" Cities of Iran ") a Pahlavi work states that the Prophet was born at a place called " Amui " in Azerbaijan, which place is in vicinity of the Lake Urumia (Avesta : Chaechesta).

Thus it seems that scholars are pretty well divided in two equal camps as regards the birth-place of Zarathushtra.

Centre of Religious Authority in Western Iran

The well-known Parsi scholar and High Priest, Dr. M. N. Dhalla in his *Zoroastrian Theology*, page 67, says :

> " Not long after the death of Vishtāspa, the royal Patron of Zarathushtra, the Kingly Glory left the Eastern line of the Iranian Kings and flew to the West. With the shifting of the political sphere of influence, the centre of religious authority gravitated towards the West. Raghā, hereafter, became the pontificial seat of the descendants of the Prophet. The temporal and spiritual power here was vested in the chief pontiff of the Zoroastrian world (Ref : *Yasna*, 19, § 18). Religious influence radiated from the ecclesiastical centre, and the Magian neighbours were possibly the first to imbibe the new ideas and gradually to spread them among the Medes, and later among the Persians."

Birth-place of the Mother of Prophet Zarathushtra

Now we will touch the important question of the birth-place of the revered mother of Zarathushtra.

As was alluded to above, according to the Pahlavi *Vendidād*, Zarathushtra was the native of Raē. We have explained before, why it arrived at this conclusion, that that might have due to Raghā being named in the holy scriptures as " Raghā-Zarathushtri."

According to *Dinkart*, Vol. 7, chapter 2, wherein an account of the birth and life of the Prophet is given, it seems that Zarathushtra was not a native of Raē. The account runs that when Dughdhova, the revered mother of the Prophet, was living as a virgin with her father Frahimrava in Raghā, divine halo surrounded her person. Whereupon, out of terror of her divine power, the evil-doers and magicians declared her to be a sorceress. These evil people were so much powerful that they eventually compelled the Virgin's father to send her away from Raghā. The father escorted her to the Family Head (namāno-paito) of the town of Spitama, whose name was Paitiraspā. There she was married to Pourusaspa, son of Paitiraspā. This union was blessed with the birth of the greatest philosopher and divine teacher Zarathushtra, the Righteous One.

Dughdu's Name in the Avesta

After the devastating blows dealt by Alexander the Great, in the 4th Century B.C. and by the Arabs in the 7th Century A.C., by their indiscriminate destruction of a considerable portion of the religious literature of the Zoroastrians, we do not find the name in the familiar Avestan literature. But fortunately, a quotation has been preserved in the *Saddar-i-Nasr*, Chapter 40, from the *Hadokht Nask*, which is now lost. It is given by Prof. Poure Davoud in his lecture on " Raghā " as under:

> " Mā āzārayōis Zarathustra mā Pourusaspem mā Duydhovām mā æthrapaitīm."

Bartholomae translated it as: " O Zarathushtra! thou shalt not aggrieve your father, Pourusaspa, mother Doghdu and teacher."

Dughdova's Name in Pahlavi Literature

We often find the name Dughdhova mentioned in the Pahlavi literature. I give below some references:

1. *Bŭndahishn*, chapter 32, p. 10, wherein is stated "The name of the mother of Zarathushtra was Dughtav, and the name of the father of Dughtav was Frahimrava."
2. *Dinkart*, Vol. 7, chapters 2, 3 also mention her; and so does *Shayast-la-Shayast*, chapter 10, page 4.

Sharastani (1086-1154 A.C.) in his work *Al-milal-val nehal* says:—" Zaradust, son of Barsasb, appeared in the time of King Gushtasb son of Luhrasab: his father was from Azarbaijan, and his mother from Raē, and her name was Doghdav." Prof. Poure Davoud in his interesting lecture on " Raghā," which was published in K. R. Cama Oriental Institute's *Journal* No. 28, concludes his version in the following sentences:

" Leaving all this confusion aside, we can say with some certainty from other evidences that the mother of Zarathushtra was from Raghā."

Were there two Distinct Cities of the Name of Raghā?

We have stated before that the parents of Zarathushtra belonged to two different places. It seems that owing to political upheavals and changes in ruling dynasties, an important city that once was included in a particular district, was next taken as included into another.

A Tradition about Raē

The word Raē has its derivation based on an interesting tradition, which the historian Yakut has recorded thus:

" I have read in a very old Persian book that Kai Kaus constructed a wheel, provided it with all the necessary implements and desired to fly on it to the sky. God ordered wind to drag him to the clouds. When he reached the region of clouds, he was left alone and fell down into the sea of Gorgan (Caspean Sea). When Kai Khusrao, son of Siavash came to the throne, he repaired this machine and went in it to Babylon. When he came to a place, which is called Raē to-day, the people, said " *ba-Raē āmad Kaikhusrao* " (Kaikhosrao has come on as wheel).

Yakut further says that 'Raē' means a *wheel* (charkh in the Persian language. Kaikhosrao ordered that a city should be built on the same place and should be called "Raē."

However, Prof. Poure Davoud does not consider the word "Raē" as etymologically very clear, and that mere conjectures were made by some orientalists.

Etymology of the Word

He argues that the popular etymology, which Yakut has given, is taken from a lost Persian word 'Rah' (wheel), which is traceable to the Avestan 'Ratha' and Pahlavi 'Ras.' The same word exists in all the Indo-European languages, as 'Rota' in Latin, 'Roue' in French, and 'Räd' in German.

Ibn-ul-Kalbi, who flourished in the 9th century, says that the name Raē is derived from 'Reu.' Reu was the son of Peleg son of Eber son of Salah son of Arphexad son of Shem son of Nuh (Noah).

The Emperor's Reverence to the Holy Fire of Raē

Sanctity and reverence to the holy Fire of Raē, inspired the last Sassanian Emperor Yazdegard Shehriar to risk his life even to preserve in his flight the sacred Fire of Raē, from being polluted by his hated enemies the Arabs. During his wonderings of 10 long years at Ispahan, Kerman, Istkhar, Seistan, and finally at Merv, he is said to have taken the Fire with him, and at last established the Fire at Merv, before he was foully murdered.

Raē in Sacred Books of the Jews

The sacred Raghā has influenced the ancient peoples and their religions also. In the Old Testament, Raē is mentioned as 'Rages or 'Ragau,' it is mentioned as a flourishing and great city in the 7th and 8th Centuries B.C. This period was before the glorious rule of the Achaemenians. In the two Jewish Holy books of Tobit and Judith, Raghā is stated to be of the same importance as Nineveh and Ecbatana (Hamadan).

In the book of Apocrypha, the story of the Angel Raphael's visit to Rages is popular. (Tobiyyah and Angel Raphael........

'Raphael arose and took camels and 4 servants and went to Rages', chapter IX).

RAĒ, THE BIRTH-PLACE OF HISTORICAL PERSONAGES

It is the ruins of the great Raghā or Raē at its very door, that has given modern Teheran an importance by learned men. Otherwise Teheran has a very short history of about 250 years. Raē was the birth-place of the following personages:

1. Of Dughdhova, mother of Zarathushtra;
2. Of the Pishdadiyan monarch Minoucheher, according to Tabari;
3. Of King Arsakes, founder of the Parthian Empire;
4. Of Mother of Princess Anushizad who was the Empress of Khosro Anoushirwan;
5. Of Behram Chaubin, the famous commander-in-chief of the Sassanian Emperors.
6. Of Caliph Haroun-al-Rashid of the Arabian Nights fame, in 763 A.C.
7. Of Alp Arslan, great Saljuk Khan resided here.

It was also the place of death of Tughral Beg, the Saljuk King, whose circular musoleum is still standing within the ruins of Raē.

RAĒ DURING THE MOSLEM DOMINATION

It seems that 13th century in particular was destined to be the end of a long, useful, adventurous and brilliant career of the City of Raē or Raghā. After the fall of the Sassanian Empire, in the 7th century, Raē passed through the hands of Moslem rulers—Caliphs, Khans, and Shahs for a period of 600 years. Though the whole of Iran was under the suzerainty of the Islamic Caliphs, yet there were some independent Zoroastrian chiefs. Mas-Moghans and Ispahabods, ruled over Raē from their mountain fastedness of Tabaristan till 763 A.C. History states that Caliph Haroun-al-Rashid had inherited pure Iranian descent, because his grandfather Caliph Mansur had married one of the daughters Behriyeh, of the Zoroastrian ruler of Raē.

ZOROASTRIAN REBELLION

Raē being a sacred city of the followers of Zoroaster, it was not to be easily subdued by the foreign Arabs without great trouble and bloodshed. History has recorded that the Zoroastrian inhabitants of Raē had rebelled very frequently against the Arab rulers in A.C. 640, 641, 642, and 643. In 685 a Zoroastrian chief Furrokhzad rose to gain independence of Raē, and it was only after his death, that the Arabs were able to subdue Raē and sack it.

RAĒ DURING ISLAMIC PERIOD

During the Islamic period of 600 years, Raē seems to have preserved its eminent position and status as, in olden times. The Ārab historians record that in the 10th century Raē was one of the four important and large cities.

Ibn Haukal states: "With the exception of Baghdad, indeed, it is the finest city in the whole of East, though Naysabur in Khorasan is more spacious." In the Government records of the Abbasid Caliphate, Raē was known as "Mahamediya." This name appears to have been given to the "Outer City," where fortifications were added. Even Abbaside coins seem to have been minted here.

A.C. 10TH CENTURY

During the Buyid dynasty's rule (632-1055 A.C.) Raē was of importance owing to its great commercial activities.

In the 11th century the Saljuki Turks had made Rae, their capital for some years.

Ibn Rosta writes that in the Court of the Caliphs at Baghdad, the place of Rae's nobles was next to those of Ispahan.

ROYAL LIBRARY AT RAĒ

It is recorded that Raē had a royal library, which was specially visited by the famous Iranian physician Avicenna (979-1037). It seems this valuable library had perished in the senseless sack of Raē, by ferocious Taimur and Changis Khan. The location of the library

(dar-ul-kutub) is given by Mukaddasi (985) as in the "Rudah" suburb of Raē. Now as the excavation work has been taken in hand, we may entertain the hope that this famous library would be unearthed.

A Few Observations on the Description of Raē of the Islamic Period

Unfortunately, we do not find a description of Raghā of the Zoroastrian period, which covered the centuries of its existence, but we have a description of its existence of 600 years during the Islamic period from 651 A.C. onwards, which will enable us to follow intelligently the stages of the scientific excavations that may now be carried on. I am of opinion, that from the description given by the Isalmic historians and geographers, we can safely presume that a considerable portion of the city would be as it existed during the Sassanian period, and that only of a few changes, there probably would be a substitution of Mosques in place of Zoroastrian Fire-temples. The bulk of the population being Iranian till the last, and a portion of it may not have embraced Islam, the mode of living of the people might not have undergone serious changes. Therefore, it is probable that the general features and locations etc. might have remained not much changed since its early days. With these few observations, I will now give a description of the City.

Description of Raē

It is said that houses of the city of Raē were mostly built of burnt bricks. These bricks were known in the 18th Century as 'Khishte Gabri' (bricks of the Zoroastrians). The historians remark that these bricks were pilfered in the 18th Century to build Teheran, the capital of the newly established Kajjar Dynasty. Ibn Haukal, (A. C. 971) writes that the fortifications of the city were very strong, and the City had 5 gates. Their names were :

1. Darvaze Batāk on the South-west;
2. Bāb Balisān, on North-west on the Kazvin road;
3. Bāb Kūhak, on North-east in the direction of Tabaristan;
4. Bāb Hishām on the East, on route to Khorasan;
5. Bāb Sīn, on the South of the route to Kom.

The big markets or emporiums were adjacent to the gates, but *outside the city and in its* suburbs. There were many suburbs thickly populated around the city. Out of these, Rūdah and Sārbanān contained big shops and godowns full of merchandise. These warehouses had extended to a considerable distance.

Two rivers supplied water to the city. One, the Sūrkhānā, which passed through the suburb Rudbar and another the Ābe Gilani or Jilāni passed through the Sārbānan village. Yākut, the Geographer (1225) writes that the Nehr Musa river took its birth from the Mountains of Dilham and flowed towards Raē. We might identify this river with the Jilani river.

Famous Library

Mukadassi (985) gives the valuable information, that there were two gigantic buildings in Raē. They were:

1. Dar-al Kuttub (Library), which was situated in a caravansara in the Rudah suburb; and
2. Dar-al Batikh (the water-melon house), which name we generally find to have been given to Fruit-markets. Ibn Rostah (903) records that a fort was built on a high hill from which the whole city could be surveyed. I believe that this hill is the one adjacent to the hillock, which the Tower of Silence of the Zoroastrians of Teheran now occupies.

Two Distinct Sections of the City

Raē city had two distinct sections:

1. The City and 2. the Outer City. "The Inner City" contained a big mosque, which was built in A. C. 775 by Caliph Mehdi, father of Caliph Haroun-al-Rashid. Besides, it contained palaces and government offices. This area was considered the city proper, and was called "Al-Madina." It was surrounded by a ditch.

The Outer City: It was the City's ancient fortified suburb, and which was known as "Mahamediya." The Outer City had extended right upto the top of the hill which had a fort, as referred to by Ibn Rostah above. Yakut called this fort "*Zubediyeh*" or "*Zaybundi*."

Prince Mehdi used to reside in this fort, and afterwards this palace was turned into a prison. Palaces in this fort were re-built in A. C. 891. There was another fort at Raē known as 'Killeh Furrukhan' or 'Javsak.' In the 10th century King Kakhr-ud Dowlah Buyid built for himself another palace. Geographers like Yākut, Ibn Rostah, Ibn Haukal and Mukaddasi have all given this description of the city.

Just as during the glorious Sassanian period (221-651 A. C.), Raē was a great commercial and distributing centre and was very populous and wealthy, so also during certain periods of Islamic domination, it enjoyed considerable influence. Suburbs of Raē each accommodated about 10,000 people. Such populous suburbs were Rudah, Varamin, Peshavagah Dizeh, Khusheen and Teheran.

Destruction by Mongols and the Tartars

Now we come to the sad subject of the series of calamities which befell the ancient holy city of Raē.

The 13th and the 14th Centuries of the Christian era were unlucky for the whole of Iran, and particularly for Raē. These periods brought terrible sufferings, irreparable destruction of town, villages and cities, and massacre of innocent Iranians. It is recorded that what remained from the destruction wrought by the Arabs in the 7th century, was thoroughly destroyed by the ferocious and barbarous Mongols and Tartars. Raē being an important and wealthy seat of commerce, received such deadliest and irrecoverable blows, that it nobly succumbed to them.

Chengis Khan the Mongol

1. He invaded Iran from 1212 to 1221 A. C.
2. Taimur the Tartar invaded Iran from 1379-1394. Within these 15 years he conquered the whole of Iran and the surrounding districts. Both these demons in human shape, massacred so many Iranians that no figures can be ascertained. Their destruction was so thorough and complete that even to-day Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan and Central Asia have not sufficiently recovered from its effects. Once

flourishing towns and cities are non-existent now, and even what remains of some are great artificial mounds scattered for miles and distributed over the vast Iranian plateau. During my four visits to Iran, everywhere I have been pointed out mounds, which still remind us of the sorrowful and ghastly tragedy.

Massacre of Chengis

Ibn-ul-Athir, describing the invasion of Chengis in A. C. 1215 says that after chasing Shah Muhammad from Khwarazm, he subdued Raē and indiscriminately massacred men, women and children. Mr. H. Filmer, in his *Pageant of Persia* (page 306) gives the figure of the massacre to be 7,00,000 ! Athir further says that after 3 years when those who had fled from Raē had returned and peacefully settled down, Chengis once again made a surprise attack on the city and massacred once again of what had survived from his first visit.

The Mongols had so ruthlessly destroyed everything of Iranian arts and culture, besides the country, that though 600 years have passed, it has not yet been able to repair the mischief. Owing to this, the deadly hatred of the Mongols by the Iranians is not yet gone.

Taimur's Destruction

Alas, whatever remained or was again repaired, was finally devasted by the blood-thirsty Taimur in the 14th century, though history records that his son Shahrokh tried to make some amends by rebuilding Raē, but the soul of Raē had passed away.

Other Calamities

Even before the final seal of total destruction was placed on it by the Mongols and the Tartars, it seems that Raē was gradually moving on the declining path from the time of the Arab invasion. We will try to enumerate some of the calamities. The historian Tabari says that in Hijri 249 (A.C. 846) a terrible *earthquake* felled almost all the houses of the city and killed thousands. After it, the Ghuzz Turks attacked and looted it. Another historian Ibn-ul-Athir

(1160-1234) states that in Hijri 344 (941 A.C.) malignant *cholera* wrought so much havoc that no account of the number of dead could be taken. In 582, Hijri (1179 A.C.) Athir and Yākut record that a good deal of ruin was to be attributed to the ferocious religious riots between the Sunnis and the Shias. Yākut says " After the Sunnis had got the better of the Shias, there arouse a dispute between the 2 sects of the Sunnis, the Sāfai and Hanafi, which ultimately led to the total ruin of Raē. . . . Only a small portion of the residential quarters of the Sāfai was saved with its population."

Besides, ***plague, rebellions and wars*** contributed to its destruction.

AN EUROPEAN WITNESS

Clavijo, who was the Spanish Ambassador to the Court of Taimur from Henry III of Spain, writes in his *memoirs* that in his visit to the famous Raē, he saw nothing but destruction and debris of the once glorious city.

WHAT REMAINED!

Some few visible relics which still survive the total destruction are:

1. A beautiful Sassanian unfinished ecquestrian statue of Emperor Ardeshir Babekan, which was visited by the British Ambassador William Ouseley in 1795; and
2. The Musoleum of Toghril Beg.

Out of these two, the Sassanian bas-relief was effaced by Fatehali Shah Kejjar, as we have seen above.

EXCAVATION OF RAĒ

Though the revered city is dead since the last 600 years, its glorious and holy memory is revived by the present truly National Government of H. I. M. Shahenshah Reza Pahlevi, by

1. scientific excavation works;
2. a station of the Trans-Iranian Railways;
3. an excellent Asphalt road from Teheran to the ruins; and by

4. naming a new and long street in Teheran "*Khia-bane-Raē.*"

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The present scholar and poet-patriot Professor Poure Davoud aptly concluded his paper on " Raghā " thus :

> " From the antiquity and sanctity of this place, we can say that it was the cradle of Iranian civilization and culture. The severe blows and misfortunes that befell this city have no doubt effaced its glory and majesty, and though what we see of it to-day is but a mound of ruins, void of its ancient wealth and architecture, it is still full of the pure air which it once breathed and the light it once gave to the world."

The Zoroastrians and the Iranians in particular, and mankind in general, should be grateful to His Imperial Majesty Reza Shah Pahlevi, who has become a Patron of scientific archaeological researches, which are now being conducted on several historical sites in Iran.

Let us hope the useful archaeological work that has been carried on so energetically on scientific lines, will be continued for a long time, so that sufficient materials would have been excavated, which would throw scientific light on matters of Iranian interest, such as history, geography, ethnology, theology, etc., which now biaffle scholars for want of proper and reliable information.

May His Imperial Majesty Reza Shah live long, happy and prosperous, as the Royal Patron and Reviver of Iranian Arts and Literature !

ANCIENT INDIAN ALPHABETS: THEIR IRANIAN ORIGIN

By Sohrab Jamshedjee Bulsara, M. A.,
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Early Indian Writings

There are numerous scripts in use in India at present, but among the earliest are found five of importance: the Devanāgari, the Indus Script, the Brāhmi, the Pāli and the Kharoshti. Of these the first two have had a very primitive origin, the Brāhmi arose about the sixth century before Christ and the Pali in about the third. The Kharoshti appeared a little later. The last, however, did not survive long.

As we know, Devanāgari still survives in Sanskrit, Hindi, Marathi, and Bālbodh, and in a little altered form in some other Indian scripts. The Indus Script however has long ago disappeared, although some scholars as Sir John Marshall and Dr. G. H. Hunter connect Brāhmi with it. That view is not, however, correct because, as we shall see below, it resembles Brāhmi simply because both had a common origin.

The Origin of the Devanāgari Writing

The following account of early Aryan life and the bifurcation when some Aryans settled in India, will show the circumstances under which the Devanāgari writing arose in India. What is said below will show that it is the most ancient script that has survived up to the present time and appears also in some modern Indian systems.

Old Indian Settlements

India of old must be distinguished into Non-Aryan and Aryan, as it may still be so distinguished. The Aryans entered India about

11,000 years ago; but India of that hoary past was not an unoccupied land. Settlements of Non-Aryan races were already there, and these had not only spread throughout its immense expanse but had also settled in all that huge space which extends to Indo-China in the east and the far scattered islands in the south.

Thus these Non-Aryans had long been occupying the whole of ancient India and had also spread over Burma and the Malay Peninsula, Siam and Annam and over the islands of Ceylon, Sumatra, Java and others in the group in that direction. This wave had probably come from the west, as the diggings at Mohenjodaro and Harappa in the Indus valley have disclosed a close affinity between the settlers there and the peoples and civilizations of ancient Sumeria and Babylonia.

The Early Home of the Aryans

While these movements of the Non-Aryans took place in southern Asia, the ancestors of the Aryans were living in the extreme north of Europe, probably in northern Russia. Indeed the Airyana-Vaejo, or the *birth-place* of the Aryans, as the Iranians called it, was just there, and they appear to have commenced to emerge as a new type of humanity in an age when the north polar regions had already commenced to be very cold. The earliest accounts of the homelands of the Aryans in the *Avesta* or the sacred book of the Parsis, depict these as very cold regions where a long and severe winter of ten months prevailed with a mild summer of only two months.

Their Great Sovereign Yima Khshaeta; How He Saves the World from the Ravages of the Deluge

The *Avesta* proceeds to say that in these regions ruled in antedeluvian epochs a great ruler Yima Khshaeta, the son of Vivanghvant. This was the same personage as the Yama Vivasvat of the Hindu scriptures. He rules by a divine mission as the Guide and Sovereign of mankind and a mighty *hero* among them. His rule was so wise and beneficial that peace, plenty and long life prevailed in the world under his sovereignty and population increased so fast and much that he had to extend three times the habitations of men towards the southern regions.

During the long epochs that the great Yima ruled, he had constant conferences with the Supreme Being; and in one of these he was warned of the long and calamitous winters that were to invade the earth and destroy all life on it in the near future. He was advised, therefore, to prepare a place of safety and carry there the best of men, animals and all good things of life. He obeyed, and thus the best of men, animals and all good things of life survived these calamitous visitations.

WORLD'S HUGE PROGRESS UNDER HIS SOVEREIGNTY HIS DIVINE CLAIMS AND HIS DEPOSITION

Yima's benign guidance and protecting care established a new order of things in the world after the passing of these calamitous winters. Civilization advanced by leaps and bounds and again populations increased extensively and fast. Yima who heretofore was obedient worshipper of the Supreme Being, began to think too highly of himself at seeing his unprecedented greatness and glory. He thought he must be of divine nature to achieve so marvellous a greatness, and demanded divine honours from his subjects. The sober Iranians were shocked at this claim, resisted it, and finding Yima persisting in it, deposed him.

HE SETTLED IN ANCIENT INDIA AND FOUNDED THERE THE HINDU RACE AND RELIGION

Yima retired into Seistan, a noble land on the confines of India, and his opponents pressing in that direction also, he retired with his adherents into neighbouring India and founded there the first settlements of the Aryans.

The Hindu scriptures have a different tale of Yama Vivasvat to tell, and that too in a minor way. They, however, have a good deal to say about Yama's brother Manu. The Iranian records know of no Yima's brother of the name of Manu. They rather knew Yima himself as a *Para-dhata* or Lawgiver, as the Hindus knew Manu to be. The only solution of this discrepancy seems to be that Yima and Manu might be the same personage, Yima or Yama being his proper name and Manu or Mentor the popular appellation he acquired after his settlement in India.

Invention of Writing during His Sovereignty in Iran

Thus Yima or Yama would be the founder of the Hindu race and religion. Among the numerous benefits Yima's rule brought to ancient Aryans was the invention of writing. True, it is said, writing had already been introduced into Aryan lands from a foreign people in the days of Yima's predecessor Takhma-Urupan or Tehmuras as we know him in later language. But the following facts compel us to infer that there was a purely Iranian script in use about Yima's time, and its inventor was an Iranian genius.

How the Invention of Writing Was Lost by Old Iran to the Nations of the World

We have shown in our article on "The Origin of the Alphabet," contributed to Dr. J. J. *Modi Memorial Volume*, how some Iranian genius of that hoary past invented an ingenious system of writing which all nations of the world took from Iran in those early days, and disseminated it in the world in those and succeeding aeons. Thus the alphabetic systems of ancient Egypt, Sumeria, India and even the far away Maya lands in Central America, are indebted to Iran for their writing systems. That original Iranian system was so perfect and simple that nations who borrowed it have made no effort to improve upon it. Even for representing sounds not found in the Iranian speech they slightly altered the Iranian letter representing kindred sounds to serve that purpose. That ancient Iranian system is represented in the preserved Avestan writing, and in a slightly altered form in Sanskrit.

How the Invention of Writing Was Made in Old Iran

We may just repeat here what we said in our study on *The Origin of the Alphabet* referred to above, on how this wonderful invention was made in Iran. We said there:

"The process of formation of the Avestan alphabet, was quite very natural, simple and ingenious. That bright Iranian who first thought of it seems to have got it almost by divine inspiration. It occurred to him to invent writing forms from names of objects with

which primitive society was familiar. . . . The principle he employed was to give individual initial sound in the name of each object to the picture of that object, and to mark this down as permanent symbol to represent that pure sound. For this purpose he chose five parts of the human body, seven well-known animals, nine simple household objects, and five simple and familiar things from nature. . . . By this simple process he succeeded in forming the most complete alphabet ever known."

How Yima Introduced this Writing into India, which become the Devanāgari Script of India

When Yima and his adherents entered India and founded these the Hindu race and religion, they had taken with them there this ingenius script also. But owing to their bitterness against the home people who had compelled them to go into exile, they attempted to give this writing a new form by putting masks on them,[1] and by altering the mode of writing from right to left to from left to right. This is known as the Devanāgari or Sanskrit script, the sacred writing of the Hindus, which is represented almost unaltered in Hindi, Bālbodh and Marathi scripts.

The Indus Script

It would seem that Devanāgari held supreme sway in Aryan India for millenniums of time and although contact with the rest of the ancient world was continuous, no rival to it seems to have appeared till very late times.

In Non-Aryan India, however, another script had been in use, and that has been only now unearthed in the interesting finds in the Indus valley at Mohenjodaro and Harappa.[2] Sir John Marshall, Mr. Sidney Smith, Mr. C. J. Gadd, Dr. G. R. Hunter and others have written interesting studies on this subject, and this writer has contributed a paper on "The Indus Script: Its Origin and Co-Derivatives" to the *Dr. Jackson Memorial Volume* now in preparation.

[1] See Column 2 in the accompanying plate in p. 108.

[2] See our article on "The Indus Script: Its Origin and Co-Derivatives," contributed to Dr. *Jackson Memorial Volume*, now in preparation.

ANCIENT INDIAN ALPHABETS : THEIR IRANIAN ORIGIN

1 Values	2 Sanskrit Masks	3 Sanskrit Divested of Masks	4 Surviving Avestan	5 Indus Script	6 Nos. in Hunter's Tables	7 Brahmi	8 Pali after C.R. Lepsius	9 Ancient Avestan Forms	10 Names of Avestan Letters	11 Meanings of Names also preserved by Egyptians
1. A					191, 119				ARAKA	EAGLE
2. B					88, 108				BATARA	CRANE
3. G					188, 108, 180				GĀTU	THRONE
4. CH					247.				CHARANĀ	(WHIP)
5. D					158				DASTA	HAND
6. E					249, 249				EVTTI	MEANDER
7. F					11				FRAOSTA	CERESTES
8. H					108, 14				HAREZANA	SIEVE
9. KH					53				KHUMBA	(JAR)
10. I					202				ITHYA	PARALLELS
11. K					48, 46				KĀSA	BOWL
12. L					121, 121, [illegible] 118				(DOUBLED)	LIONESS
13. M					87, 37, 37				MUVA	OWL
14. N					148, 148				NAPAT	WATER-SPRING
15. O					214, 214				OINA	EYE
16. P					4, 4, 121				PARAKA	SHUTTER
17. Q					31, 120, 120, 120				KHAONA	ANGLE
18. R					161, 161				RYANA	MOUTH
19. S					87, 130, 150, 172				SRVARA	SNAKE
20. Ś					171, 47				ŚĀNA	CHAIR-BACK
21. SH					180, 177, 177				SHOITHRA	INUNDATED FIELD
22. T					(210, 219) 112, 123				TAVA	LASSO
23. TH					26, 78, 78, 80				THANGA	TONGS
24. U					217, 219, 217, 97				UNA	(CHICK)
25. V					210, 219, 219, 56				(DOUBLED)	
26. W					135				WARA	(BOSOM)
27. Y					5				(DOUBLED U)	
28. J					114				JAPTAKA	DUCK
29. Z					147				(MODIFIED)	
30. ZH					31, 31				ZHNU	(KNEE)

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NATURE OF THE INDUS SCRIPT

Sir John Marshall regards the Indus Script as a pictographic writing, not having reached therefore even the syllabic stage. Dr. Hunter however does not agree with that view. He thinks the Indus Script was originally pictographic and ideographic, but in its preserved state

it is mainly phonetic. The equations in the *chart* appended to this paper prove that this writing is phonetic; but if these equations are correct, the writing could never have been pictographic or ideographic.

Its Origin and Age

In Dr. G. R. Hunter's work on *The Script of Harappa and Mohenjodaro*, and in our article on the Indus script referred to above, it has been shown that the Indus Script bears a close resemblance to ancient Elamite, ancient Sumerian and Brāhmi scripts. Dr. Giuseppe Piccoli has also shown its resemblance to Inscriptional Etruscan in his article on *A Comparison between Signs of the Indus Script and Signs in the Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum* contributed to the *Indian Antiquary*.[1] In our article referred to above we have shown its further resemblance to the Sanskrit, Egyptian Hieratic and the Avestan scripts, and shown how all these scripts are derived from the ancient Avestan script, as may also be seen from the *chart* appended to this paper.

Dr. Hunter has been able to realize from the extent of study to which he could go, that the Indus Script had a common source with the ancient Elamite and Sumerian scripts. As again the resemblance between the Indus Script and the older Sumerian Script of Jemdet Nasr is greater than between the Indus Script and the later Sumerian of 3000-2000 B.C., he naturally concludes that the common source of these writings should date before 4000 B.C. In our study on the subject referred to above we have shown how it is still much older,[2] and probably arose in about 7000 B.C. We also think the Indus Valley script arose independently of the ancient Elamite or Sumerian, from the ancient Avestan writing, through a source common with those.

How India's Later Scripts also Came from Iran
Continued Contact of India with Iran
the Great House of the Sāmās

Ever since the Aryans had settled in India, their kinsmen in the ancient home appear to have kept an eye on them and sent

[1] Vol. LXII; Pt. 782, pp. 213-15.

[2] See the *Chart* appended to that paper.

them ready succours whenever their powerful Non-Aryan neighbours molested them. The great Samas who also traced their descent from the ancient illustrious sovereign Yima Vivanghvant, and ruled in Seistan, an ancient province on the west of India proper, played a great part in giving such succours. They were the cousin race to the ruling house of the early Aryan settlers in India, and these therefore had a rightful claim on their help.

During later generations the Samas appear to have acquired suzerain rights over Aryan India, and we have references in the *Shah Namah* and the other *Namas* to the great hero princes of that house having been confirmed in those rights by the great Iranian sovereigns.

A Period of Uncertain History

After this there is a hiatus in the great Iranian history and we have hardly any records excepting some events in Bactrian history connecting that ancient kingdom with the Assyrian queen Semiramis and her commander Ninus in a war between the nations, and in the rule of some Zarathushtrian Priest-Princes in Babylonia.

Origin of Brāhmi

We do not know to what extent Iranian had continued her connection with India in these epochs, but when the great Median Emperor Cyaxeres who ascended the throne in 633 B.C., extended his Empire in all directions he had also conquered northern India. After him Cyrus the great who founded the mighty Persian or Parsi empire in 558 B.C. had also brought India under his domain. But there is clearer evidence of Iranian dominion in India when Darius the Great invaded India in 518 B.C., and annexed all Aryan India to the great Persian Empire.

It was certainly under this last rule, if not earlier, that an Iranian alphabet, a later form of the Avestan, spread in his vast dominions which stretched from the confines of what is now Austro-Hungary in Europe to the banks of the Ganges. This is well-known as the script of the Satrapies, and therefore was bound to be used in the India of the Achaemenian epoch. From that script was derived

the Brāhmi writing in India. It had a wide use in India in the days of the great As'oka who ruled from 264-228 B.C., and even later.

Origin of Pāli

Soon after the fall of the Achaemenian Empire in Iran, arose the Parthian or Pahlava Empire which was founded by a Persian or Parsi prince Arshaka whose name is probably represented in the name of As'oka in India. This empire rapidly advanced under Mithridates I who came to the throne in 174 B. C. Mithridates established his sway in India, and was thus the founder of the Pallava kingdoms in India which spread through the Punjab, Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra down to the Madras Presidency, and in this last place considerably flourished in the great Pallava kingdom of Kañci.

It would seem that the script the Pallavas or Pahlavas had brought with them into India, was a form of the Avestan alphabet, which appears to have been current in Bactriana and Parthia in those days. Its beautiful forms can be seen in Column 8 in the *chart* appended to this paper. Its close resemblance to the Avestan writing can also be seen at a glance.

It appears that their long stay in India had inclined the Pallavas to Buddhism. They not only embraced it, but gave to it the final shape and propagated it through all India and beyond its borders. Both the vernacular and script of their time were given the name of Pāli. The sacred Books of Buddhism are in the Pāli language.

Present Representatives of the Pallavas

Various theories are advanced as to who might be the descendants of the Pallavas among the present races of India. An observant traveller in the extreme south of India, finds gathered there four distinct principal types of men, a blackish tall and broad-shouldered people who might well be the people in the ancient Egyptian sculptures brought to life, a well-built wheat-coloured race, a similar copper-coloured people, and a white and handsome race. These last cannot be accounted for except being taken as the descendants of the fair, bright and brainy Pallava, Pahlava or Parthian rulers of ancient India.

DIN-ILAHI

BY NOWROZ C. MEHTA, M.A.,
Bombay

WHAT IS DIN-E-ILAHI ?

IT was somewhere about 1582 that Akbar, the Great Mughal Emperor started on his ambitious project of establishing throughout the whole Indian Empire, a Religion wherein was represented the salient feature of every religion. A similar attempt was made in the beginning of the 14th Century by Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khilji,—V. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul,* 3rd edition, p. 209,—who vainly compared himself with the Prophet (Muhammad) saying as the prophet, with the help of his four companions, established a Religion of his own, I also can, with the help of my four friends—Ulugh Khan, Zafar Khan, Nusrat Khan and Alp Khan,—establish a new religion and thus leave my name in the Annals of Time. Unfortunately or fortunately, Akbar, in the beginning, had none to oppose him in his new scheme, with the exception of Raja Bhagwan Das who put up the following mild protest :

"And when the Council, made innovation in religion, Raja Bhagwan Das said" I agree that we be all Hindus or all Muslims. But which is the other sect besides these two ? Tell us that we may accept it." Abdul Qadir Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Lees and Ahmed Ali, Vol. II, p. 313.

Kunwar Man Singh also said in the same tone :

"If discipleship consists in giving one's life, I am ready for it ; what is need of any other trial ? and if it be else, and you mean religion, I am a Hindu and if you so order I shall become a Muslim ; but I know of none other."

Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh,* Lees and Ahamad Ali, Vol. II, p. 364.

From the above quotations we can see that people failed it to grasp what this New Religion was like: Prof. Blochmann calls it "monotheistic Parsi-Hinduism"—*Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 212; Comte de Noer calls it a hotch-potch of 'Parsi-Soufi-Hinduism,' wherein the Iranian practice of Sun-worship formed the basis. The Din-Ilahi may be described as Pure-Deism. Its fundamental principle was that every one should worship God in accordance with the knowledge derived from his own reason; the main purpose of our life is to serve Him, to curb our baser passions, to practise beneficial virtues and not to lay blind faith in any creed or ritual. The best objects of adoration, according to Akbar, were the sun, the planets and the fire; God is the sole guide of our destiny. His Prime Minister Abul Fazl beautifully describes the spirit of the Universal Faith of Akbar:

"O God, in every temple I see people that seek Thee, and in every language I hear spoken, people praise Thee! Polytheism and Islam feel after Thee; each religion says "Thou art one, without equal." If it be a Mosque, people murmur the holy prayer and if it be a Christian Church, people ring the bell from Love to Thee. Sometimes I frequent the Christian Cloister, sometimes the Mosque. But it is Thou whom I search from temple to temple Thy elect have no dealings with either heresy or orthodoxy for neither of them stands behind the screen of Thy truth. Heresy to the heretic; and religion to the orthodox. But the dust of the rose petal belongs to the heart of the perfume-seller."—Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. XXXII.

The members of this sect were required to follow the following injunctions:

1. They should acknowledge Akbar as the Caliph of God and should make a dedication of 'Wealth, Life, Honour and Religion to His Majesty.'
2. No meat was permissible.
3. On Sunday the ceremony of Conversion (to Din-Ilahi) took place; the convert was given by His Majesty *the Great Name* and the motto of *Alla-hu-Akbar*.
4. The members of this New Faith, while greeting each other were not to utter the usual 'Salam-Alaikum' and 'Wa-Alaikum-as-Salam,' but instead *Alla-ho-Akbar* and *Jalla-Jalaluhu*.

Thus we can see that Akbar's real motive was to unite the different religious sectarians. "The people of my state," he said,

" are a singular medley of Muhammadans, idolators and Christians. I will unite them all in one belief. The baptism of the one and the circumcision of other, shall be blended with worship of Brahma. I will preserve the metampsychosis, the plurality of wives and the worship of Jesus Christ. Uniting thus together the things which the professors of each of those religions hold most sacred I shall form one only flock, of which I shall myself be the shepherd."—Father Francois Catrou—*History of the Mogul Dynasty*, p. 120.

FAILURE OF THE DIN-ILAHI

In spite of Akbar's great efforts to bring about a unity in his Empire, very few gave response to his clarion call. Abul Fazl and Badaoni, the two great court-historians of Akbar, have given us names of only 18 prominent members of this sect, among whom Raja Birbal was the only Hindu. The names are :

1. Abul Fazl, 2. Faizi, his brother, 3. Sheikh Mubarak, their father, 4. Jafar Beg A'caf Khan of Razwin, a historian and poet, 5. Qasim-i-Kahi, a poet, 6. Abduccamad, Akbar's Court-Painter, also a poet, 7. Aziz Khan Kokah, 8. Mulla Shah Muhammad of Shahabad, a historian, 9. Sufi Ahmad, 10, 11, and 12, Cadr Jahan, the Crown Pleader and his two sons, 13. Mir Sharif of A'mul, 14. Sultan Khwajah, 15. Mirza Jani, ruler of Tattah, 16. Taqu of Shustar, a poet and Commander of 200, 17. Shaikhzadah Gosalah of Benares, 18. Raja Bir bal.—Blochmann,, *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 200.

Father Pinheiro, in his letter from Lahore d/ 3rd Sept. 1595, informs us that in that city many joined the Royal sect but ' only for the sake of money paid to them '—V. Smith, *Akbar The Great Mogul*, p. 221. Lawrence Binyon gives us the reason :

" In religious societies toleration is no virtue ; it is the despised offspring of lukewarmness or indifference. A creed so simple was obvious to the reproach of vagueness and emptiness."—*Akbar*, p. 131.

Besides, the society was not ripe for listening to Akbar's appeal for religious toleration ; the fanatic Mullas and Shaikhs were not willing to give credence to any religion but their own. Badaoni violently attacks the Din-Ilahi as an instrument to overthrow Islam. But Akbar's extreme tolerance never gave vent to his wrath, and here

is how mildly he replied to Abdulla Khan Uzbek, ruler of Turan, who wrote to him about his apostasy:

"Of God people have said that He had a son; of the Prophet some have said that he was a sorcerer. Neither God nor the Prophet has escaped the slander of men—then how should I?"—Blochmann, *Ain.* Vol. I, p. 468.

THE ULTERIOR MOTIVE BEHIND AKBAR'S NEW RELIGION

From what we have read above, we can see clearly that Akbar posed himself not as a Prophet or a world-teacher, but as one of the greatest politicians of the world. As V. Smith says: "He was a born King of men, with a right few claim to rank as one of the greatest sovereigns known to History."—*Akbar The Great Mogul*, p. 353 There is a very interesting article published by Dr. Nishikanta Chattopdhyaya, Ph. D., in the *Hindustan Review*, Allahabad, and printed in *The Parsi*, Bombay, 17th May, 1908, p. 536, vol. VI, No. 137. In the course of the article, Dr. Chattopdhyaya relates the following incident which is worth our notice:

"It was once related by one of the most highly esteemed English officials that have ever been out in India, that when in 1873 he accompanied the then Viceroy Lord Northbrook, on a visit to Akbar's tomb at Sikandra, Lord Northbrook had said, 'If his (Akbar's policy had been followed, there would have been no need for us to be here!' In short, Akbar had the future of India before his mind and so he determined to build up a strong Empire both for himself and his successors. He knew when to turn the back and when to face the situation boldly in case the occasion so demanded. Badaoni relates that somewhere in 1580, a certain Mir Abu Turab returned from Mecca bringing with him a huge stone bearing the supposed imprint of the Prophet's foot. Akbar, though knowing it to be false, made a pretence of great reverence for the relic and even helped to carry the stone on his shoulders for some distance as a mark of respect. Again in 987 A. H. Akbar made a feigned pilgrimage to the tomb of a certain Khwajah in Ajmer. Badaoni here could not control his temper, and makes the following biting criticism:

"Sensible people smiled and said, 'It was strange that H. M. should have such faith in the Khawajah, while he rejected the

foundation of everything—our Prophet from whose skirt hundreds of thousands of saints of the highest degree, like the Khwajah had sprung."

And then he utters the following derisive verses:

"The fairy has hidden her face and the Devil throws amorous glances. Reason is burnt through wonder as to what a wonderful thing this is. In this garden none has plucked a rose without a thorn, yes, the lamp of the Holy one (Prophet) is mingled with the spark of Bu Lahab." Vol. II, pp. 272-3.

Akbar undoubtedly was a master politician and he has been variously compared with other great rulers of the world. Keene in *A Handbook to Agra*, p. 130, calls him the Edward I and Henry VIII of his race. Count Noer describes him as the Joseph II of Hindustan and as the first Darwinian before Darwin—*L'Empereur Akbar*, Vol. I, p. 346. Akbar played a noble role in Indian History and tried to bring about the same reforms as Ardeshir-e-Babegan did in Iran and Soter and Ptolemy I did in Egypt. It was really India's misfortuue that Akbar's policy was not followed by his successors and what Akbar had tried to do in his life-time, was undone by his followers and especially Aurangzeb. His ambitious dream:

> 'To wreathe a crown not only for the King
> But in due time for every Mussulman
> Brahman and Buddhist, Christian and Parsi
> Thro'all the warring world of Hindustan,

was not fulfilled.

AKBAR'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS OTHER RELIGIONS. HIS ADOPTION OF ZOROASTRIAN FAITH

There are historical evidences of Akbar's strong inclination to Zoroastrian religion. V. Smith in *Akbar the Great Mogul*, p. 162 informs us that "Akbar probably found more personal satisfaction in Zoroastrianism the religion of the Parsis, than in any other of the numerous religions examined by him so critically in his odd detached manner." Badaoni records the coming of a Parsi Mission from Naosari and their converting Akbar to Zoroastrianism:

"And Fire-worshippers who had come from the city of Naosari in the Province of Gujarat, established the truth of Zoroastrian religion

and considered respect to fire as in itself a great prayer: They drew Akbar to their fold and made him aware of the technicalities and customs of the Kiyanians, so that he (Akbar) ordered that Abul Fazl be put in charge of fire, as is the custom of the Iranian Kings whose fire was at all times day and night kept burning, for he said that it is one of the symbols of the Almighty and a light of His; and even from his youth he had established the custom of taking Hom which is also a prayer of the fire-worshippers, in his Harem in accordance with the desire of the daughters of Indian rulers; and on the day of Nuruz in the 25th year of his accession he made prostration to the sun and fire openly; and his favourites also considered the practice of getting up at the time of lighting of candles and lamps in the evening as obligatory." Vol. II, p. 261.

Another Muslim, writer, Ghulam Basat, who wrote the '*Tarikh-i-Mamalak-i-Hind*' in 1196 A. H. (1782 A. D.) also says that in 1579 A. D. several Pasis influenced Akbar to such an extent that he gave up Muhammadanism.

DID AKBAR REALLY BECOME A ZOROASTRIAN?

From certain historical facts we can come to the conclusion that Akbar did really become one of the Zoroastrian fold. First is the question of his putting on the Sudreh and Kusti.

Dastur Erachji Sorabji Meherji Rana in his *Mahyar Nama* composed on day Shehriwar, month Khordad A. Y. 1250, on p. 52, makes the following statement:

" When the King got convinced of the Religion Zaratusht Spitman, he put his faith in him from the bottom of his heart and put on Sudreh by way of justice. On it he tied the Kusti like the Zoroastrians and which he kept for a long time. Thus with Sudreh and Kusti the fortunate King sat on the throne surrounded by his favourite courtiers."

Referring to Badaoni we find that while giving an account of the 24th year of Akbar's reign (1579-80 A.D.) he makes a statement about Birbal recommending Sun-worship to Akbar. Just at the end of that paragraph Badaoni inserts this sentence.

He also recommended the Qashqah and Zonnar. Now, referring to Steingas we get the following note on Zonnar:

"A belt (particularly a cord worn round the middle by the Eastern Christians and Jews and also by the Persian Magi) the Brahmanical thread."

Looking to the contest of Badaoni's passage, we can see that he does not talk of Brahmanical rites but only refers to Birbal's talk to Akbar on Zoroastrian religion. Besides, in those days Zonnar meant simply our Zoroastrian Kusti, though later on it came to be applied to the sacred thread worn by different races. Thus, the *Farhang-i-Jahan-giri*, which was written in Akbar's reign, gives us the true meaning prevalent in those days, of Zonnar: It says: 'Zonnar—a thread worn by Fire-worshippers.'

I am giving only an extract from an article in '*The Advocate of India*,' Wednesday, January 17,1900. The sum and substance of it is that the late Sir Henry Yule published Struynsham Master's (Gov. of Surat) letter for the Hakluyt Society. Streynsham Master makes this statement: "Akbar, according to Portuguese accounts was invested with the sacred thread and girdle."

AKBAR ADOPTS THE ZOROASTRIAN CALENDAR

He reformed the Calendar and adopted the Zoroastrian with the 14 Zoroastrian Festivals. Parsis have custom to hold festival on each day whose name corresponded with that of the current month. Farwardin was adopted by Akbar as the first month of the Ilahi year and also of the 19th day of every month. So the 14 festivals were as follows:

19th of Farwardin; 3rd of Ardibehesht; 6th of Khordad;
13th of Tir; 7th of Amardad; 4th of Shahrivar; 16th of Maher;
10th of Aban; of Adar; 8th, 15th, and 23rd of Deh;
2nd Bahman; and 5th of Aspandarmad.—Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 276.

This Parsi Calendar was continued till the reign of Aurangzeb who in the 2nd year of his reign abolished it. Khafi Khan, the Court-historian of Aurangzeb says the reason:

"As this resembled the system of the fire-worshippers, the Emperor in his zeal for upholding Muhammadan rule, directed that the year of the reign should be reckoned by the Arab

lunar year and months—*Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 231.

Dastur Meherji Rana :—

Akbar in his inquisitiveness about Zoroastrian Religion invited to his Court some prominent Parsi theologians who came in a Mission from Naosari (*Vide* Badaoni's statement quoted above). Unfortunately neither Badaoni nor any of the earlier Muslim historians of Akbar's time give us any information as to who were the members of this Mission. About Dastur Meherji Rana a serious controversy arose when the late Sir Jivanji Modi wrote his memorable work *Parsis at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Maherji Rana* where he has thoroughly thrashed out this ambiguous problem in the most scholarly manner. In the *Kasse-e-Atash-Behram-e-Naosari* (written in 1135 A. Z. or 1725 A. D.) Dastur Shapurji Maneckji Sanjana gives us this information about the meeting of Dastur M. R. and Emperor Akbar.

"At this time, the Dasturan Dastur whose name was Sohrab, the brilliant-faced, whose pedigree is from Dastur Mahyar, whose father was the good Rana. He had been to Shah Akbar and had given him many proofs of the religion (of Zoroaster)."

LIFE OF DASTUR MEHERJI RANA

Dastur Kaikobad Mahyar, son of Dastur Meherji Rana wrote a Petition and Laudatory Poem, (published by Dr. Modi) where on (p. 157) he gives an account of his father. From it we gather that the father of Dastur Meherji Rana was known as Rana Jeshang; his mother was called Rani. They lived at Naosari. On roz Shahrivar, mah Meher, year 905 A. Y. (1536 A. C.) a son was born to them who was named Mahyar: Early at the age of 6 he was taught Avesta and at 7 was invested with Sudreh and Kusti. At 14, he passed the degree of Herbadhood and Martabhood. At 15 he was married to a respectable girl named Asi. He followed the profession of a Mobed and engaged himself in agriculture. At the age of 43 he started from Naosari on roz Hormuzd mah Khordad and after a tedious journey of 40 days he reached Delhi and took part in the religious discussions in 'Abādat Khānā.' Akbar became pleased with him and gave him a grant of 200 'vighas' of land in Pārchol, about 2 farsangs from

Naosari. J. H. Gardiner of the Statuary and Gravity Co. in his prospectus in about 1900 recommends the idea of commemorating this grand meeting between Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana. 'A grand panel could be erected to immortalize the meeting of the Moghul Emperor Akbar and the illustrious Dastur (High Priest) Meherji Rana, whose name is a household world in every Parsi family."

Mahyar (Dastur Meherji Rana) died on roz Daepadar, māh Asfandar-mad, year 960 A. Y. (1591 A. C.) aged 53—*Dastur Kaikobad's Petition and Laudatory Poem* by Dr. J. J. Modi, p. 165. Dastur Erachji in his *Mahyar Nama*, couplet 1351 gives the date of Dastur Meherji Rana's death as 1593 at the age of 63. He left 3 sons named Hirji, Behram and Kaikobad—*Mahyar Nama*, p. 86. Dastur Kaikobad after his father's death received 100 more bighas of land.

AKBAR HONOURS CHRISTIANITY: AKBAR'S FIRST CONTACT WITH THE PORTUGUESE

It was about 1573 when Akbar was busy with the seige of Surat that he was accosted by a Portuguese Mission from Goa under the leadership of one Antony Cabral. We know nothing of the result of this meeting except that Akbar was impressed by their courtesy. In 1577 we hear of one Pedro Tavares, 'commandant of Satgaon' (in Bengal) coming to Akbar's court with his wife. Through this Pedro, another priest called Julian Pereira (also in service at Satgaon) was introduced to Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri in March 1578. It was this Julian Pereira who 'occupied himself largely in exposing the errors of Islam' and who ultimately turned Akbar's mind from Islam.—Sir Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, 1932, p. 23.

It was in 1580 that the First Portuguese Mission arrived at Akbar's court. It consisted of Father Rudolf Aquaviva, Father Antony Monserrate and Father Francis Henriquez. 'Heriquez' was a Persian by origin, a native of Ormuz and a convert from Islam,—Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, 1932, p. 25. Monserrate was a Spaniard from Catalonia, and Rudolf Aquaviva, the leader of the Mission, and Italian, son of the Duke of Atri and nephew of Claudi Aquaviva who later on became General of the Society. This Mission came with a definite aim of converting Akbar as previously they had

succeeded in converting 'the King of the Maldives,' 'a near relation of the King of Bijapur' and also the grandson of the King of Bijapur. About the Second Mission we have no definite information. It consisted of Edward Leioton and Christopher di Vega. The Third Mission came in 1595 A. D. and consisted of Father Jerome Xavier, grand nephew of Saint Francis. Father Emmanuel Pinheiro and Brother Benedict de Goes. Of these only Rudolf Aquaviva is mentioned in the *Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, p. 254.

TRADITION ABOUT AKBAR'S CHRISTIAN WIFE

Blochmann, in his notes on the *Ain-i-Akbari* states that Akbar had an Armenian wife. He quotes as his authority the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, but on referring to that passage there we find that Akbar merely gives a daughter of an Armenian (who was in service of his Harem) to Sikander, Father of Zul'qarnain. Father Corsi informs us (in 1626) that Zul'qarnain having no mother was 'brought up in the Royal House by one of the queens whom he called Mother and King Akbar he called Father'. But this is unreliable for our purpose. Mr. Frederic Fanthome of Arga published a book called *Reminiscences of Agra* in 1894 where he states of one Mary, the Queen of Akbar, and daughter of one Martindell or Martingall. In 1907 Mr. Ismail Gracias published a book at Novagoa, called '*Una dona portugueza na Corte de Grao-Mogol*, and C. A. Kincaid published in Bombay in 1908 a book called *The Tale of the Tulsi Plant.* Their version is that a girl named Maria Mascarenhas was sent to the East as wife of a Portuguese official but unfortunately she was captured by the Dutch and sold in Surat to the Moguls one of whom brought her to Akbar who took her as his wife. This resembles the story of Khusro Parviz acquiring the 'wind-driven treasure' (Ganj-e-bad-Avard). Perhaps the misunderstanding may have arisen from the fact that Hamida Banu, Akbar's mother was called "Maryam Makani" and Akbar's Hindu wife (Jehangir's mother) was called "Maryam-Uz-zamani." That way there were so many buildings bearing Christian names *e.g.* 'Maryam Ki Kothi' at Fatehpur, 'Roza Maryam' at Sikandra, etc.

Picture of Lala Balaqi Das. This man was the proprietor of the Muir Press in Delhi. He gave a piture to Nawab Mirza Akbar Ali,

Prime Minister of Karauli (died 1910) who passed it round to his grand-daughter, the wife of Prince Bakhtiyar Shah at Calcutta. In this picture Akbar is represented sitting by the side of a lady (with a cross on her necklace). Another picture resembling the former was also owned by Lala Balaqi Das, a copy of which is in the Library of L. Sri Ram of Delhi. Both these pictures bear no authenticity as has been very ably proved by Sir Edward Maclagan in his *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, pp. 157-160.

CHURCHES UNDER THE MOGULS

About 1599, a small church was built at Agra in accordance with a Farman of Akbar permitting the Fathers to build a Church—*Father Felix in Agra Diocesan Calender*, 1907, p. 204. In 1604, another bigger church was built in Agra for which Prince Salim contributed—Payne, *Akbar and the Jesuits, 1926, p. 191*. In 1597, a chapel was built at Lahore in accordance with the request from the members of the Third Mission. It was opened on Sept. 7, 1597—Payne, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, 1926, p. 75.—Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*, 1924 p. 283. A church was built at Patna by the intercession of Muqarrib Khan in 1620; at Sambhar in Rajputana by the favour of Mirza Zu'lqarnain in about 1648; at Jaipur by the generosity of Raja Jai Singh (1699)—Maclagan, *the Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, pp. 324-25.

AKBAR'S REVERENCE FOR CHRISTIANITY

In 1590 when the Fathers celeberated the feast of the Assumption Akbar caused a throne to be erected whereon he placed the picture of the Virgin; he and all his courtiers bent down on their knees and kissed it. He used to enter the chapel without his turban and fall upon his knees and pray like a Christian. Badaoni gives us the following information :

" Having assured himself of the truth of Christianity, he favoured the Christian Nation and ordered Prince Murad to take a few lessons in Christianity under good auspices and charged Abul-Fazl to translate the Gospel. Instead of the usual Bismillah (at the head of the Prince's lesson) the following line was used: 'O whose

name is Jesus Christ,' and Shaikh Faizi added the second couplet 'Praise be to thee, there is none like Thee, O He! '" *Badaoni*, Vol. II, p. 260.

To the Fathers he showed great respect and gave them every facility. When Monserrate fell ill, Akbar paid him a visit. He would not allow them to remain uncovered in his presence and in public he used to walk with Rudolf with his arm round the latter's neck—*Monserrate-Commentaries.*

WAS AKBAR SINCERE IN HIS BELIEF IN CHRISTIANITY

Father Catrou writing of the First Mission says, " Akbar seemed to have countenanced, for a season, the cause of Christianity from a principle of curiosity only."—*History of the Moghul Dynasty*, p. 113. Further on, on p. 116 the same writer says: " It was easy to perceive, that the chief object which the prince had in view, by inviting to his court Jesuits from Goa, was by their means, to establish an intercourse of commerce with the Portuguese, and to gratify his eager desire to become acquainted with the sciences of Europe." The Portuguese at Daman and Div had been causing trouble. They intercepted the pilgrim ships to Mecca and created great inconvenience to them. War was carried on with the Portuguese at Daman over the question of Butzaris (Bulsar) which Gul Bedan Begum (Akbar's aunt) had given to the Portuguese. The object of this gift was that from Surat she was to go to Mecca for a Hajj and in order to ensure her safety she thus pleased the Portuguese. But after her return from Mecca she demanded back Bulsar. The Moguls made a sudden attack on a Portuguese fleet under Jacobus Lopezius Coutignus and being taken captives, they were treated shabily. Again, Qutub-ud-Din of Broach with an army of 15000 attacked Daman and was firmly resisted by Martinus Alfonsus of Melium, Governor of Daman, Fernandes of Castrium, Governor of Xeulum, Emanuelis of Saldanha, Governor of Bassainum, and Fernandes of Miranda Admiral of the royal fleet, but they were defeated with heavy losses. The preparation for this fight had been carried on long since when arms and ammunitions were passed round to Div in bales of cotton. Now let us remember that all this happened just when the Missionaries were before Akbar who was all the while questioning them about

Daman.—*Commentary of Monserrate*, translated from original Latin by J. S. Hoyland and annotated by S. N. Bannerji, 1922, pp. 166-168.

AKBAR STUDIES HINDU RELIGION

Abul Fazl, the Prime Minister of Akbar, gives us a detailed list of the prominent men who visited his Court and among them we find the names of three Jain-'gurus' *viz.* Hiravijaya Sūri, Vijayasena Sūri and Bhānucandra Upādhyāya. Hiravijaya was sent to Akbar's Court by Shihab Khan, Viceroy of Gujarat, on the former's order. When Akbar met him at Fatehpur he, as a mark of favour and respect, released prisoners and caged birds and forbade animal slaughter and also left off his favourite sport of hunting and took to fishing. The famous temple of Ādis'vara on the holy hill of Satruñjaya near Palitana in Kathiawar was consecreted by Hiravijaya in 1590 and bears on its wall, an inscription in Sanskrit, giving details of Akbar's generosity.—V. Smith, p. 166. In 1593, another Hindu 'guru'—Siddhicandra visited Akbar at Lahore. We also get names of 2 more of these Jain 'gurus'—Santicandra and Jincandra. Santicandra was at Court till 1587, and wrote 'a turgid encomium' (*Kriparasa-Kosa*) on Akbar. Jincandra is crowned with the honour of 'converting Akbar to the Jain religion.' Akbar also associated with the Sikh Gurus: He is reported to have, on one occasion visited Guru Amar Das (1552-74) at Goindwal, 'dined with him and received a dress of honour.' Guru Rām Das (1574-81, son-in-law of Guru Amar Das) was also held in high esteem by Akbar. Guru Arjun (1581-1606) who compiled the *Granth Sahib* was accused of degrading Muhammadan saints and Hindu gods. Thereupon he sent Bhai Budha and Bhai Guru Das with the *Granth* to Akbar who after making a thorough investigation gave his verdict in favour of Guru Arjun.—Editor's Introd. to the *Commentary of Monserrate*, p. V. On Roz De, Mah Khordad, 38th Regnal year (26th May 1593 A. D. or 5th Ramzan A. H. 1001) Akbar issued a Farman forbidding slaughter or shikar of peacocks in the neighbourhood of the Paraganah of Mathura, Sahar, Mongotah and Od.—*Imperial Farmans, trans. in Eng., Hindi and Gujarati* by K. M. Jhaveri, Farman IV A. On the 29th of Jamadi the Second A. H. 985 (Friday 13th Sept. A. D. 1577) he issued another Far

man in favour of Vithaldas.—*Far. 1—Imperial Farmans*—Jhaveri. On 3rd of Safar, A. H. 989 (Thursday 9th March A. D. 1581) another Farman was issued in favour of Vithalrai—Far. 2—*Imperial Farmans*—Jhaveri. Badaoni informs us about Akbar's assuming marks of a Hindu :

" On the festival of the 8th day after the sun's entering Virgo in this year, he came forth to the public audience-chamber, with his forehead marked like a Hindu and he had jewelled strings tied on his wrist by Brahmans by way of a blessing—it became the current custom also to wear the Rakhi on the wrist." *Badaoni*, Vol. II, p. 261.

Akbar also took the daughter of Raja Bihari Mall, the chief of Amber or Jaipur (in Rajputana) who later on became Jehangir's mother. In 1570 he married princesses from the Rajput States of Jaisalmir and Bickaner. In 1584 A. C. Prince Salim (Jehangir) was married to Raja Bhagwan Das' daughter. Dr. Beni Prasad writing of these matrimonial alliances says ' It secured to four generations of Mughal Emperors the services of some of the greatest captains and diplomats that mediaeval India produced.'

DID AKBAR DESERT ISLAM ?

Badaoni gives us a list of Akbar's profane deeds :

(1) Destruction of Mosques.

" And schools and Mosques were pulled down and most of the people returned to their native place ; and their unworthy sons who remained, in course of time, made themselves notorious by their mean conduct." Vol. II, p. 274.

(2) Shaikhs and Fakirs driven out.

" And similarly (in 1581-2) a large number of Shaikhs and Fakirs were exiled mostly to Kandahar, and exchanged for horses." Vol. II, p. 299.

(3) Public prayers and the Azan abolished.

" At this time, joint prayers and the Azan which he used to say five times in the court were set aside." Vol. II, p. 314.

(4) Names like Muhammad, Ahmad and Mustafa prohibited.

" Names like Ahmad, Muhammad and Mustafa and the like were forbidden to please the hearts of the Kafirs outside and daughters of the people of the Harem inside." Vol. II, p. 314.

(5) Man to be buried with head eastwards and feet westwards.

" And another reform was that they should bury the dead with his head to the east and feet to the west ; and he (Akbar) also followed the same manner while going to sleep." Vol. II, p. 375.

V. Smith (P. 219) says 'this rule had the double purpose of honouring the rising sun and offering an insult to Muhammadans who turn towards Mecca which lies westwards from India.'

(6) Beards to be shaved.

" And he greatly exhorted people to shave off their beards and this custom became current and every Tom, Dick and Harry who shaved off his beard brought forward arguments that beard gets its nourishment from testicles." Vol. II, p. 375.

(7) Prophet's miracles ridiculed:

" One night in the presence of Fath-ullah, he said addressing Birbal, ' How can reason accept the story that a person can go, in one moment, with such a heavy body of his, to the heavens from his bad, and converse with God and his bed still remain warm till he returns ; and people believe this.' And similarly he ridiculed the ' Splitting of the Moon ' and other miracles and having raised up one leg he demonstrated to them saying ' It is not possible that we can stand until our other leg also remains on the ground-what nonsense is this ? " Vol. II, pp. 316-17.

In short, Badaoni gets very wild at Akbar's apostasy and cries out :

" O you talkative fellow who for the sake of a few mean persons,
Has fallen off from the True Religion, led away by force of arguments,
What wrong have you seen in the Sunnat that you have taken side of the irreligious,
What fault is there of Quran that you have turned to this present world."

Now, we must remember that Badaoni was a fanatic type of Mulla and wrote, as Prof. Max Muller says, ' with an undisguised horror of Akbar's religious views.'—*Introd. to the Science of Religion*, 1882 ed. p. 209. His ' book was kept secret and according to a statement in the Mirat-ul-Alam it was made public during the reign of Jehangir.'—Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 104. Note 2.

What the Jesuits say about Akbar's Repudiation of Islam

The Jesuits in their letters definitely tell us that both at the time of the First Mission (1580-3) and also of the Third Mission (1595) Akbar had utterly no feelings for Islam. 'The King,' informs Father Xavier, 'has utterly banished Muhammad from his thoughts (*sbandito da se a fatto Mahometto*)." In the Commentary of Monserrate, p. 29 we are given to understand that 'in his dining-hall he had pictures of Christ, Mary, Moses and Muhammad; when naming them he showed his true sentiments by putting Muhammad last; for he would say 'This is the picture of Christ, this of Mary, this of Moses and this of Muhammad.' Father Pinheiro also informs us: 'This king has destroyed the false sect of Muhammad, and wholly discredited it. In this city, there is neither a mosque nor a Koran—the book of their law; and the mosques that were there have been made stables for horses and storehouses.'—V. Smith, p. 262.

Akbar Was a True Muslim

We are informed by Sir Thomas Roe, writing from Ajmer in 1616, that Akbar died 'in the formal profession of his sect'—*The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, ed. by Foster, Hakluyt Society, 1899. On the other hand the Jesuits say that when he was breathing his last his Muslim friends and relatives asked him to recite the Kalma' whereon he gave no sign save that he repeated the name of God. 'But again, Jehangir in his *Memoirs* states that he recited the Kalmat-ush-Shahadat after the Mufti, Miran Sadrajahan-*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, trans. Major Price, pp. 75-76. Jehangir informs us that Akbar 'never for one moment forgot God,' and regularly performed his prayers 4 times a day. Father Antony Botelho writes in 167 that the Adil Shahi Sultan of Bijapur, on one occasion, asked him point-blank 'Is it true or not that the great king Akbar died a Christian?' The Father replied 'Sire, I would to God it had been so, but he kept us deluded with such hopes and died in your sect of Muhammad.'—Maclagen, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p. 64. His faith in the Khwajah of Ajmer and Shaikh Salim Chishti of Fatehpur Sikri as also his devotion to Sheikh Farid Shaker Ganj whose shrine at Ajodhan in the Punjab was an object of his annual pilgrimage are all glaring proofs of his strong faith in Islam.

CONCLUSION

The Din-Ilahi was a master-piece of Akbar's political diplomacy through whose medium he sought to bring about a harmony between the 'cow-preserving and cow-eating' communities of India and if his policy had been followed to-day the Congress and the Muslim League would have stood hand-in-hand at this critical juncture of India's political throes.

INTERPRETATION OF SOME AVESTAN AND PAHLAVI WORDS

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IN this paper I have selected only a few words from Avesta and Pahlavi texts which have not been correctly understood and explained by scholars in the field of Iranian studies. As it is difficult to reproduce the orthographical peculiarities of some Pahlavi words and their variants in transcription, I have taken recourse to the system followed by Prof. Bartholomae in his *Altiranisches Wörterbuch.* A stroke (1) is always reproduced in this system by n, a courve (ٳ) by d, Av. s by dd and Av. sh by da, whereas other letters of the Pahlavi alphabet retain their Avesta value. The words under discussion are:

(i) Pat datn-*Dātistan i Dēnīk, Pūrsishn* VII, 2-4.
(ii) Zartōsht i hprnbd—*Nāmakīhā i Manushchihr* II, Ch. I. 13.
(iii) Nada' aann—*Nāmakīha i Manushchihr* III, Para 1.
(iv) Pēm-ē va mandūm-ē apārōn—Pahlavi version of *Ohrmazd Yasht* § 2 and 4.
(v) Avesta ajastacha in *Vanant Yasht.*
(vi) Srōsh yasht rōyishman shap.
(vii) *Tīr yasht,* para 1.

My aim in this paper is not to enter into the etymological discussion of these words or paragraphs but to give their correct readings and interpretations.

I. Pa datn:

This phrase occurs in the Pahlavi Text *Dātistān i Dēnīk,* Pūrsishn VII, 2-4. Dr. West reads the expression "pavan dādo" and translates by "by design" (*S.B.E.* Vol. XVIII, p. 27). Both his reading and meaning are incorrect. Ervad Anklesaria and Ervad Bharucha translate the phrase as "according to law." (*Dd.* translated in Gujarati by Anklesaria and Bharucha, pp. 23-24.) No doubt,

the word can be read 'pa dāt' and can be translated "as a rule," but here this meaning does not suit the context well. I read the phrase as 'pa yāt' and take it to be an abbreviated form of the word yātak-gō βīh or yātak-gō β, Pāz. *Zādangōi*, meaning 'intercession, mediation.' It is derived from yātak, Av. yāta—(orig. past part. pass. of √ *yam*-to hold), portion or share and gō β īh or gō β from inf. *guftan*, to speak. Thus the word may mean lit. 'speaking of the share of some one.' Dastur Hoshang Jamasp prefers to read it dāḍan-gūbīh in spite of the Pāz. Jādūn-gōbī, meaning thereby, asking or recommending another to do a certain meritorious work on one's behalf, when he is unable to do so himself" (Vide, *Glossarial Index of Vendidād*, p. 120). Haug and West read dātōgūb (trad. Jādangōb) and take it to be adj. and translate "speaking Justice, pronouncing the law, arbitrating, mediating" deriving from dātδ, law and gūb crd. of gūftanō. (Glossary and Index of *Gosht-i Fryano*, etc., by West and Haug, p. 180.) Avesta word *uχδo*-vachao in Pahlavi version of Aiwisru θrima Gāh, 8, is translated by "milyā yamalalun" (Ir. saχvan gō β), which is further explained by the gloss "yātakgōβīh kūnandak" meaning 'mediators, intercessors.' Sometimes the word yātak is found without any preposition; *e.g.*, yātak i shmāk, lit. your share, *i.e.*, for your sake; yātak i shmāk bā^γānān, for your Majesty's sake. What is then the Pāz. equivalent of yātak. It is 'Jāda' which lit. means 'a path, a road.' Note that the Pahlavi translator of *Patēt Pashīmānīh* curiously translates "jāda rā" by "frazandān," as though the word is derived from Pahl. Zātan, to be born. Vide, *Zand-i-khūrtak Avistāk* by Ervad Dhabhar pp. 75 and 77. Its Pahl. equivalent is bahr, Pers. bahr. The etymology of the word is doubtful. cf. Hubschmann Pst. 33. Sometimes in Mātīkān i Hazār Dātistān we find the word written "bar;" cf. *Mh. D.* 60, 3, 5. I give below the text and my translation of *Pursishn* VII, 2-4:

Text: Passōχ*v* ē khu: ka kas ōy i bē vitartak rāδ, pasach bē vitīrishnīh kirpak kūnēt, agar ōy i bē vitartak—andar *Zīvandakīh* ān kirpak nē framūt, api-sh nē handarzēnēt, nē būn kart, api-sh ne-ch *pat yāt* būt, aδak-sh bē ō trāzūk nē shavēt nē rasēt. . . . chē ān i *pat yāt* i hach kas χvēshīhēt pat patgirishnīh hach kas χ*v*ēshīhēt; ka-sh nē *pat yāt*, aδak-sh nē patgirishnīh bawēt. Agar ān kirpak ōy vitartak ne framūt ut api-sh ne-ch handarzēnīt, bē-sh *pat yāt* hamdātistān būt, ān andar *Zīvandakīh* kūnīhāt aδak-sh pa satush bē ō afzūn i gās rāsēt.

Translation: The reply is this: ' When anyone does a meritorious deed for him who has passed away, after his passing away, and if he who has passed away did not order that meritorious deed during his life-time and did not make a testament nor did he authorize it, and it was not even his by the intercession (of any one), then it will not go and will not reach him at the balance . . . for that which is appropriated by intercession from some one, is appropriated by the approval of that person; when it is not his by intercession (and approval of some one), then it is not approved as his. If he who has passed away did not order that meritorious deed and did not even make a testament, but he agreed to it by the intercession (of some one), then that which may have been done during his life-time reaches him in the three nights (satūṣ)[1] for the augmentation of his position.

II. **Zartost i hprnbd:**

This name occurs in the *Ditīkar Nāmak i Manushchihr*, ch. I, sec. 13.[2]

Dr. West reads the name " Zaratūṣt i apafrōbd " and translates " Zaratūṣt the club footed " and adds in a footnote that the name refers to " some recent pretender to the supreme Priestship who had endeavoured to conceal the deformity that disqualified him for that office.[3] His translation of this section under consideration is doubtful and incorrect. Ervad Dhabhar follows Dr. West. *Vide* his Gujarati translation of *Nāmakīhā*, p. 46, f. n. 65. I here venture to suggest that the word " apafrōbd " is nothing but the corrupted form of Ātar-frana-baγ. Hence the correct reading will be *Zartōsht i Ātar-franabaγ*. In this para we notice a reference to Zartōsht, the son of Ātar-franabaγ i Farroχv-Zāt, who flourished in the IXth century A. D. In Ch. III, para 9 of the First Epistle we find the same name written in this wise: ā p n r n dd, ā p r n n d. I quote the text[4] as under:

Hū-fravart hū-dēnān pēshōpāδ Ātar-Franabaχ Farroχv-*zātān* nipisht hat χvēsh kartak bawīh shnāsēt, api-sh handēmān ō chyān-vitarg patrāstak ut ārzūk i gētēh kam nīyāzhishn bawēt.

[1] For further details, see *Sh N Sh.*, by Dr. Tavadia, p. 10.

[2] See *NM*, ed. by Ervad Dhabhar, p. 57.

[3] See *S. B. E.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 329, f. n. 2.

[4] See *NM*. ed by Ervad Dhabhar, pp. 13-14.

I translate the quotation thus:

The Saint Ātar-Franabaɣ, son of Farroχv-zāt, the religious leader of the faithful, wrote: 'know that a great reception is ordained at the Bridge of the Separator for him who recognizes the consequences of his own actions and he will have little need of earthly desires.'

Dr. West reads this name as "Hēr-Frōvag" and says in a foot-note that Ātūr-Frōbag is probably intended and that the names 'Ātūr' and 'Hēr' are synonymous, both meaning 'fire.'[1] This Āta-Frana-baλ was the son of Farroχv-zāt, who had been the leader of the faithful after the death of his father in Ēran and had embraced the faith of Islam in the reign of Khalifah Mutawakkil. For the sake of clearness I give below the text and translation of sec. 13, ch. I under discussion:

Sahom ku shmāk apar ēn hēr ander χvat ōgōn vas hēd chēgōn Zartosht i Ātar-Franabaɣ ka snāshakīhā vīnārt; hach-ash Ātar-Franabaɣ χvat kasīhēt; api-sh bē ō nipisht ku musalmānān ka-shān asnūt, aδak-shān nēvak pasandīt. Ut sāzēkān passōχv nipisht ku atān ēr dūr-ich nihāt hē, aδak-shān vēh-ich pasandīt hē.

I give the translation of the above-mentioned section:

I feel that you are as much (bent) upon this substance within yourself as Zartōsht, son of Ātar-Franabaɣ when he deliberately renovated it; Ātar-Franabaɣ is belittled on account of it. He wrote: 'When the Musalmāns heard (of this), they approved it well.' And the people of Raē wrote a reply: 'when you have laid the ordinance too far, they, too would have approved it well.

III. **nada aann:**

These words occur in the Third Epistle of *Manushchihr Goshnajam*, paras 1 and 5 of Ervad Dhabhar's Edition. Dr. West has not properly understood this text and his translation[2] is rather obscure and unintelligible. Ervad Dhabhar reads "khayā va ahū" and translates "(impurity) relating to life and soul. Alternatively, he suggests that the words may be read "vaχshishn" meaning 'increase.'[3] But both his reading and meaning are incorrect. According to my view the first word written in Pahlavi like vaχsh is nothing but the corrupted form of 'nasāk' due to the mistake of the scribes. The Pahl. word nasāk, av. nasu, Pāz nasā Gr. nekros, means 'dead matter, dead body,

[1] See *S. B. E.* Vol, XVIII, p. 289, f.n. 2.

[2] See *S. B. E.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 59 for the translation of Dr West.

[3] *Vide*, p. 74, f.n. of Ervad Dhabhar's Translation of *Nāmakīhā*.

corpse.' The second word which is read by Ervad Dhabhar as " ahū " should be read ' han ' and may be compared with Pāh han, av anya-, Old Pers. aniya-meaning ' the other '. Hence the correct reading of these words will be ' nasāk ul han rīmanih,' meaning ' Contamination and other pollution.' Similarly in sec. 4-5 of the same Epistle, the word khayā " and its variant " vaχsh " should be read ' nasāk.' I give below the transcription and translation of the relevant portions of the Third Epistle wherein the words in question occurs.

Text : Man Manushchihr Goshnjamān, Pārs ut Kirmān rat, bė ō ashnovishn mat kū pat ast kōstak i Ērān-shahr Ōyshān kē ***nasak ut han*** rīmanīh Ōgōn chēgōn ander dēn piχak—shōδisnīh vichīrēnīt ēstēt 15 bār pat gōmēz ut ēvak bār pat āp hamē shōδēnd χvēsh tan pat pāk hamē dārēnd ut ō āp, ātash ut pātiyāpīh, barsòm, patmānak i pātiyāpīh hamē shavēnd etōn hamē gō βēnd ku *Zātsparam* Gōshnjaman ēn ēδvēnak s'ōdishn framūt dastō βasān.

Nōkīhā-ich nipisom ku : man hach den vichīr dastoβarān chāshtakīhā pōryōtkēshān kartak ākāsīh sahishn Ōgōn kū shōδishn i hach rīmanān hach mas rīmanīh i pat ***nāsak u than*** gētehīk patvėshakīh i bawēnd ān ast i pat χvarrah i amarakan āshnākīhā ut barashnum pat pēχak-ic χanīhēt.[1]

Translation : It has come to the hearing of me, Manushchihr, Son of Goshnjam, the spiritual-leader of Pārs and Kirman, that there are in the directions of the City of Erān those who are purifying fifteen times with bill's urine and once with water the Contamination (nasāk) and other pollution just as is decreed in the Religion regarding Bareshnum Ceremony (pēxak-shōδishnīh), are holding themselves as clean and are going to the water, fire, ceremonial objects (patiyāpīh), Bersom twigs and the implements of ceremonial cbjects, are saying thus : ' Zātsparam, son of Goshnjam, ordered the priests this mode of ablution.'

With-a-fresh-start I write: my opinion from the knowledge of the mandate of the Religion, of the teachings of the high-priests and of the usages of the foremost leaders of faith is such that the ablution of those contaminated owing to great contamination which they incur by means of dead matter (nasāk) and other earthly infection is

[1] Ervad Dhabhar gives "patash dakyā" *vide*. NM. p. 92. I read 'patvēs'kīh' deriving it from Av. paiti and vaēshah—sb. n. place of rottenness, corruption. *cf.* patv [ē] s'ak, patv [ē] s'ak, in *Dd. Pursishn* XVI. 13.

that which is well-known as the glory of the populace and is called the Bareshnum with (the stick of nine) knots[1]. . . .

IV. **Pem-ut Mandum-e Aparon :**

This phrase occurs as a gloss in paras 2 and 4 of the Pahlavi version of Ohrmazd yasht. In para 2 MSS. U 1, D, MF1 give the variant 'mandūm' instead of mandūm-ē and Mss. MF2 and U4 omit the word 'apārōn'. In para 4 Ms. D actually gives bēm i for pēm-ē and Mss. U1, D, E and MF1 all give 'mandūm' instead of 'mandūm-ē' as edited by Ervad Dhabhar, and Mss. U4 and MF2 omit the word 'apārōn.' Taking these variants into consideration it will be seen that the text originally must have "pēm ut mandūm." The first word pēm is equivalent to bēm, Skt. bhīma, Av. vaēma-, meaning 'fear.' This meaning is made undoubtedly clear by one Ms. which actually gives 'bēm.' Prof. Bailey in the *BSOS*, Vol. VIII, p. 1155 reads the word "pīm" and compares it with Skt. pīyāti "abuses." He translates it by "pang" and cites the phrase 'garān pīm i hac marg' *i.e.* grievous pang of death as an instance, *cf.* A Vn. 1. 20 : pūrpēm, meaning 'fearful, frightful.' In the Glossary and Index of the Pahlavi Texts of *Ardā Virāf* and *Hādokht Nask*, the authors remark that "both reading and meaning are doubtful, as the word is written padam in H.6. and 'fear' is elsewhere always written bīm ; whilst pīm stands for pēm (Z. paēma "Milk)" In ch. 44, para 6 of *Dēnkart* Vol. XVIII ed by Dastur Dr. Darab Sanjana, we find the word 'pēm,' which the author reads "paēm" and translates "milk" and adds a note that "perhaps Maidyōi-Zaremaya rōghan, the immortalizing beverage given to righteous souls in heaven" is intended. Both his reading and meaning are incorrect so far as this and the following paras are concerned. I give the text[2] of this paragraph and my translation of the same to illustrate the meaning of the word 'pēm.'

Text : Ēn-ic kū : paδtākīh i ōyshān hēnd Spītāmān Zartōsht kē ēn frashkart kūnēnd andar ahvān nikīrītār-Ōyshān hēnd kam bēs pa gavārōnīh bavandak mēnishn kū—ka-shān *pēm* rasēt bē gōkārēnd ;—nē ōyshān bēm ut āzār, ut ān-ich i darōγ gōβishn i arāst. Ōyshān rāδgōβēnd pat ahrāδīh χvāδishnīh kē hēnd ahrōβ.

[1] For complete translation of the Third Epistle, see my booklet entitled "*Manushchir Goshnjan and His Third Epistle*" reprinted from the *Sanj Vartaman Annual*, 1940.

[2] For the text see p. 55 of *Dinkart*, Vol. XVIII Ed. and translated by Dastur Dr. Darab Sanjana.

Translation : This too (is) thus: 'They are a manifestation of those, O Spītāmān Zartōsht! who as guardians will perform this Renovation in the world. They, of perfect devotion, will have little torment through wickedness, *i.e.* when fear reaches them, they will assimilate it; they (will) not (have) fear and pain and even that which is false and irrelevant utterance. They speak with the desire of righteousness about them who are pious.[1]

The second word is 'mandūm,' whose Ir. synonym is chēsh, lit. 'thing,' object. Here it is not used in the ordinary sense of 'thing.' It seems to have been inadvertently substituted for Pahl. Chashk which is generally found associated with the word "bēm" in Pahlavi literature, *cf. Dd. Purisishn* XXIV, 2: mēnishn girān *chashk ut bēm*[2] i hach tār; *Dd.* XXIII-2: ut gūmān i apar χvesh gās andar bēm i hach hamār ut tars ut nīhīv ut *bēm chashk*[2] i hach pōhl i cīnvat rāδ sōhist. In *Dd.* XXIII-2 the word chashk is written in Pahlavi as p s k. From this it follows that the letter 'p' in addition to its affixed sounds f, p, w, stands for c as well in Pahlavi. Hence the phrase would read pēm ut cask meaning 'fear and dread.' I quote below the sentence wherein this phrase occurs and I give my own translation.

Text: Katār harvistēn aχ i astōmand ān i pa oX ast bē-mūsītārtōm [pēm ut cask[3]] ?

Translation: What of the entire corporeal world is the most effacing [the dread and fear] of conscience ?

V. **Av. ajastacha:**

I have taken this wood from *Vanant yasht* for discussion in this paper. The correct from should be vī-jastacha which may be compared with Pahl. Gajastak, past part. adj. meaning 'accursed, hated' from V Jad-with vi-prefix. It is an antonym of Persian χujastah, Av. hu-Justa. Ir. v. < Mid Pers, g. The Pahlavi version of this yasht translates it by 'azi-dahāk' (Av. azi-dahāk, zōhāk of the Iranian Epos.). In the Manichaen Fragments Azdahāg is occasionally mentioned, two being named in one passage (Müller, *Handschriften-Reste*, pp. 19-37) In Armenian literature he appears as 'Biurasp Azadahak,

[1] For translation of Dastur Dr. Darab Sanjana see *Dinkard*, Vol. XVIII, p. 40.

[2] Note the Association of these two words Cas'k ut bēm and bēm cas'k, meaning 'fear and anxiety.'

[3] As the text stands, the phrase pēm-ē-ut mandūm-ē apārōn means 'fear and impious thing.' Dr. Dastur Dhalla in his article on "*The Pahlavi Text of the Ormazd Yasht*" in *Dastur Hoshang Memorial, Volume*, pp. 378-391, gives 'pēm i mandūm i apārōn, *i.e.*, fear of wicked things. In section 4, he gives the word bēm instead of pēm.

where he is identified with Astyages, (J. Nb. pp. 47-48). In *Vend.*, XVIII, 37 we find the word 'Ajastacha,' which the Pahlavi versionist translates it by nē-zadist, meaning 'unasked, unwanted.' Prof. Bartholomae in his *Air. Wb.* has placed the symbol + before the wood ajastato to indicate the corrupted form. Prof. Salemann remarks that the word gajastak 'accursed' is the opposite of Pers. Xujastah and that the nearest explanation of it would be the Av. vi-Jasta. (*Mid. Pers. Gram.*, p. 33 note). In this case Pahlavi differs totally from the Avesta and this meaning, I think, owes to the incorrect reading A-jastaca in Avestan Text. I translated the Av. text thus: We sacrifice unto Star Vanant, created-by-Mazda, righteous, the Lord of righteousness. I sacrifice unto the powerful, healing Vanant who-is-invoked-by-name for the withstanding of the accursed, most horrible and most abominable noxious creatures of the Evil Spirit (Ayra-Mainyu).

VI. **Srosh yasht Royishman Shap:**

There are two yashts dedicated to the yazata Sraosha in the Avesta literature. One is called Srδs'yasht HāδōXt because it is taken from the HāδōXt Nask (Nask. XX). The designation Srōsh yasht Tarēn, meaning, the Second Srōsh yas't, is also given to this yas't to distinguish it from the Srōs'yas't which is popularly known as "Srōsh yasht," *i.e.* the Greater Srōsh yasht. Because it occurs in the Yasna, it is known in the Pessian Rivāyets as "Sarush-Yasht-i Izashni," meaning 'Srōsh yasht pertaining to the Yasna,' One Manuscript actually gives the title "Srōsh yasht Yazishn." The other Manuscripts give the heading "Srōsh Rōyishman Shap Avistāk Zand." Here the Pahlavi ideogram "Rōyishman" is very important and on which rests the correct decipherment of the title. Its Irānian equivalent is 'ddr,' which can be read in five different ways[1]: (1) sar, (2) dēr (3) dīl, (4) gīl and (5) Jigar. Of these, the Iranian equivalent 'dēr' suits the context better. All Pahlavi scholars assert that the semitic words or ideograms were never pronounced as they are written and that in reading a text, the Iranian equivalents have to be substituted for all the ideograms. Hence the correct title will be 'Srōsh yasht Dēr Sap Avistāk Zand,' meaning 'Long (or large) Srōs' yas't of the Night, Avesta and Commentary.' This my reading and interpretation of the

[1] cf. *Pahl. Pāz. glossary* by Ervad Sheriarji Bharucha 1912, pp. 178, 179, 195, 203 and 221.

title square very well with the wellknown Gujarati Heading "Sarōsh yasht Vadi." Ervad Dhabhar reads the title "Srosh yasht sar shab[1]" and translates "Srosh yasht (to be recited) at the beginning of the night." He remarks that both 'rōyishman' and its Iranian equivalent 'sar' are used in the Pahlavi language in the sense of 'beginning' and 'end'. No doubt, the words 'rōyishman' and 'sar' have diametrically opposite meanings 'beginning' and 'end'. cf. Pahl Text chītak Handarz i Pōryōtkēshān, last section, 'ān i ēn hazārak sar' at the end of this millenium; *Sh. N. Sh*, Ch. IV. 2. Sar ā sar, from beginning to end. I think it is due to the mistake of the Pahlavi scribe that Ervad Dhabhar has arrived at such a reading. Prof. Darmesteter styles it "Srosh yasht si shaba" *i.e.*, "the Sarosh yasht of three nights," as, he argues, the same is recited during the ceremonies for the first three nights after death.[2] His reading of the title and reasons adduced in support of it are incorrect. It may be noted that this Srōsh yasht large is recited in the name of the dead not only during the ceremonies for the first three nights, but for the whole year or for any length of time and that it is recited generally in Aiwissūθrima Gāh.[3] According to my opinion, he seems to have been misled by the Persian word 'sar' vaguely written as 'se.' Ervad Kanga in *Khordeh Avesta Bā Māēni* reads "yasht si shab" and translates "the yast of three nights." Dr. Irach Taraporewalla in his *Selections from Avesta*, Part I, p. 72, says: "The same is used during the ceremonies for the first three nights after death, hence also the name sometimes given, "yasht-i-si-shab "or" yast of the three night." Both Ervad Kanga and Prof. Taraporewalla followed Prof. Darmesteter's reading and meaning. This yasht which is borrowed from the Yasna literature, is recited during the day time in the Yasna liturgy conducted by well-qualified priests.

VII. **Tishtr yasht, Para 1.**

The Tishtr yasht is devoted to the praise of the Star Tishtrya and it deals with the description of the production of the rain through the agency of the Star Tishtrya. The first para in question has not hitherto been properly understood by the Avestan scholars. This para is very

[1] See *Zand-i Khūrtak Avistāk*, edited by Ervad Dhabhar, Introduction, p. 24.

[2] Z.A.I, p. 358 and Z.A. II, p. 481; also see my Paper on "*The Age of Yashts*," reprinted from *Prof. Thomas Memorial Volume ed.* by Prof. Katre and Gode.

[3] *i.e.* the period from sunset till midnight. The word aiwi. srūθria. n. means, the coming along (of the night). Barth. *Air. Wb.*

important in as much as it is generally quoted by scholars deeply interested in the subject of the Iranian Calendar. (*Vide*, Irāni Panchang Iranian Calendar—by M.N. Kuka). Besides it is one of the Avestan references for the justification of the reading Māh *Baχtār* Niγāyishn instead of the usual appellation Māh *Bōχtār* Niyāyishn. At the outset I venture to suggest that the words 'maoyhmcha maēθanəmcha, myazdemca frā yazamaidē' should be enclosed in a square bracket to show that this clause is a later insertion or interpolation. This point was not easily perceived by Avestan scholars and actually Ervad Tehmurasp Anklesaria in his yashts Edition has suggested in the foot-note the correction which runs as under: frā yazamaidē (Tishtrīm starom). The Avestan Vulgate shows countless interpolations which disturb the continuity of the hymns and which must be excised in the interests of a more exact knowledge of Zoroastrianism. I give below the text of this para: *Avesta*; Mraot ahurō mazdao spitamāi Zaraθush-trāi: panghahe anghuθuomca ratuθuomca [manghemca, maēθanomca, myzad-omca frā yazamaide], yat mē stārō xarenayuhantō hachaonte paracha mao nərəoyō xvarenō baχshənta-yazāi sōδrahē baxtārem tistrīm Zaoδrābyō. I translate the above Avestan text in the following strain:

Ahura Mazda spoke unto Spitama Zaraθushtra: 'Thou shalt attend[1] to the Ahu-ship and Ratu-ship[2] [We praise the Moon, and (her) abode and the votive offerings.] So that my glorious stars and the Moon may associate, bestowing[3] glory hitherto upon men.'

I worship the Star Tishtrya, the distributor (of rains) in the field[4], with libations.[5]

LIST OF PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS OCCURRING IN THIS PAPER

adj.:	Adjective.	AirWb.:	*Altirenische Worterbuch.*
Av.:	Avesta.	AVn.:	*The Book of Arda Vīrāf.*

[1] Paoanghahe, S-aorist subj. mid. 2 sq., √ pā-to observe, to attend to.

[2] Ahu is the 'Holder of the Royal Jurisdiction' or his representative the Lord of Judgment; the Ratav- is the Judge who pronounces Judgment (Bartholomae).

[3] baxshonta, nompl mas. of Pres. part act meaning 'bestowing' cf, the variant baxshənti. If we follow the varient baxsonti, the sentence would mean thus: so that my glorious stars and moon may associate and bestow glory upon men.

[4] Compare Av. shōiarō-baxta-adj. Assigned to the settlements.

[5] Readers may compare the translations of Darmesteter, Kanga, Spiegel, Wolff, Lemmel etc. I have differed from all the scholars. I cannot quote here the various translations for want of space and time.

cf.: (confer) compare.
ch.: chapter.
Gr.: Greek.
inf.: infinitive.
Ir.: Iranian.
lit.: literally.
pp.: page.
Pahl.: Pahlavi
Pāz.: Pāzand
Pers.: Persian.
sec.: section.
Skt.: Sanskrit.
Vend. Vendidad.
Vol.: Volume.

B.S.O.S.: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.*
Dd.: *Dātistān i Dēnīk*, ed. by Anklesaria.
JNb.: *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Von F. Justi.
Mid. Pers. gr.: *Middle-Persian Grammar by Salemann.*
MhD.: *Mātikau i Hazār Dātistān.*
NM.: *Nāmakīha i Mannscihr*, by Ervad Dhabhar.
PSt.: *Persische Studien*, by Hubschmann.
SBE.: *Sacred Books of the East.*
SNS.: *Sāyasht Nē Sāyest.*
ZA.: *Zend Avesta*, by Darmesteter.

AZI DAHĀKA'S ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATORY

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FROM the Ābān Yasht § 29 we learn that Azi Dahāka had adored the Aredvi sūrā anāhitā in the country of Bawri, *i.e.* Babylon. The Pahlavī *Būndahishn* traces his descent from Tāz, brother of Hōshyang, and when he came to the throne occupied by Yima Khshæta, he was supposed to have been a foreigner who conquered the country and removed the ruler from it. Being descended from Tāz, he is called a Tāzi; this term is used as the eponymous name of the Arabs, and hence they are called the Tāzīyān.

In the Pahlavī text, *Ṣatṛīhā-i-Aērān*, edited by Dastūr Jāmaṣpji Mīnōcheherjī Jāmāsp-Āsā, and translated by Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, we find the following sentence:

'Ṣ atṛastān-i Bāwīr Bāwīr pa kh vaṭāyīh-i Jam kaṛṭ; vaṣ Tīr Apākhtar ānō bē-bast, u mārī hapt dwāzdah-i akhtarān u apākhtarān u hashtom bahara pa yāṭū-y-īh o Mitṛ Vāwīrī bēnamūṭ.'

Translation: "Babel founded the city of Babel during the reign of Jam; he fixed the planet Mercury thither, and showed to the sun of Babel with sorcery the seven *and* twelve names of constellations and planets, and the eighth apportionment."

This translation will not be intelligible without notes on the exegesis of words used in the text.

The Avestan 'b-a-w-r-i' is found in *Atharva Veda* XI, I, 31 sq. as 'b-a-bh-r-i'. The *Atharva Veda* 'b-a-bh-r-l' must have stood for 'b-a-bh-r-u', the primary meaning of which is "brown, tawny, tan-coloured". The epithet 'b-a-bh-r-u' is applied to the horses of Indra, and of Rudra. The same epithet is applied to one who is bald-headed through disease. A man with deep brown or red hair is called 'b-a-bh-r-u-s'. Again, 'b-a-bh--r-u' is the name of a 'deśa', *i.e.*, "country". The Vedic 'b-a-bh-l-u-s-a' has the meaning of "brownish."

In the Ancient-Persian Cuneiform Inscriptions the country is named ' b-a-b-i-r-u '.

In the OLD TESTAMENT, *Genesis* XI. 1-9, we read the story of the Tower of Babel. From the time of the deluge the primitive men settled in Shinar, *i.e.*, Babylon, after many wanderings. They had inherited from their ancestors one common mode of speech. Finding enough materials suitable for the construction of edifices, they began to make and burn bricks, and using the bitumen for cement, they built a city and a tower of great elevation. The name ' Babel ' given to the place where the tower was erected was, according to the *Genesis*, due to the " confusion " of tongues, brought over themselves by the builders by a divine interference, the Ebraists thus deriving the word as being of Hebrew origin.

The purposes to which this edifice was appropriated must have varied with the changes in opinions and manners which successive ages brought. Consecrated at first by the monotheistic children of the Deluge, it was used by the Sabians perhaps as a temple of the sun, and as the Babylonians were students of Astronomy, the temple was crowned by an astronomical observatory to study the stars in the heavens. (See Kitto's '*Cyclopœdia of Biblical Literature*,' 1893, pp. 121-122).

According to the commonly received chronology of the *Bible*, the " confusion of tongues " took place a hundred years after the flood; according to the Septuagint 530 years after, and according to the opinion of Josephus, slightly emended by Dr. Hales 600 years after.

From the passage quoted above, from the Pahlavi text we learn that ' Bāwīr ' was the name of the person who laid the foundation of the city and of the tower, which were both named after him, that they were founded and erected during the reign of the Pishadādian King Yima Khshæta, in whose rule the great Deluge took place, after a lapse of the first 900 years of his reign. As the Avestan literature names ' Azi Dahāka ' ' Bawrōiṣ daiṅhavē ', *i.e.*, " of the country of Bawri," in the same way as the Sanskrit literature refers to ' Babhri-des'a,' we can identify the ' Bāwīr ' of our Pahlavī text with the ' Azi Dahāka of the Avestan. Perhaps he belonged to one of the races of giants such as the Anachim, referred to in '*Numbers*' XIII. 32-33: " It is a land that eateth up the inhabitants ; " may be he belonged to one of the three branches or clans of the Anachim, named Ahiman

('*Numbers*,' XIII. 22); Compare Vedic Sanskrit 'Ahimanyu ("the Maruts enraged like serpents").

The founder of the Bāwīr must have been named 'Bawri' in the Avestan on account of the deep brown colour of his hair, on account of his brown, tan-coloured skin, and on account of his being bald-headed through the fell disease of leprosy. The word became 'Babiru' in Ancient-Persian Cuneiform and was still further transformed to 'Bāwīr' in the Middle-Persian dialect of Pahlavī, and we find in Arabic, the neo-Persian 'bābil' arabicised and read 'bābul.'

When the long lost sacred word was re-written by Ezra in about 398 B.C., the great restorer of the text of the Israelitic Scripture and the interpreters took the word 'Bābel' to mean "confusion;" in fact, the English word 'babble' is traceable to the Hebrew 'bébel,' the myth of the "confusion of tongues" had so strongly taken hold of the minds of the interpreters of the Bible.

In 1914, when I made an attempt to explain the myth of Saṅhavācha and Arenavācha, I had made an attempt to show that the Aryan star myth could only be properly explained with the help of Babylonian, Phoenician and Greek mythical literature. I am to-day making an humble attempt to show that the story of the "tower of Bábel" and of the consequent "confusion of tongues" can the better be interpreted from a Pahlavī work based on old Avestan texts, written about nine centuries after Lord Jesus.

An interesting question of comparative genealogies may be taken up one day by the students of the Avestan and Israelitic Scriptures. I will refer only in passing to the great identity of 'Bāwīr' with Nimrod. Of course it must sound very strange to scholars to accept the statement of the author of the: '*S*atṛīhā-i Aērān' that a man named 'Bāwīr' had founded the tower named 'Bāwīr', *i.e.* "Babel", as well as a large city named after him. The Israels knew it by the name of "Shinar". Let the learned outside the charmed circle of Iranists consider this statement as critically as they can, and see if they can gain some new information out of it.

Noah is the ninth descendent of Adam. Yima Khshaeta is the ninth descendent of Gayōmaretam. Azi Dahāka is the fourth descendant of Tāz, who is a brother of Haoshynha and the fourth descendant of Gayōmaretan; Azi Dahāka, moreover, is the ninth descendant of Aṅra Mainyu (!!!), his mother Vadhagh, the eighth

descendent of Aṅra Mainyu (!!!), having been the spouse of Khrutāsp, the third descendant of Tāz.

We have now to see the relationship between Noah and Nimrod to whom the interpreters of the Old Testament ascribe the foundation of the Tower of Babel, and as late as in 1863, the great archaeologist Mr. Rich discovered the mound with remains of buildings on its summit, which bears the name of Birs Nimrod even to-day. (See Kitto's *Cyclopœdia*, p. 619). Nimrod was the son of Cush son of Ham son of Noah, *i.e.*, Nimrod was the great grandson of Noah, whereas the tie of relationship between Yima Khshaeta and Azi Dahāka is that of cousins. Yima Khshaeta was the fifth descendant of Haoshyaṅha, and Azi Dahāka the fourth descendant of Haoshyaṅha's brother Tāz. Haoshyaṅha, the seventeenth ancestor of Aira son of Thraētaona, is the founder of the Iranian race, whereas Tāz, the fourth ancestor of Azi Dahāka, is the founder of the race of the Arabs, the Tāzīyān.

The beginning of Chapter IX of *Genesis* does not mention even one word as to who founded the city and tower of Babel: "as they journeyed from the east, . . . they found a plain in the land of Shinar; and they dwelt there." Who were they? Certainly, the families of Ham, Shem, and Japhet, the three sons of Noah, by whom the nations were divided in the earth after the flood. There is no mention of Nimrod having founded the city and tower of Babel. According to *Genesis* X. 10: "And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar." The writer of *Genesis* has presumed the foundation of the cities named above, and Nimrod, "the mighty hunter before the Lord," possessed himself of these cities, which had already been brought into existence by others before him. The indigenous traditions of ages, and the existence in ruins even to-day of Birs Nimrod are proofs positive of Nimrod's hand in the erection of the tower of Babel. After the handing over of the Pahlavi passage to great researchers of biblical studies, there is a clear certainty of truth being dug out from the mud and the bottom of the well by those whose only motto is truth and nothing but the naked truth in all its inborn glory.

If Azi Dahāka was brown, tawny, or tan-coloured as per the meanings of the Vedic and Sanskrit 'babhri' and 'babhru', Nimrod's father Cush is supposed to have been the progenitor of the Cushites, *i.e.* the Ethiopians.

Whether ever the "babble," the "confusion of tongues," took place owing to the erection of the huge superstructure, the name of which has still remained in spite of the rolling away of mighty millennia of time, and the noble edifice itself still surviving in spite of ignoble efforts of opponents and foes at its destruction, after the publication of this thesis, necessarily meagre in details, friends and confrēres will raise the question, if not ridicule, at the "confusion of the races," the Hamites and the Tāzīs, made in this paper. Can it ever be possible to equate and identify Nimrod the great—grandson of Noah, Nimrod the Hamite, with Azi Dahāka the Semite, Azi Dahāka the Tāzī?

I will only make a reference in passing to the disagreement in the two statements, found in the *Genesis* and in the *Ṣatṛīhā-i-Aērān*. According to the *Genesis* the city and the tower of Babel were founded after the deluge; according to the *Ṣatṛīhā-i-Aērān*, Bāwīr founded the city of Bāwīr during the reign of Jam. It is possible that the city of Babel, as per the latter statement, was no doubt founded during the remaining years of the reign of Jam after the deluge.

Now we come to the important part of the statement, that of establishing the Astronomical Observatory. The first portion of the statement mentions the fixing of the planet Mercury. Bāwīr, *i.e.* Azi Dhāka, must have settled early in his time the risings and settings of the planet Mercury, the orbit of which is nearest that of the Earth. Being a planet which is not visible all the days of the year, the high elevation of the observatory erected on the tower of Babel must have afforded enough facilities to the Babylonian star gazers to fix the diurnal motions of Mercury during those times of private civilization. The language used in the sentence being ambiguous, there is likelihood of different meanings being attributed to the text. Dr. Jīvanjī's meaning "fixed there (the direction of) the planet Mercury" seems to be quite appropriate. Bāwīr must have erected the tower on the day of the exaltation of Mercury in Gemini, in such wise as that the planet could be seen every from the same fixed point of the tower, and its latitude and declination were fixed for all the days in the year.

The word 'm-ā-r-ī' in the text has no relation to the constellation of the dragon. 'Mārī' simply means "a word", "a word used as a name." The twenty-one words of the 'ahuna-vairya' formula which

are used as the names of the twenty-one Nasks of the Avestan Scriptures are called ' Mārī '. In the same way, the author of the '*Satrīhāī-Aērān*' uses the term ' mārī ' for the seven and twelve names of the planets and the constellations used as ciphers by the ancient Babylonians. We will not be taking the lustre out of the glorious work of the erection by Bāwīr of the tower of Bābel, if we uphold the Iranian tradition of Yima Khshaeta, Azi Dhāka's predecessor, having organized the solar year, counting the beginning of the year with the day of Hormezd of the month of Fravardīn. Firdausi of immortal fame has mentioned it in his *Shah Namah*, and the writing of another immortal poet and philosopher of Irān, *Omar Khayyām* has been lately unearthed and printed by a young scholar of Teheran, Dr. Minuvi. In his *Noroz Namah, Omar Khayyām* has shown how from the time of Jamsīd, the calculations of the solar year were made and all astronomical phenomena had begun to be studied. Bāwīr, Jamsid's successor, did the greater work of erecting the astronomical observatory on the tower of Bāwīr, erected by him on the city of Bāwīr founded by him. He selected a spot which became the centre of the world in respect of astronomical studies. The word ' Mārī ' used in this text shows that Bāwir had invented the ciphers for the astronomical names of planets and constellations for the first time in the life of the world.

The last, though the hardest nut to crack, is the significance of the phrase ' haṣtom bahara '=" the eighth apportionment." In his astronomical observatory, Bāwīr seems to have demonstrated the path of the sun in the twelve constellations and the conjunction of the sun with the various planets during his passage into the constellations. The " eighth apportionment " is, very likely, a reference to the division of the 360 degrees of the *Zodiac* into eight parts of 45° each.

The word ' yātūyīh ' (=" sorcery ") seems to be a word ill understood by the civilized world, just like the word " miracle." ' Yātūyīh ' (=" Sorcery "), as usually understood means " magic, witchcraft ", " divination by the assistance of evil spirits." The Iranian writers have certainly ascribed to Azi Dahāka the powers of divination with the help of the evil spirits. The *Dīnkart*, Book VII, Chapter IV. 72 refers to " several matters of evil portent which Dahāk had perpetrated with sorcery in Bāwīr (=Bābel), mankind had proceeded to idol-worship by means of that delusion, and thereby arose the destruction of the world; by means of the victorious Revelation,

the Word of Zarathushtra, proclaimed against that sorcery, it was entirely disintegrated and made ineffective."

In this connection *Dīnkart*, Book III, Chapter 288 throws some historic light, where we are told : " One instigation of Dahāk against the admonition of Jamṣēṭ of preparing an accumulation as provision during summer and winter, Dahāk advised the accumulation of revenge in the mind with unforgiveness, and to return the revenge even to the ninth generation, and enjoined the commencement of a scripture with these ten advices of his, harmful to the creatures, as against ten admonitions of Jamṣēṭ beneficial to the creatures, and to preserve the same in Aurușalīm (Jerusalem). And thereafter, say that Abraham, the Dastōbar (=Religious Leader) of the Jews, acted accordingly, and Musa (=Moses) whom they consider the Gēlīṭa (=prophet) of the Jews and as of divine radiance, completed it, and the super-eminent Iṣū (=Jesus) had heard of him Musa and promulgated it. And all the Gēlīṭas (=prophets) of the Jews keep it in their possession and believe in it."

This statement of the *Dīnkart*, which was written about 1150 years ago, shows the influence the ' Bible ' of Dahāk had in times after him, on the views and opinions of Abraham Moses, Lord Jesus and the other Jewish Prophets.

To make the "confusion" of the stories of history the worst confounded, I will quote Albīrūnī, Dr. C. Edward Sachau's *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, p. 100 :

" Western authors relate that, during the reign of this last King (Thonos Konkoleros, *alias* Sardanapalus), the prophet Jonah was sent to Nineveh, and that a foreigner, called Arbak (Arbaces) in Hebrew, *Dah-āk* in Persian, and Ḍaḥḥāk in Arabic, came forward against this king, made war upon him, put him to flight, killed him and took possession of the empire, holding it till the time when the Kayanians, the kings of Babylonia, whom western authors are in the habit of calling Chaldæans, brought the Empire under their sway. The reign of of Arbaces lasted seventy-two years."

For papers in Sections IIIA and IIIB—please see CONTENTS.

4. CLASSICAL SANSKRIT

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

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My first duty is to express my feelings of sincere gratitude to the members of the Executive Council of the All-India Oriental Conference for the honour of electing me as the President of the Classical Sanskrit Section of the Conference in this Session. If I feel any pride or gratification, it is when I receive some recognition of the services that I have done to Sanskritic studies, however small the actual results of my services may be. If sincere devotion to work forms an integral part of one's labours for any good cause, then I can claim some recognition, since I can boldly assert that my devotion to Sanskritic studies is not less than that of any other student of the subject. My associations with the activities of this Conference have never been very prominent; I have been nothing more than an ordinary delegate to the various sessions and I had no occasion to associate myself with the administrative aspects of the activities of this Conference. I have attended all the sessions of the Conference commencing from the Fifth Session held at Lahore and I have regularly participated in the academic and literary activities of the sessions, both in the Vedic and in the Classical Sanskrit Sections. The honour done to me now I consider as a recognition not merely of the work I have done within this Conference but also of the work I have done outside, in the general field of Sanskritic Studies, and I believe that I have been able to produce some tangible results in this line.

It will be against all rules of good taste if I begin a sort of rambling talk on the various aspects of Classical Sanskrit on this occasion

and I know also that it will not be possible for me to justify my violation of the rules of courtesy by bringing in the excuse of the needs of the occasion. But I will, at the same time, be failing in my duty if I do not make adequate comments on some aspects which I consider important. Although this Conference has no statutory powers to supervise the work of scholars engaged in the higher aspects of Sanskritic Studies, nor to prescribe the plan and programme of their work, nor again to fix the scope of such work, and although any advice given by us or any lead offered by us is certain to be regarded as gratuitous by scholars outside and even by the scholars who are members of this Conference, when they function in their individual capacity, yet this Conference has a responsibility which is not derived through any statute and it has to develop an authority which will become more operative than statutory powers through custom ; and this can be done only through prudent initiative, cautious procedure and noble ideals as the aim. This Conference can justify its existence only if it can set certain standards in research and get those standards accepted through their inherent worth.

When one looks round and has a general view of the entire field of Sanskritic research there are two things that strike him most, and they are the amount of work that remains yet to be done and the inadequacy of the means for completing the work. In the following address I may not strictly confine myself to problems that are connected with merely what is technically called Classical Sanskrit. There are few regions coming within the field of Indological studies in which Classical Sanskrit has not got some natural and prescriptive rights. If we look into the names of the various sections into which this Conference is split up, it would be found that what bestows a unity to the various sections, which enables the sections to form this totality called the Conference, is the importance and the predominence of Sanskrit. Sanskrit is inherently connected with the studies in all other subjects and no research of any useful standard can be done in any of the subjects without the aid of Sanskrit. Considering this importance of Sanskrit many of the statements that I make may have a bearing on subjects that fall outside the scope of this section, that may directly come only within the scope of other sections of the Conference.

When we speak of Indological researches, we must first of all realize that we have not yet been able to have even the faintest

notion of the amount of material that is available for such research. I mean manuscript material. This forms the chief material for any kind of research in the field of indology. There are various organized manuscripts libraries in India with large collections. There are also many private collections in Palaces and the homes of individuals. Many of them are known. In the case of many of them we have even information about the contents of such private collections. Some of them are inaccessible to humanity, perhaps not so inaccessible to animals that eat away and destroy the manuscripts. Many private collections are still buried in obscurity, and perhaps it is in these collections that many of the most valuable, being rare, manuscripts lie hidden from the knowledge of man.

Even in the case of the so called organized public libraries, the conditions vary as regards cataloguing, facilities for use by scholars, system of keeping the manuscripts safe against decay and damage, arrangement for taking transcripts and in the many such activities associated with a manuscript library. Some libraries do not at all lend manuscripts outside the Library building. Some libraries freely lend their manuscripts. In most of the libraries, there is provision for lending manuscripts with certain restrictions. Even in the matter of catalogues, there is no clear system of division into subjects and there is no uniform method of arrangement of the titles in the catalogue. Even in the matter of the names of the works and of the authors, there is some lack of uniformity. Every one who is engaged in research knows how much time and labour is spent in tracing a manuscript in a catalogue and in identifying a work.

Apart from the above considerations, there are some points that have interested me all along. The manuscripts, especially the manuscripts written in North India, give as a general rule the name of the scribe, the date of transcription and the name of the owner of the manuscript. I have not yet been able to get at a manuscript written by the author himself of any important work. What was the method of writing out a work? Did the author take paper, pen and ink in North India or palm-leaf sheets and a stylus in South India, or did they dictate? In the latter case, who wrote out actually, a disciple or a paid scribe? How did copies multiply? When an authoritative work was written by a well-known author, say Bhartṛhari, how long did it take before copies were made available in multiples

throughout the country ? Did such a work get currency in the country within the life time of the author and in a very short time, or was it a slow process, say of fifty years ? I am led into such thoughts because I find that in many cases theories regarding the dates of important authors have been started on the basis of the time that should have elapsed before his work was known in the whole of the country.

Even in the case of such a recent author as Sāyaṇa, there is no contemporary copy of his various vedic commentaries and other works, that has been discovered. Copies bearing dates not far removed from the time of the author have come to our notice. But what has happened to the copy written out by himself or transcribed to his dictation ? It may be too much to expect to get at a copy of a work that goes back to the time of—say Kālidāsa or even of Bhavabhūti. The problem of an author's own copy of his work is one that has been puzzling me for a long time and I have been unable to find out any solution for the puzzle.

How did recensions of works arise ? I do not know if there is any work in Sanskrit that has not various recensions. The textual variations of the *Mahābhārata* are well known. There are shorter and longer recensions of various works like the *S'ākuntala* of Kālidasa, the *Nirukta* of Yāska and the *Bṛhaddevatā.* The text of Paṇini's grammar is not uniform. The commentary on the Kārikas of Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya* for the first Kāṇḍa is available in two recensions, one as it is printed in the *Benares Sanskrit Series* and the other as is available in the manuscripts of the Adyar Library collection and as commented on by Vṛṣabhadeva. The commentary on the *Ṛgveda* by Skandasvāmin for the first two adhyāyas of the first *aṣṭaka* as printed from Trivandrum is quite different from what is printed in the Madras University edition of the same work. The commentary on *Ās'valāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* by Devasvāmin as found in a manuscript in the collection of the Palace in Trivandrum is quite different from the recension that is being published in the *Bulletin* of the Adyar Library.

Uṃveka and Maṇḍanamis'ra are both supposed to be disciples of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. Maṇḍana has written his *Bhāvanāviveka* and Uṃveka has written a commentary on it. In the course of the commentary, Uṃveka draws attention to a large number of variations in reading in the text of *Bhāvanāviveka.* These variations in readings cannot be the result of long lapse of time nor of passage of the work

through many hands to distant parts of the country. Uṃveka gives different interpretations to the text according to the variations in reading. If Uṃveka and Maṇḍana were both disciples of the same teacher, how can we explain this uncertainty on the part of Uṃveka regarding the reading and interpretation about the text of Maṇḍana ?

Apart from the differences regarding the readings that creep into texts, there arises uncertainty regarding the authors of the works themselves. In fixing the authorship, we depend mostly on tradition handed down in the colophons found in the manucripts of the works. In the majority of cases, these colophons are uniform. At the ends of the various sections of the same manuscript and in the different manuscripts of the same work, there is a striking identity in regard to the wording of these colophons. The scribes observe a short of religious sanctity to the wording of these colophons and very faithfully recopy the words. And this fidelity becomes all the more striking when we find that they are very slack in copying the text portion of the works.

The wording of the colophons is the second point on which I wanted to say a few words. Some discrepancies in the colophons have in many cases led us into wild conjectures and into strange confusions. The most striking example of this is the colophon at the end of a few acts found in a manuscript of *Mālatīmādhava*, as announced for the first time by S. P. Pandit. In these colophons Uṃveka becomes the author of *Mālatīmādhava*, and he is definitely stated as the disciple of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. There are evidences to show that Bhavabhūti, before he became a poet, had been the writer of authoritative works on *śastraic* subjects. But the words of Citsukha who gives this information do not suggest that Uṃveka is identical with Bhavabhūti. The implication is the other way, although the commentator of Citsukha identifies the two. The colophons announced by S. P. Pandit need further examination and form too slender a thread on which such a big identification can be suspended.

Did the author himself write out the colophons or were they introduced by later scribes of the work for the sake of identification of the works ? How far can we rely on the colophons ? Are they absolutely reliable criteria regarding the author and the details regarding the author. Just as the author could have written a work with only one definite reading, similarly, there could have been only one colophon, if the author wrote it ; later variations in the colophon, just

as in the readings of the texts, must be due to the tampering by later hands. Just as in editing a text, a critical student examines the variants and accepts that reading which is the most plausible, similarly in the matter of colophons also one has to make a choice and accept only one and reject the others, or at least give them only a subordinate position if there is some plausibility about them. There is no more justification, when there are more than one name associated with a work in the colophons, in accepting the two names as referring to the same author, than there can be in accepting two words as synonyms if the words occur as alternative readings.

Just as this identification of Bhavabhūti and Uṃveka (being the disciple of Kumārila) finds a support in a stray colophon in the problem of Bhāsa, the difference in the names of Cārudatta and Mṛcchakaṭika is brought in to differentiate between the works of S'ūdraka and Bhāsa. Although no one contends that some one wrote a drama called *S'akuntala* as is found in the recension represented by the commentary of Abhirāma and that Kalidasa expanded it into a larger drama as represented in the Bengal recension as edited by Monier Williams, and although no one contends that the names, S'ākuntala and Abhijñāna-s'ākuntala are different, representing different works, still the advocates of Bhāsa, in spite of the close similarity of the two dramas in plot, in wording and in details, uphold that Bhāsa wrote the drama called the *Cārudatta* and S'udraka expanded it into *Mṛcchakaṭika*, and that the two names *Mṛcchakaṭika* (representing an incidence just as the element *Abhijñāna* in *S'ākuntala*) and *Cārudatta* (representing a chief character in the drama) refer to different works.

There are various causes that lead to differences in reading. One is local interest and this is specially noticeable in dramas which have to be shown to the ordinary people, and emendations necessitated by the popular tastes creep into the text. I have drawn attention, even in the case of the so-called Bhāsa's *Cārudatta*, to the fact that in many places where there is a variation between the North Indian editions of *Mṛcchakaṭika* and the Trivandrum edition of *Cārudatta*, the variations are introduced to adapt the text to the tastes and environments of the locality, and especially is this case when the passage:

kim vāsudeve jamadagniputraḥ

has been altered to

kim vasudevaḥ s'ivapaṭṭaṇes'aḥ

in so far as the Trichur temple is very famous in Malabar where the alteration in the reading of the text has been made. Other Malabar influences in the alterations have been noticed by me in that place. There are various considerations to which due weight must be attached before conclusions are drawn on the basis of mere names.

In many cases the fact of a work having been printed does not take away from the value of the manuscripts of the work. On the other hand in many cases the value of a manuscript increases. Such is the case with a South Indian manuscript of the entire *Mṛcchakaṭika*. We have till now got at only North Indian mauscripts. For the South Indian recension of the drama we have only the incomplete manuscripts of *Mṛcchakaṭika*, usually called the manuscripts of Bhasa's *Cārudatta*. I have been in search of South Indian Manuscripts of *Mṛcchakaṭika* and I have been also in search of a north Indian manuscript of Bhāsa's *Svapnavāsavadatta*. The latter is sure to reveal the real *Svapnavāsavadatta* of Bhāsa, of which I believe, the Trivandrum edition is only a stage adaptation, just as the *Cārudatta* is only a stage adaptation of *Mṛcchakaṭika*.

Closer search of manuscripts of works that have been printed and of which there are various editions are sure to bring to light various points that will be of interest to scholars. The dates of the manuscripts, the name of the scribe and the name of the owner are important factors, capable of imparting information that will help research to a considerable extent. Dates of manuscripts are the only points to which attention has been paid in an adequate way and the names of the scribes and the name of the owners are conveniently ignored. The realiability of a manuscript depends on its accuracy, which factor is determined by the capacity of the scribe. Were scribes themselves good scholars or were they mere mechanical scribes who merely tried to reproduce, often with little of success, what was contained in the original ? Or being themselves a sort of scholars, did they ever attempt to improve on the original they were transcribing, by introducing new matter or by deleting portions or by altering readings ? If the name of a scribe is given in a dated manuscript and if the same name appears on a manuscript in the same collection, of which the date is important, the name of the scribe gives us the clue for ascertaining the date.

Again in the case of the owners of manuscripts, they must have been themselves scholars. They must have been using the manuscripts for their own studies or for teaching their disciples. In the course of their study, they must have tried to imitate the original, if that is poetry and try to add their own imitations in margins and when a copy is made out of it, the added portions may find a place into the original work as an integral part. The scholars may have tried to improve upon their originals. They may have added explanatory notes. Some closer research into manuscripts of well-known works in the possession of great scholars, that must have come down to us, is sure to reveal some of the mysteries of variants in readings as found in mansucripts.

Little attention is being paid to manuscripts of works written by authors of a more recent date. Nearly all histories of Literature come to a sort of stop by about the 11th or 12th century A.D. From that time onwards some kind of selections are made among authors and works, while in the case of earlier periods in the history, detailed examinations are made about all sorts of minor authors. The period following the eleventh and twelfth centuries has been as rich in the matter of both volume and worth as the earlier centuries, and the second period is not in any way less important than the earlier period. If commonplace lyrics and other varieties of minor poems, to say nothing of great epics and dramas, of an earlier age are of importance to a student of Sanskrit Literature, I see no reason why such importance should vanish when we examine a later age. The encouragement and patronage extended by Hindu kings of various kingdoms all over India, did not diminish with age. The various Kings of India were not merely warriors, conquerors and administrators, but they were also scholars, authors, philosophers and artists and they encouraged the various aspects of academic life in their States. More light must be thrown on this period in the history of Sanskrit Literature; and for this purpose there must be a new attitude to the value of manuscripts relating to different ages.

I have devoted my address to the problems connected with manuscripts libraries. As I said in the beginning, the problems which I deal with are not confined to Sanskrit Literature. But I have taken the term Sanskrit in a far wider sense. In every aspect of Indological studies, there is a special aspect like Vedic Sanskrit, Philosophy,

religion, Inscriptions and technical subjects and there is also a generic aspect which is the Sanskrit aspect. There is much to be done by Manuscripts Libraries and there is much scope for improved methods of managing the Libraries. There is scope for an altered attitude towards the relative values of manuscripts. The whole problem of important manuscripts and unimportant manuscripts must be thought about in a fresh light. *What are called unimportant manuscripts from a certain point of view have great importance from another point of view.* My main purpose in drawing your attention to this problem is to see if in the Oriental Conference there can be started a separate section for Oriental Manuscripts Libraries.

A NOTE ON AN INDIA OFFICE SANSKRIT DRAMA OF THE 16TH CENTURY

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BHOJABANDHA OF VEDĀNTA-VĀGIS'Ā BHATTĀCĀRYA—A NĀṬAKA IN TWO ACTS

Introductory

During my search for MSS. of the *Surjanacarita*[1] in the archives of Europe, my attention was drawn to this work in August, 1939. A complete MS. of this *Nāṭaka* is contained in the India Office Collection. Thanks to the kindness of Dr. Randle, the Librarian, the MS.[2] was sent to the Calcutta University Library for my examination. Soon after my arrival in India in October, 1939, I had an opportunity of examining its contents. It is written on country made yellow paper in Nāgara character. There are fourteen folios containing 239 lines of clear writing. The front page of the 1st folio is blank excepting *Nāṭakabhojabandha* and "450" in Nāgari character in ink and *Bhojabandha* in lead-pencil in Latin character. The last page contains 3 lines of which part of the 1st line and the 2nd and 3rd lines are written in different ink by another hand. Folio No. 10 contains on both its faces ten lines of writing. All the pages of the other folios with these exceptions contain 9 lines of writing. An unknown reader has in many places covered letters and sometimes words with ink and have introduced corrections in the area outside the written space on each folio. The work consists of two acts only. The real

[1] See my paper in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1938, pp. 370 ff.
[2] Sanskrit MS. I. O. 584d (E 4181).

name of this small drama is given at the end of the first act as: *Bhojarāja-saccarita.*[1] Each folio roughly measures 10″ × 4″ inches.

Its Contents

This work in which verses occupy more space than prose, opens with *Srī-Gaṇes'āya namaḥ.* Then follow two verses in praise of the (*Vyāsa*)[2] Cakradhara son of the Vyāṣa Gopāla. At the end of the 1st act this Gopāla is called *Dharmādhyaṣka.* Cakradhara appears to have been the spiritual guide of the hero of the work, King Bhoja. Then follows praise of the author Vedānta Vagīs'a Bhaṭṭācārya[2] and his *guru* Nārāyaṇa[3] Sarasvatī[4]. The latter used to reside in Vārāṇasī and rescued *Paramātma-vidyā* (Vedānta ?) from distress. Then follows eulogistic description of the hero, King Bhoja, lord of Vṛndāvatī, son of prince Sūrajana.[5] The latter is also called "lord of Vṛndāvatī." His mother was the *Kanaka-rājñī* Kamala. Kamala, after the death of her husband Sūrajana, appears to have ruled her husband's state for some time during the minority of Bhoja. Bhoja is praised for his deeds and efficiency in administration. In one place the *Sūtradhāra* gravely informs us that the administration of the hero reminded the people of the reign of the *pūrvatana* Bhoja. In another place, one of the *dramatis personae* declares that by his deeds the hero became more famous than the *prācīna* Bhoja. The hero is described in one place as *S'rī Kṛṣṇa-caraṇakaṁalasevaka* and there is very little doubt of the Vaiṣṇava leanings of the author. The rest of the drama is full of the names of various holy places in India and their respective merits. Amongst these the following may be mentioned, *viz.*, Vārāṇasī,[6] Jagannātha-kṣetra, Gaṅgā-sāgara, Setubandha, Rames'vara, Junction of Bhāgīrathī and Kālindī, and Haridvāra.

[1] The work is sometimes called *Srīmad-Bhoja-Saccarita or Bhoja-nibandha*; but nowhere in the text *Bhojabandha.*

[2] A Brahman who recites or expounds the *Purāṇas* in public.

[3] The author is sometimes simply called "Vāgīs'a."

[4] Prof. S. Mookerjee of the University of Calcutta seems to be right in identifying this Nārāyana with the author of a *Vārttika* on Saṅkara's *Sarīraka Bhāṣya* (Ed. MM. Anantakrishna Sastri, Calcutta Sanskrit series.

[5] Sometimes the name is given as "Surijana."

[6] Sometimes Kās'ī.

ITS AUTHOR AND HIS DATE

The colophon at the end of the 1st act runs as follows: *Iti S'rīman - Nārāyaṇa-Sarasvatī - sampūjya - caraṇa - kamala - yugala-Vedāṁta-Vāgīs'a-Bhaṭṭācārya kṛtau Dharmādhyakṣa Vyāsa S'rī-Gopāla-naṁdana Vyāsa S'rī-Cakradharālamkṛta Vṛndāvatyādhīs'a Surajana-naṁdana Vṛndāvatyādhīs'a S'rī-Bhojarāja Saccarita nāmni S'rī-nāṭake prathamoṁka.* We know from this passage that he was a disciple of Nārāyaṇa Sarasvatī. Elsewhere in this work this Nārāyaṇa is described as a great authority on *Paramātmavidyā.* From this as well as the title of his disciple (*Vedānta-vāgīs'a*) it is reasonable for us to assume that he was probably a great authority on *Vedānta* and connected studies. It is curious that the work, does not give us the christian name of the author; both *Vedānta-vāgīs'a* and *Bhaṭṭācārya* can only be taken as either titles or surnames. He cannot be far removed in date from the time of Candras'ekhara, the author of the *Surjanacarita.* Candras'ekhara was a contemporary of Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.) [1] and he lived in the court of Surjana, a feudatory prince of the Timurid emperor. Our author seems to have been a court—poet of Bhoja, the son of Surjana. As such he must be placed in the last quarter of the sixteenth or the first half of the seventeenth century. He was apparently a Bengali Brāhmaṇa and had Vaiṣṇava leanings. But the work does not reveal any details about the author's family or his other works if any. From his surname, however, it seems very probable that the author was a Bengali Brāhmin. As to his virtues as an author of a dramatic composition, I can only mention that he has succeeded in writing one without introducing any female character or the usual scenes of erotic court intrigues.

ITS IMPORTANCE

The drama is important for a study of the *Surjanacarita.* Both Bhoja and the Vyāsa Gopāla, the father of Bhoja's *guru* Cakradhara are mentioned in the last canto of the *Surjanacarita.* We are told in this *Mahākāvya* that the Vyāsa Gopāla's son Cakradhara stood in front of Bhoja at the time of his coronation. Our present work does

[1] See *op. cit.* (*Indian Historical Quarterly*), p. 379. By an unfortunate escape of the well-known devil the date is wrongly printed as 1536-1605 A. D.

not supply any historical information about Bhoja. The "old Bhoja" mentioned above was possibly the Pratihāra Bhoja (c. 836-82 A.D.) or more probably the Paramāra prince of that name (c. 1010-1055 A.D.).[1] Surjana's son is constantly praised in the *nāṭaka* in the meaningless conventional way so well known to the *praśastikāras* of the early mediaeval king of Northern India. In the *Surjanacarita*, however, Bhoja is said to have conquered the Gurjarabhūmi.[2] If he really did that he must have achieved this result in the company of the armies of the House of Timur which he like his father, appears to have served. In the *Surjanacarita* Bhoja is called *Dillīśena-puraskṛta* and is also credited with the conquest of the Suhmas, Vaṅgas, Vaidarbhas, Traigartas, Mālavas and the Gāndhāras.[3] But it is really surprising that our drama should remain silent on these brilliant achievements of the hero. Our author certainly occupied a position at the court of Bhoja entitling him to the fullest information about the achievements of his patron.

[1] See Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Calcutta University Press, Vol. I, p. 611; *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 927.

[2] See *op. cit.* (*Indian Historical Quarterly*), p. 378.

[3] *ibid.*

THE SOURCES OF DHARMA AND THEIR COMPARATIVE AUTHORITY

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A SUBJECT of interest that emerges from a consideration of the practices prohibited in the Kali Age is the comparative authority of the sources of *Dharma*. The topic of Kali prohibitions, though it looms large in many authoritative *Smārta* compilations since the 12th century A. C. and is of considerable importance as throwing light on the lines of evolution of the Hindu society and its usages, has only recently received some attention from scholars. Mr. Kane's article in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, for 1936, is a brief and compact treatment of the topic. It was also the subject of a thesis of 1934 by the present writer which awaits publication by the University of Calcutta. The subject of *Kalivarjya* has not yet received the full measure of judicial notice that it merits perhaps because all the materials relative to it were not placed comprehensively in any case before the Courts. This aspect of the legal bearing of the question apart, it opens up certain issues concerning the authority of the sources of *Dharma* as yet untraversed which it may not be amiss even at this late date to present before a learned assembly like the present.

In S'rīdhara's *Smrity-arthasāra* dated the later half of the 12th century A. C. are enumerated fifteen practices—the earliest long enumeration of the kind concluding with a verse to the effect :

" In the Kali age the wise declare these practices as fit to the eschewed."[1] From this time onward the list gets longer and other items are added. In the verses of an anterior date like those attributed

[1] कलौ युगे त्विमान् धर्म्मान् वर्ज्यानाहुर्मनीषिणः ।

to *Nighaṇṭu-Kārikā* in the *Mitākṣarā*, or the *Brahmapurāṇa* and two other anonymous texts cited by Aparārka on *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, I-56 there is no indication of a decision of the learned or the wise but the prohibition is made to rest as usual on the authority of a sage or of a Purāṇa. In the *Smṛticandrikā* a longer passage than that in *Smṛty-arthasāra* is set out, prefaced with the words: "Likewise others again cite the authority of a convention made by those versed in Dharma."[1] And it concludes with the words: "At the beginning of the Kali age for the preservation of Society these practices were abrogated by eminent men of learning by means of a convention. A convention made by the pious should also be an authority like the Veda."[2] In Hemādri's *Caturvarga-Cintāmaṇi* occur closely analogous prohibitive verses which contain besides the above conclusion, certain additional verses importing—"By the learned for fear lest Dharma should be overthrown, practices even though formerly enjoined were by convention restrained owing to the lack of good men."[3] Raghunandana's *Udvāhatattva* cites verses purporting on the authority of Hemādri and Mādhava to be from *Ādityapurāṇa* which closely follow the *Smṛty-arthasāra* passage down to the concluding verses. A passage from *Bṛhannāradīyapurāṇa* also is quoted by him, which closes with verses that recite that these practices are declared by the wise as fit to be eschewed. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the Paurāṇic verses quoted by Raghunandana were based on the *Smṛty-arthasāra* and *Smṛticandrikā* passages. They were presumably incorporated in these Purāṇas of a very late date to command greater authority.

The reliance on the convention of the wise as the sanction behind the Kali prohibitions even in the Paurāṇic texts is a curious fact and calls for more than a passing notice. *Samaya* or a convention made by the wise was in the earliest times a recognized source of *Dharma* or Sacred Duty. Āpastamba begins his *Dharmasūtra* with the words—'Hence therefore we shall explain the sacred duties arising from practices based on conventions.' And in the next *sūtra* he says: "Authority is a convention made by those versed in the sacred law and

[1] तथाऽन्येऽपि धर्म्मज्ञसमयप्रमाणमाहुः ।

[2] एतानि लोकगुप्त्यर्थं कलेरादौ महात्मभिः । निवर्त्तितानि कर्म्माणि व्यवस्थापूर्व्वकं वुधैः । समयश्चापि साधूनां प्रमाणं वेदवद्भवेत् ॥

[3] विदितान्यपि कर्म्माणि धर्म्मलोपभयाद् वुधैः । समयेन निवृत्तानि साध्वभावात् कलौ युगे ।

also the Vedas.' The conjunction *ca* (also) in this *sūtra* according to Haradatta's traditional interpretation is for emphasis for the Vedas are the chief authority in regard to what is or what is not duty. He brings this dictum into line with *Gautama*: The Veda is the source of the Sacred Law and the recollection and conduct of the knowers of the Veda.[1] This aphorism agrees with *Manu* II-6[2].

Haradatta's commentary further adds that though we may not find the extinct Vedas, it is inferred that Manu and the other sages had them. For Āpastamba himself says (XII-10): 'The precepts are promulgated in the *Brāhmaṇas;* their lost texts are inferred from actual application.'[3] Again in the chapter on *Dharma* he says (I-xx-67), Righteousness and unrighteousness do not stalk over the earth saying "Here we are;" neither the Gods and the Gandharvas nor the fathers declare this is *Dharma* and this is not. What the Āryas praise when done is the sacred duty and what they blame is unrighteousness:[4] Vasiṣṭha also emphasizes the importance of decisions of those learned in *traividya.* "There can be no doubt that what men who know the sacred law, who have grown aged in the study of *traividya* declare as the law is such in regard to self-purification and prescription of expiation for others."[5]

It is legitimate to conclude that all the duties of men living in society could not have been laid down in the Vedas. With the lapse of time and the expansion of the Aryan community and the gradual spread over all parts of the Indian sub-continent, definition and elaboration of the rules of conduct for the different orders and stages of life became necessary. And the sages who understood the genius and the ethos of the race formulated these according to the growing exigencies and varying circumstances. Hence is it that we find Gautama saying: Rules of conduct for countries, races and families if not opposed to the *S'rutis* are authoritative.[6] And despite

[1] वेदो धर्म्ममूलं तद्विदाञ्च स्मृतिशीले ।

[2] वेदोऽखिलो धर्म्ममूलं स्मृतिशीले च तद्विदाम् ।

[3] ब्राह्मणोक्ता विधयस्तेषामुत्सन्नपाठाः प्रयोगादनुमीयन्ते ।

[1] न धर्म्माधर्म्मौ चरत 'आवां स्व इति, न देव गन्धर्वा न पितर इत्याचक्षते' ऽयं धर्म्मोऽयमधर्म्म इति । यं त्वार्य्या क्रियमाणं प्रशंसन्ति स धर्मो, यं गर्हन्ते सोऽधर्म्मः ॥

[5] त्रैविद्यवृद्धाः यंब्रूयुर्धर्म्मं धर्म्मविदो जनाः । पवने पावने चैव स धर्म्मो नात्र संशयः ॥

[6] देशजातिकुलधर्म्माश्चाम्नायैरविरुद्धाः प्रमाणम् ।

the elaborate pains taken by Kumārila in the *Tantravārtika*—section on the Authority of the *Smṛtis*—to show that whatsoever Manu lays down has its sanction in the Vedas or else, like the teachings of the Buddha, they are without validity. Vasiṣṭha clearly declares "In the absence of Vedic texts Manu declared the rules of conduct for countries, races and families."[1]

It is strange that the *Tantravārtika* while citing Gautama's above *sūtra* does not consider Vasiṣṭha's aphorism about Manu laying down the law in matters where Vedic texts were not to be found. Manu nowhere mentions *Samaya* as a source of Dharma, though it is possible by ingenious interpretation to regard it as comprised in the sources that he enumerates. In the metrical *Smṛtis* of a later date *Samaya* meets with comparatively scant recognition. And it may be that the rules being fully and expressly laid down in them, the scope of *Samaya* was necessarily narrowed down. In place of *Samaya* or convention we have *Smṛti* or clearly formulated rules. The opinion of the learned was sought in particular cases instead of general rules to govern the conduct of classes of people or communities.

Here and there, however, even in the later *Smṛtis* references occur to this ancient instrument of social regulation. Thus *Nārada*-X-I: defines *Samaya* thus: The aggregate of the rules settled amongst heretics, Naigamas or followers of the Veda and others is called *Samaya* (convention or established usage). He also points out the possibility of the modification of the sacred law to suit custom as in 1-40: When it is impossible to act up to the precepts of sacred law, it becomes necessary to adopt a method founded on reasoning because usage decides everything and overrules the sacred law.

This agrees with the dictum of Manu:[2] "Nothing is to be decided by resort to the sacred law alone for where the decision is divorced from reasoning Dharma is impaired." Kātyāyana (Ch. XXIX, sl. 12) suggests that among lawgivers also decisions are reached by means of deliberation and exchange of views. The rule of majority obtains in such assemblies according to *Gobhila* III, 149: Where the dicta conflict, majority prevails. Such is the rule declared in a parity of authorities.

[1] देशजातिकुलधर्म्मान् श्रुत्यभावादब्रवीन् मनुः। *Contra* Manu II-7 यः कश्चित् कस्यचिद् धर्म्मो मनुना परिकीर्त्तितः। स सर्वोऽभिहितो वेदे सर्वज्ञानमयो हि सः।

[2] केवलं शास्त्रमाश्रित्य न कर्त्तव्यो विनिर्णयः। युक्तिहीनविचारे तु धर्म्महानिः प्रजायते।

Bṛhaspati likewise refers to the authority of *Samaya* in XXVII-24: Such customs as are not opposed to the laws of particular countries and castes or other corporations, every king should establish in accordance with the sacred law after consulting the law-books. Here *Samaya* passes off into royal edict (राजशासन). Kātyāyana also says: Ascertaining the opinions of the learned, in my mind also it is settled.[1]

It has already been shown that the prohibitions in the Kali age are promulgated on the strength of *Samaya* or convention or on the strength of Paurāṇic texts and in some cases by virtue of *Smṛti* prescriptions. Of these the authority of the first has been considered already. The authority of the Purāṇa may next be briefly discussed. The authority of *Purāṇas* as a source of *Dharma* or the sacred law, though traceable from an early period in the history of *Dharmas'āstra* has varied in different ages. In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, Purāṇa with Itihāsa is spoken of as the fifth of the Vedas.[2] And Manu says *that the Veda has to be supplemented by Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa.*[3] Gautama XI-19 says that the *Dharmas'āstras* include the *angas*, the *Upavedas* and *Purāṇa.*[4] A verse of Viṣṇu cited in *Smṛticandrikā*-Samskāra-kānḍa declares that *Purāṇa*, Manu's sacred law, the Veda with its *angas* or subsidiary studies and the science of medicine—these four, valued as commands, should not be refuted by reasons.[5]

Likewise Yājñavalkya I-3:[6]

The *Purāṇa* in its origin clearly goes back to Vedic times and it is demonstrable that the legends embodied in many later *Purāṇas* have their source in the Vedas and in the Brāhmaṇas. But despite its indisputable antiquity the force of its precepts in the regulation of social conduct as the source of the sacred law has been open to question. Āpastamba cites a *Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa* text as an authority.

[1] विद्वन्मतमुपादाय ममाप्येतद् हृदि स्थितम् ।

[2] इतिहासपुराणं पञ्चमं वेदानां वेदम् ॥

[3] इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपवृंहयेत् ।

[4] धर्म्मशास्त्राण्यङ्गान्युपवेदाः पुराणम् ॥

[5] पुराणम् मानवो धर्म्मः साङ्गो वेदश्चिकित्सितम् ।
आज्ञासिद्धानि चत्वारि न हन्तव्यानि हेतुभिः ॥

[6] पुराणन्यायमीमांसा धर्म्मशास्त्राङ्गमिश्रिताः ।
वेदाः स्थानानि विद्यानां धर्म्मस्य च चतुर्द्दश ॥

In his *Dharmasūtra* I, p. xix, k. 13 a *Paurāṇic* text is used to support the propriety of eating food offered by anybody without previous arrangement or appointment.[1]

In 1-xxix-7[2] the same authority is cited for justifying the slaying of an assailant and in II-xxii-3-4 to recommend life-long continence. These three texts[3] commend practices forbidden in the Kali age—the taking of Sūdra-cooked food, the slaying of a Brahmin assailant and the pursuit of life-long celibacy (by a Brahmacārin or a yati). This raises a curious case of conflict between ancient and later *Purāṇas*.

The authority of the *Purāṇa* is, however, only subsidiary, *S'ruti* and *Smṛti* (revelation and recollection) being the primary sources of the sacred law. Indeed Manu and the other law givers do not mention *Purāṇa* as an independent source of *Dharma* (II-6-9-10)[4]

Hārīta I-25 says that *S'ruti* and *Smṛti* are the two eyes of learned Brahmins, made by the Gods. Bereft of either of them one is a *kāṇa* (blind of one eye) and bereft of both, one is wholly blind.[5]

Vyāsa in chap. I, s'loka 4 regarding the comparative authority of the three sources says that in a conflict between *S'ruti*, *Smṛti* and *Purāṇa*, the authority of the Veda prevails and in a conflict between the two latter, *Smṛti* is of greater force.[6]

Jaimini's aphorisms do not consider the *Purāṇas* as sources of the sacred law. Kumārila in his *Tantravārtika*—Section on *Arthavāda*

[1] उद्यतामाहृतां भिक्षां पुरस्ताद् प्रवेदिताम् । भोज्यां मेने प्रजापतिरपि दुष्कृतचारिणः ।
न तस्य पितरोऽश्नन्ति दशवर्षाणि पञ्च च । न च हव्यं वहत्यग्निर्य स्तामभ्यधिमन्यते ॥

[2] यो हिंसार्थमभिक्रान्तं हन्ति मन्युरेव मन्युं स्पृशति न तस्मिन् दोष इति पुराणे ।

[3] अथ पुराणे श्लोकावुदाहरन्ति—अष्टाशीतिसहस्राणि ये प्रजामीषिर ऋषयः । दक्षिणेनाऽर्यम्णः पन्थानं ते श्मशानानि भेजिरे । अष्टाशीति सहस्राणि ये प्रजां नेषिर ऋषयः । उत्तरेणार्यम्णः पन्थानं तेऽमृतत्वं हि कल्पते ।

[4] वेदोऽखिलो धर्म्ममूलं स्मृति शीले च तद्विदाम् । आचारश्चैव साधूनामात्मनस्तुष्टिरेव च ॥ . . श्रुतिस्मृत्युदितं धर्म्मं मनुतिष्ठेत् हि मानवः । इह कीर्तमवाप्रोति प्रेत्यचानुत्तमं सुखं । श्रुतिस्तु वेदो विज्ञेयो धर्म्मशास्त्रन्तु वै स्मृतिः । ते सर्व्वार्थेष्वमीमांस्ये ताभ्यां धर्म्मो हि निर्बभौ ।

[5] श्रुतिस्मृती च विप्राणां चक्षुषी देवनिर्म्मिते । काणस्तत्रैकया हीनो द्वाभ्यां अन्धः प्रकीर्त्तितः ॥

[6] श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणानां विरोधो यत्र दृश्यते । तत्र श्रौतं प्रमाणन्तु तयौ द्वैधे स्मृतिर्वरा ॥

—casually discusses the authority of *Purāṇa* and *Itihāsa* and declares them as not entitled to too much of respect.[1]

S'ulapāṇi remarks that, the authority of *Purāṇas* as a source of the sacred law is only partial.[2]

Such being the measure of authority attaching to *Samaya* and *Purāṇa*, the validity of the Kali prohibitions resting on these two lends itself to serious question. And yet in regard to some of the practices banned, their authority has been largely admitted by the judiciary as well as by paṇḍits of the most orthodox school.

The practices prohibited make up as many as fifty-five items—of which 15 are ceremonial and ritualistic, 18 relate to the duties of the four *as'ramas* or stages of life, 13 pertain to impurity and purification and the remaining nine are concerned with legal relations. Many of the first category—such as *agnihotra*, cow-sacrifice, horse-sacrifice and the royal sacrifice etc., have an undisputed Vedic origin, *i.e.*, in Mantra and Brāhmaṇa ; others (*e. g.*, pious improvidence, curtailment of the period of impurity etc.,) may be traced in the Kalpasūtras which according to the orthodox view are in authority second only to the Vedas. The origin of the rest cannot be traced back further than the *Smṛtis*. In some instances both the practice and the prohibition have the same source, *e. g.*, the drinking of *surā* or liquor in Sautrāmaṇī[3] (the animal sacrifice) or the guest-offering of animals,[4] the sources of which both are found in the *S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa*.

Such being the origin of the practices it is curious that they could be placed under a ban simply by a convention of the wise or by texts of *Purāṇas* in face of Vyāsa's explicit dictum already quoted

[1] विधिप्रतिषेधयोश्च स्तुतिनिन्दाभ्यामविनाभावादन्यतरदर्शनेनेतरदनुमाय वाक्यं पूरयितव्यम् । एवं भारतादिवाक्यानि व्याख्येयानि । तेषामपि हि श्रावयेच्चतुरो वर्णानित्येवमादि विध्यनुसारेण पुरुषार्थान्वेषणादक्षरादिव्यतिक्रम्य धर्म्मार्थकाममोक्षा धर्मानतदुःखसंसारसाध्यसाधन प्रतिपत्तिरुपादान परित्यागाङ्गमूला फलम् । तत्रापि तु दानराजमोक्षधर्म्मादिषु केचित् साक्षाद् विधय: केचित् पुनः परकृति पुराकल्परूपेणार्थवादा: । **सर्वोवाख्यानेषु च तात्पर्य्ये सति श्रावयेदिति विधेरानर्थक्यात् कथञ्चिद् गम्यमानस्तुतिनिन्दापरिग्रहः । तत् परत्वाच्च नातीवोपाख्यानेषु तत्वाभिनिवेश: कार्य्य: ।**

[2] इतिहासपुराणानि च क्वचिदलौकिकमर्थं प्रमाणयन्ति अतो धर्म्मे प्रमाणम् ।

[3] *Sat. Br.*, xii-7-2-12 and *ibid.*, 8-1-5.

[4] *Sat. Br.*, III-iv, 1-2.

that in case of conflict the *Purāṇa* yields to the *Smṛti* and both to *S'ruti*.

To set out all the disquisitions on this topic being precluded by exigencies of time and space, three most significant utterances may be cited. Hemādri in *Caturvarga-Cintāmaṇi* (Paris'eṣa Khaṇḍa) has a somewhat cryptic passage[1] supporting the authority of conventions which may be thus rendered :

" Now the question is whether what is prohibited in the Kali age rests on presumed (Vedic) text or on evident (ritualistic) purpose. It is not for any visible purpose (relation to some rite) since as it conduces to no positive act, no such purpose should be assumed. Nor can it be otherwise (*i.e.*, due to a presumed text), on account of the objection of discrepancy (between injunctive and prohibitive texts). Although it does not import the performance of any act, still as leading to a knowledge of discrimination (from practices permitted) and being thus for an evident purpose, it is not open to that objection. Otherwise (if no text be valid that does not bear on a ritual) there cannot be the perusal of texts on *Rājasūya* etc., by a Brahmin. Further the course to be taken in regard to *Rajasūya* etc., holds here also. Besides to say that is to declare the invalidity of other Smṛti texts (other than what rests on convention) on Kali prohibitions. From the absence of a visible purpose such as belongs to the injunction on the perusal of the Vedas, no invalidity results, since as in their case so also in regard to this, strict acceptance by the orthodox twice-born is common. Therefore, if a visible purpose such as underlies the texts on the daily recitation (of the Vedas) be lacking in this case, what does it matter ?

Hence the sanction behind the *Kalivarjya* texts is concluded to be acceptance by the orthodox, in other words the sanction of usage. In the *Vīramitrodaya* (Paribhāṣā-prakās'a, p. 191) the question of the relative force of conflicting *Smṛtis* is discussed. A *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*

[1] ननु कलियुगे यद् वर्ज्यं तद् वाक्याध्याहारार्थं दृष्टार्थं वा । न च तावद् दृष्टार्थं, अनुष्ठानानुपयोगि तथा तदर्थावबोधस्य प्रयोजनत्वानुपपत्तेः । नाप्यन्यथा वैरूप्यापत्तेः । उच्यते । तद्वाक्यार्थानुष्ठानेऽपि भेद प्रतियोगिज्ञानाद्युपयोगितया दृष्टार्थत्वाददोषः । अन्यथा ब्राह्मणस्य राजसूयादि वाक्याध्ययनमपि न स्यात् । यद्वा राजसूयादौ या गतिः सैवेहापि । किञ्चैवं वदता कलियुगवर्जनस्मृत्यन्तराप्रामाण्यमुच्यते । अध्ययन विधिदृष्टार्थाभावान्न तावद् प्रामाण्यं स्मृत्यन्तरवदत्रापि शिष्टत्रैवर्णिक दृढ़परिग्रहस्याविशेषात् । अध्ययनविधि दृष्टार्थत्वाभावश्चेत् प्रकृते किमायातमिति ।

passage is cited which distinguishes *Smṛti* texts into five kinds. This along with Mitra Misra's comments appears to be based on the *Tantravārtika* on Jaimini, chap. III, Pāda 3, Adhikaraṇa 7, sūtra 14.[1] The *Vīramitrodaya* passage may be thus translated :[2] The *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* distinguishes *Smṛti* texts into five kinds. Some *Smṛtis* are for a visible purpose, others for an invisible, still others for purposes visible and invisible, yet another kind is based on reason ; a further variety is the reiterative and a fifth, seen by the orthodox. Leaving aside that for a visible *i.e.*, secular purpose all these have Vedic roots.

Their authority or otherwise in case of conflict is thus determined: In a conflict of *Smṛti* and usage, the former prevails, for *Smṛti* directly infers *S'ruti* while usage is weak since it infers *S'ruti* through *Smṛti*. For example by the *Smṛti* text, " Give the bride's cloth to the knower of the Suryā " (*i.e.* of the *ṛks* having Sūrya, as their deity) is contradicted the practice of the bride's wearing of the cloth on the fourth day. Likewise the marriage of the maternal

[1] आप्ताविगीतस्मृत्या ऽनाप्तविगीतस्मृतिः, अदृष्टार्थया दृष्टार्था, श्रुतिप्रभवया लिङ्गादिप्रभवा ऽर्थवाद प्रभवाच, स्मृत्याचारः, सोऽप्यभियुक्ततराचारेण, संदिग्धमसंदिग्धेन, दुर्बलाश्रयं बलवदाश्रयेण ।

[2] इयञ्च स्मृतिः पञ्चविधा । तथाच भविष्यपुराणे—दृष्टार्था तु स्मृतिः काचिददृष्टार्था तथापरा । दृष्टादृष्टार्थरूपाऽन्या न्यायमूला तथा परा । अनुवादस्मृतिस्त्वन्या शिष्टैर्दृष्टा तु पञ्चमी । सर्वा एता वेदमूला दृष्टार्थाः परिहृत्य तु । एतेषां विरोधे बलाबलम् । स्मृत्याचारयोर्विरोधे स्मृतिर्बलीयसी, स्मृतेः साक्षाद् श्रुत्यनुमापकत्वात्, आचारस्तु स्मृतिद्वारा तदनुमापकत्वात् दुर्बलः । यथा सूर्याविदे वधूवस्त्रं दद्यादिति स्मृत्या चतुर्थेऽह्नि वधूवस्त्र परिधानाद्याचारो विरुद्धः । सूर्यास्तद्देवत्या ऋचः । तथा मातुलकन्या परिणयनम् मातुलस्य सुतामूढ्वा इति स्मृति विरुद्धम् । (Page 19) एवं स्मृतिष्वपि । नात्मानं घातयेत् प्राज्ञः इत्याद्याप्तमन्वादि स्मृत्या केदारे पातयेद्देहं इत्याद्यनाप्तपाखण्ड स्मृतिर्बाध्यते । यथा ' भार्याश्चतस्रो विप्रस्य ' इत्याप्तस्मृतिरपि यदुच्यते द्विजातीनां इति याज्ञवल्क्याद्यविगीत स्मृतिभिर्विगीता । तथा न जातु ब्राह्मणं हन्यादित्यदृष्टार्थया जिघांसन्तं जिघांसीयादित्यात्मरक्षणादिदृष्टार्थाम् । तथा पुत्रं प्रतिग्रहीष्यन् बन्धूनाहूयराज्ञे निवेद्य निवेशनस्य मध्ये व्याहृतिभिर्हुत्वा प्रतिगृह्णीयदिति होमादीति कर्तव्यताविषय-त्वाच्छ्रुति प्रभवया न शेषो अग्ने अन्यजातमस्तीत्यादेः शेषोऽपत्य नाम अपत्यमन्योत्यादितं नास्तीत्याद्य-भिधायित्वेन दत्तपुत्रनिषेधलिङ्गत्वात् तत् प्रभवा बीजिनो यस्य ये जातास्तस्य ते नेतरस्य तु इत्याप्ता । तथा तद्यथैवादा मनुष्यराज आगतेऽन्यस्मिन् वाऽर्हत्युक्षानं वा वेहतं बा क्षदन्ते इति मन्थनार्थवाद-प्रभवा—महोक्षं वा महाजं वा श्रोत्रियायोपकल्पयेत—इत्याद्या, मा गामनगामामदितिं वधिष्टा इति विधिश्रुतिप्रभवया । एवमाचारेष्वपि । . . . आचारात्मतुष्टि सम्यक् संकल्पज कामानां पूर्व्वं पूर्व्वं बलीयस्त्वं इति मिताक्षरायाम् । क्वचिद्दुर्बलेनापि बलवतो बाधः—यथा सौत्रामण्यां सुराग्रहान् गृह्णाति इति प्रत्यक्षश्रुतेरपि—कलौ युगे त्विमान् धर्मान् वर्ज्यानाहुर्मनीषिणः—इति स्मृत्या । अन्यथा निर्विषयत्वापत्तेः ।

uncle's daughter is opposed to the *Smṛti* text—" By marrying the maternal uncle's daughter," etc. So also among the *Smṛtis*. By the authentic *Smṛti* text of Manu and others—" The wise one shall not kill himself "—is contradicted the unauthentic heretic *Smṛti*—" one shall fling the body from a rock." Also the authentic *Smṛti* —" Wives of four castes are ordained for the Brahmin "—is reprehended by the approved *Smṛtis* of Yājñavalkya and others : " As to what is said about the regenerate castes taking a wife from the S'ūdra caste " etc. Similarly by the *Smṛti* with an invisible purpose *viz*. " In no case shall one kill a Brāhmin " is contradicted the *Smṛti* with the visible purpose of self-defence : " One shall slay the slayer." So also the *Smṛti* arising out of *S'ruti* since it imports the performance of fire-offering etc.,—*viz*. " Desiring to take a son calling together one's relations and informing the King and sacrificing in the fire-chamber with the *Vyāhṛtis* one shall adopt—" contradicts the authentic text : " Those who are born of the seed of a person shall belonging to him and to nobody else " which arises out of the indication negativing an adopted son—" There is no issue begotten by another "—in the Mantra—" There is no residue (*i.e.* issue)—O Fire, born of another."

Similarly, the text—' To a S'rotriya (versed in Veda) offer a large ox or goat.'—Originating in the commendation of Manthana—" So as when yond King of men coming or any other worthy—one strikes a bullock or a cow " is contradicted by the text arising from the injunctive *S'ruti*—" Slay not the harmless cow who is Aditi herself."

So also in regard to usages. In the *Mitākṣarā* is laid down the greater authority of each preceding in the enumeration—usage, approval of one's conscience, a desire arising from a right impulse. Sometimes even a stronger text is opposed by a weaker. For example the evident text—" In Sautrāmani one takes the wine-cups " is opposed by the *Smṛti*—" In the Kali age the wise declare the following practices as fit to be eschewed," otherwise, the objection of inapplicability of the text would arise.

Most significant is the concluding portion about a stronger precept being barred by a weaker which points to the conclusion that usage is the determinant, the comparative force of texts being derived therefrom.

A still more remarkable pronouncement on the subject of *Kalivarjya*[1] occurs in the *Nityācārapaddhati* by Vidyākara Vājapeyi of Orissa—a work which is honoured as an authoritative compilation by Raghunandana. "As to the prohibition of the carrying of the water-bowl it is rightly regarded as prescribing an alternative by the rule that option is intended by the prohibition of what is prescribed. So also in regard to the fire-offering with liquor-cups, curtailment of the period of impurity in consideration of tending of fire or study of the Vedas, the declaration of prohibition imports alternative option. As to begetting of sons by husband's brother, gift of a daughter (already given) to a better groom, killing of cows in sacrifices and guest offerings, taking of wife from outside the caste and taking of sons other than the adopted and the begotten being declared prohibited in Kali, that is for discountenancing excessive addition on the ground of the illogicality of interdicting what is enjoined. Hence there is nothing wrong in doing these acts. So also the prohibition of the forest-life, prolonged studenthood, expiation by death,—all these being impossible in the case of men of feebler powers, they are re-commendatory in import."

[1] यत्तु कलियुगे कमण्डलुधारणनिषेधः स प्राप्तप्रतिषिद्धत्वाद् विकल्पः स्यादिति न्यायेन विकल्पपर एव न्याय्य इति । एवं सुराग्रहहोमोऽग्निवेदापेक्षाशौच सङ्कोच वर्जनोक्तिश्च विकल्पार्थः । यत्तु देवरेण सुतोत्पादनं दत्तकन्यायाः पुनः श्रेयसे दानं, यज्ञमधुपर्कयोर्गोवधः असवर्णस्त्रीविवाहः दत्तौरसेतरपुत्रग्रहः इत्येते कलौ वर्ज्या इत्युक्तं तदत्तित्रसक्तिवारणार्थमेव विहित प्रतिषेधायोगात् । तेन तत् करणे न दोषः । एवं वानप्रस्थाश्रम—दीर्घकालब्रह्मचर्य—मरणान्तिक प्रायश्चित्तानां यद् बर्जनं तदल्पसत्त्वत्वान् मनुष्याणां तेषामसम्भवादर्थवादमात्रमित्युक्तम् ।

CAṆḌES'VARA'S OWN ACCOUNT OF HIMSELF AND OF HIS PATRON, HARISIṀHADEVA

BY BHABATOSH BATTACHARYA, M.A., B.L., KĀVYATĪRTHA

MR. KANE says on p. 370 of his *History of Dharma-s'āstra*, Vol. I, (1930) that "we learn a great deal about the family and personal history of Caṇḍes'vara from his works." He then collects information about the same from the introductions and colophons of the printed editions of the *Vivādaratnākara*, *Kṛtyaratnākara* and *Rājanīti-ratnākara* and from Mitra's *Notices of the MSS.* of *Vyavahāra-ratnākara* and *Dānaratnākara*. Though the *Gṛhastharanākara* of Caṇḍes'vara was published in 1928, he has not utilized the printed edition but consulted the incomplete Deccan College MS. of the same, which has only folios 30, 72-113 and has thus failed to supply the additional information contained in its introductory verses. Though there is an incomplete MS. of the *S'uddhiratnākara* of the same author in the Government collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, covering about 70 folios and containing four of the introductory verses, Mr. Kane has not used it. Besides utilizing the historically important verses at the end of the MS. of the *Dānaratnākara* noticed by Mitra, Mr. Kane has also fallen back on the Deccan College MS. (No. 114 of 1885-86) of the same.

A decade has passed since the publication of Kane's epoch-making work and the time is ripe, I think, for supplementing the information regarding the personal history of Caṇḍes'vara and his royal patron in the light of further editions and studies. So we wish to take up the matter as gathered from various works of the author one after another.

(1) KṚTYARATNĀKARA

Though this work contains twenty-six introductory and two concluding verses of high poetic merit and genuine historical information,

Mr. Kane has satisfied himself by referring to and utilizing partial matter of the introductory verses 10 and 15 only. The subject-matter of the twenty-six introductory verses turns out on analysis into the following subheadings:

Verses 1-3: Invocation to S'iva, to the Supreme God and to *Dharma.*

4-6: Harisiṁhadeva; 7-8: Devāditya.

9-12: Vīres'vara.

13-26: Caṇḍes'vara—political; (13-17) relating to munificance (18 and 20), relating to the great tank (21-23) and relating to the *Kṛtyaratnākara* (24-26). The verse 19 is simply a paraphrase of a part of the verse 13.

Of the two concluding verses, the first is an apology to the readers for the defects of a work and the second is simple self-applause.

All of the introductory verses except the first three are historically important and we wish to give below their purport for a better understanding of the subject in view.

"There was a king of the name of Harisiṁhadeva,[1] who destroyed his enemies to the last man, who was sprung from the Kārṇāṭa dynasty and who ruled over the entire Mithilā and who sprinkled over the directions spotless fame, just as the autumnal moon, which confers innumerable good on others, sprinkles nectar-like rays over the same. When this king was out in his conquests, the S'eṣa serpent, with its thousand hoods bent down and meeting one another closely owing to the pressure of the king's forces, resembled the body of the lotus stalk just closed after the sun, the friend of the lotuses, had gone down the western sea. Let not the unfortunate *Cakravākas*, suffering from the fear of the misfortune of the anger of the God of Five Arrows (*i.e.* the God of Love), become dejected, the friend of the lotuses (*i.e.* the sun) having gone to the sea (*i.e.* having set), for the effulgence of the crest-jewel of the king of the Karṇāṭa dynasty, having pleased all the worlds, is on the ascendancy.

Devāditya, of cheerful disposition, a veritable moving celestial tree and the lustre of whose counsels dispelled the rise of the darkness of the foes and who purified the earth by the Ganges like flow of his unalloyed fame resembling the autumnal moon, filled the office of the

[1] The late Dr. Jayaswal pointed out in his Introduction to the *Rājanītiratnākara* that the correct name of the King was Harisimhadeva, though verse four of the *Kṛtyaratnākara* gives the name as Harisimhadeva.

minister of peace and war of this king. He satisfied the Brahmins by great gifts, bespeaking of wealth, the gods by many kinds of sacrifices and the black-bees, humming owing to their intoxication, by the draught of the honey of the lotuses and by pleasure-gardens and benefited the earth by the excavation of large ponds.

Just as the moon came out of the ocean, the god Brahman from the lotus, new nectar from the moon, good sense from praiseworthy policy, so in this world Vīres'vara, the best among the ministers, was born to this ocean of merits and lover of power. This Vīres'vara enriched the best Brāhmaṇas by lavish gifts, gave away *Rāma* and other grants of land to learned Brāhmaṇas, dug a lake which resembled the sea in extent and built a high palace in the city of Dahivata, which excelled the enemy's fort and was filled with beautiful staircases and approaches. He, possessed with many abilities in the arts of peace and war, rendered the burden of the royalty of the king of Mithilā free from enemies with his prowess and also filled it with wealth and with the seven expedients by dint of his good policy. Whether in the meeting of the wise and eloquent, or in the assembly of the kings and ministers, or in the heart of the suppliants and poetry of the good poets, Vīres'vara exists with his worldwide fame.

Let this Vīres'vara's son, Caṇḍes'vara who is like a new wish-fulfulling tree, reared up by the drenching of good spies of the kingdom and who occupies the office of a good Minister of peace and war, prosper. When this Minister was out in his conquests, the earth was lowered down owing to the pressure of his forces and the pitchy darkness of the nether world was removed by the rays of the partial lamps, displaced from the gem on the hood of the foremost head of the king of serpents, and the serpent wives, being thus able to see their beloved ones and get temporarily the fruit of their eyes, sing his praise. Is he, the best minister Caṇḍes'vara, who equalled the enemy of the sun-god (*i.e.* Rāhu) by dint of his prowess, who invaded Nepal, inaccessible owing to hills, who dethroned all its kings of the Rāghava dynasty by the might of his arms and who worshipped the god *Pas'upati*, the bestower of immense boons, by touching the idol, not an object of universal adoration on this earth ? The frightened kings of Nepal, being defeated by him, forgot their aristocratic origin and either fled to the mountain-caves, or disappeared in the forests, or took shelter near the water falls or reached the precipices when the

extensive battle-field, disturbed by the feet of the horses, was furrowed with the wheels of the chariots and irrigated with the fat of the elephants, and when pearls, resembling date-palms, fell from the back of the elephants by the strokes of arrows, these pearls looked like so many seeds of fame of the Minister, sown in the earth.

When the celestial wish-fulfilling tree, which was as black as a row of blackbees or ink or flame, was deserted by the supplicants, who were honoured by this crest-jewel of the highly munificent (*i.e.* Caṇḍes'vara) by the bestowal of great gifts, in excess of their wishes, the former was weeping, as it were, by the trickling of honey-drops from its body. This best of the Ministers, being delighted, gave to the Brāhmaṇas a good many villages, equalling the city of the gods, green with the forests of plantain-tress, villages in which blackbees were humming, being attracted by the good smell of the opening mango-blossoms and which thus resembled the full-blown lotuses by reason of the waters of the encircling rivers.

This Caṇḍes'vara excavated a lake in Abhirāmapura, which was making sounds of clouds by the passing of gentle breezes over it and created the illusion of water in the autumnal clouds, floating over the sky. This lake, with its surging waters resembling those of a sea, was, as if, saying the following words :

'O you, the sage born of a pitcher (*i.e.* Agastya), you have drunk off the ocean, full of saline water, by one sip of your hand. Come, if you can, to drink myself, sweeter as I am.'

The moon-god worshipped the god S'iva with a desire to surpass the fame of this lake and reached the position in the crest of the latter god but did not derive the desired result from him. So his mind melted and the moon, with its subdued lustre, thus holds within itself spots, equal to those of mud."

(2) GṚHASTHARATNĀKARA

Of the twenty-one introductory verses of this work, the first invokes benediction from the god S'iva who became a householder (Gṛhastha) after marrying the daughter of the god presiding over the Himalayas and the second only supplies some information regarding the personal history of the author Caṇḍes'vara. The rest nineteen

verses enumerate the topics dealt with in the body of the work. The purport of the second verse is to the following effect:

" Caṇḍes'vara, the most renowned among the long list of ministers and practising celibacy, who taught many persons of the twice-born classes the entire Vedas with the six auxiliaries, satisfied them with money and initiated them into the life of householders, is laying down a treatise named '*Ratnākara*' (lit. sea) on the duties of householders *(Gṛhastha)*, based on the principles of the Science of Interpretation *(Mīmaṃsa)*."

(3) S'UDDHIRATNĀKARA

Of the four verses existing in the incomplete MS. of the *S'uddhiratnākara*, the first invokes benediction from the god Nīlakaṇṭha (a name of the god S'iva) and the second only supplies some information regarding the personal history of Caṇḍes'vara. The rest two begin with the enumeration of the topics dealt with in the body of the work. The purport of the second verse which is faulty at places is to the following effect:

" Caṇḍes'vara, the best of the ministers of the king of Mithilā and the foremost of orthodox persons, who performed sacrifices with the help of pure and proper money and by the discharge of daily, casual and voluntary duties, is composing the beautiful work, entitled '*Suddhiratnākara*' (lit. sea of purity)."

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APPAYYA DĪKṢITAS II AND III

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AUFRECHT (*C.C.I.* 22b) includes in his list of the numerous works of Appayya Dīkṣita I, son of Raṅgarāja Dikṣita, a drama named *Vasumatīcitrasena Vilāsa*, of which he notes a Mysore manuscript; and on p. 557a (C. C. I.), he refers to two Kumbhakonam manuscripts of evidently the same drama, as recorded by Oppert. Following Aufrecht, writers who have, from time to time, spoken of the works of Appayya Dīkṣita I, have invariably included this drama, *Vasumatīcitrasena Vilāsa*, as one of the 104 works of Appayya Dīkṣita I. (See p. 14, the works of Appayya Dīkṣita, Introduction to *S'ivādvaita Nirṇaya*, S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, University of Madras, 1930, and p. 227 M. Krishnamacharya's *Classical Sanskrit Literature.*)

A manuscript of this drama is available in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, (48 of 1898-99), and on getting extracts from this manuscript (courtesy: P. K. Gode, Curator), I find that it is a work not of Appayya Dīkṣita I, son of Raṅgarāja, but of Appayya Dīkṣita III, son of Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita and Bhūmi Devī and adopted son of Appayya II. Appayya I had a brother, Āccān; Āccān had two sons Nārāyaṇa and Appayya II; of Nārāyaṇa were born Āccān, Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, Appayya III called Cinna Appayya, Candras'ekhara and Atirātrayajvan. The second son Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita is the author of the *S'ivalīlārṇava* and other works. Nīlakaṇṭha wrote his *Nīlakaṇṭhavijayacampū* in A.D. 1637. His younger brother Appayya III or Cinna Appayya was given in adoption to their junior paternal uncle Appayya II. Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita himself refers to his junior paternal uncle Appayya II in the prologue to his unfinished play, the *Nalacarita*, as the author of the play ***Rukmiṇīparinaya.***

Mr. N. Ayyaswami Sastri wrote an article on Appayya III and his Mīmāṃsā work *Tantrasiddhānta-dīpikā*, in *JOR*, Madras, 1928, Vol. II, pp. 247-250. In two colophons in the *Tantrasiddhānta-dīpikā*, Appayya III refers to Appayya II's *Rukmiṇīpariṇaya* (see Madras *Triennial Catalogue*, V. 1, A. R. No. 4217, pp. 6236-7) ; and in a colophon in a Tanjore manuscript of the same *Tantrasiddhānta-dīpikā*, Appayya II is mentioned as the author of an *Alaṅkāra-tilaka* (see *New Descriptive Catalogue*, Tanjore, XII, No. 6853, p. 5083). From the prologue to the drama *Vasumatīcitrasena*, we learn that Appayya II, the adopted father of the author (Appayya III), wrote :

1. *Alaṃkāra-tilaka*—Alaṃkāra
2. *Duṣyantacarita*—Kāvya

and 3. *Rukmiṇī-pariṇaya*—Nāṭaka

Appayya II seems also to have earned the title '*Sarasa Kavi*' as can be made out from the prologues to the *Vasumatīcitrasena* and the *Nalacarita*.

The following passages are taken from the BORI manuscript of the *Vasumatīcitrasena*

Beginning :

स्वयं प्रसन्नां विरचय्य साहिती-
मतद्विदेऽपि द्रविडार्भकाय यः ।
अदत्त कीर्तिं कविलोकलिप्सितां
तमेव वन्दे हृदि सुन्दरेश्वरम् ॥

(नान्द्यन्ते सूत्रधारः)

. . . .

आदिष्टोऽस्मि हालास्यपतिसेवासमागतैः सामाजिकैर्यथा—'अस्ति खलु भरद्वाज-कुलजलधिकलानिधेः श्रीकण्ठमतप्रतिष्ठापयितुः अशेषविद्वद्गुरोः अप्पय्यदीक्षितस्य (I) पौत्रः, कविबुधकण्ठीरवनीलकण्ठमखिसोदर्यतानुगुणसाहितीसंप्रदायः, कविः अप्पय्यदीक्षितो (III) नाम । यस्य स दुष्यन्तचरित-रुक्मिणीपरिणय-अलङ्कार-तिलक-आदिकाव्यनाटकालङ्कार प्रबन्धनिर्माता पिता कविः अप्पय्यदीक्षितः (II)

12

अरिषूयते (अभिषूयते) सरसकवि[1]रिति सर्वलोकैः । तेन निर्वर्तितं वसुमती-चित्रसेनीयं नाम नाटकमभिनीयतामिति ।

The last verse praises Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita and it is clear Appayya III studied under this elder brother. Then follows the colophon :

इति निष्क्रान्तास्सर्वे । षष्ठोऽङ्कः । इति श्रीमद्भरद्वाजजलधिकौस्तुभ श्रीकण्ठ-मतप्रतिष्ठापनाचार्य चतुरधिकशतप्रबन्धनिर्वाहधूर्वह महाव्रतयाजि-श्रीमदप्पय्यदीक्षित-सोदर्य श्रीमदाच्चान्दीक्षितपौत्रेण अप्पय्यदीक्षितात्मजेन अपय्यदीक्षितेन विरचितं वसुमतीचित्रसेनं नाम नाटकं संपूर्णम् ॥

In his *Tantrasiddhānta-dīpikā*, Appayya III refers to his work *Durūhaśikṣā*. A manuscript of this *Durūhaśikṣā* is available in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, R. 3934 (a). Both the *Tantrasiddhānta-dīpikā* and the *Durūhaśikṣā* are Mīmāmsā works written to defend Appayya Dīkṣita I's views in Mīmāmsā, which were criticized by writers in Benares, like S'aṅkara Bhaṭṭa, second son of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, who criticized Appayya I's *Vidhi-rasāyana* in his *Vidhi-rasāyanadūṣaṇa.*[2] It is quite reasonable to believe that Appayya III defended Appayya I in Alaṁkāra also, from the attacks of Jagannātha Paṇḍita in the North. The *Citramīmāmsā-doṣa-dhikkāra* found as a work of Cinna Appayya Dikṣita in Oppert's list, is therefore likely to be a work of this Appayya III. Oppert records this as a manuscript in Tiruvidamarudur and as a work of Cinna Appayya, but the same manuscript in the same place with the same owner is entered by Hultzsch (II, p. 126, No. 1281) as a work of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita. Hultzsch, however, makes a mistake which is copied by Aufrecht and Krishnamacharya. The colophon printed by Hultzsch on p. 126 of his II Report definitely assigns the work to Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita's last brother, Atirātrayajvan. Until we see manuscripts of the work and examine them, one cannot decide whether Appayya III or his brother Atirātrayajvan wrote it.

[1] *cf.* Prologue to Nilakaṇṭha Dikṣita's *Nalacarita* : अस्य खलु पितृव्यो ऽयमप्पय्य-दीक्षितो नाम सरसकवितासाम्राज्यसार्वभौमस्तत्प्रणेता.

[2] Y. Mahalinga Sastri, *JOR*, Madras, 1928. pp. 225-237 and 1929, pp. 140-160, gives the date of Appayya Dikṣita I as A. D. 1520-1593. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa wrote his *Vṛttaratnākara-ṭikā* in A. D. 1546. Nārāyaṇa's second son, S'aṅkara Bhaṭṭa, who criticized Appayya Dikṣita's *Vidhirasāyana*, was also a teacher of Bhaṭṭoji.

Appayya III is also known to have written a work on Prākṛt grammar, called the *Prākṛtamaṇidīpa*. Of this work, there are three manuscripts in the Madras Government Oriental Library, D. 16861, R. 2346*a* and R. 4282. That it is Appayya III who wrote this can be clearly seen from the colophon in the MS. R. 2346*a* which is almost identical with the colophon to his *Durūhaśikṣā*. These colophons in both the works mention one Cinna Bomma, attached to King Cokkanātha Naik of Madura, as the patron of Appayya III ; and in the MS. of the *Prākṛtamaṇidīpa*, R. 4282,[1] the work is even attributed to the patron.[2]

There is yet one more work which, in all likelihood, is a production of Appayya III. In the Adyar Library, we have a manuscript with the name *Prasiddhaśabdasaṃskāra* (Catalogue II, p. 84a ; Shelf No. 25 I 8). The manuscript contains a part of a work which is a brief exposition of Pāṇini's Sūtras. The following is the beginning.

अप्पय्यदीक्षितेन्द्रानशेषविद्यागुरूनहं नौमि ।
यत्कृतिबोधाबोधौ विद्वदविद्वद्विभाजकोपाधी ॥
अल्पायासेन जिज्ञासूनधिकृत्येह बालकान् ।
प्रसिद्धशब्दसंस्कारो दिङ्मात्रेण प्रदर्श्यते ॥

अइउण् । . . हल् । इति प्रत्याहारार्थानि माहेश्वराणि चतुर्दश सूत्राणि । . . . .

The opening verse on Appayya Dīkṣita I, ' Appayyadīkṣitendrān ' etc. is, we know, by Appayya III, and is found at the opening of his *Tantrasiddhānta-dīpikā* (R. 4217) and therefore it is not unlikely that in the manuscript ' *Prasiddhaśabdasaṃskāra* ' in Adyar, we have yet another work of Appayya III.

THE PATRON OF APPAYYA III

Though we have heard that Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita was a minister at the Nāyak Court at Madura, we have not yet come across mention of this fact in any historical record. From the date, 1637 A.D., mentioned

[1] In the introductory passages in this MS. mention is made of previous writers on Prākṛt and herein we find included the name of Appayya Yajvan also, which is perhaps Appayya Dīkṣita I. वार्त्तिकार्णवभाष्याद्याः अप्पयज्वकृताश्च ये ।

[2] In the Tanjore New cat. XVI. No. 10783, we have a *Saṅgīta rāghava*, written in imitation of the *Gītagovinda*, ascribed to a Cinna Bomma Bhūpa, son of Nala Bomma.

in his *Nīlakaṇṭha-vijaya-campū*, we understand that the Nāyak king whom the poet might have been assisting at Madura was Tirumala Nāyaka, whose period is c. 1623-1659. Tirumala was followed by Muttu Vīrappa II, who had a very short rule and was succeeded by Cokkanātha Nāyaka (1659-1682).

The colophons in the *Durūhaśikṣā* and the *Prākṛtamaṇidīpa* of Appayya III, brother of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, are interesting. They mention that Appayya III was prompted to write the work by Cinna Bomma, a favourite minister of king Cokkanātha.

(१) इति श्रीमन्नल्लबोम्म कुलार्णवपूर्णचन्द्रचिन्नमांबागर्भशुक्तिमुक्ताफल-ब्रह्मण्यबिरुदाङ्क चोक्कनाथभूपालप्रियसचिव चिन्नबोम्म भूपालहृदयकुहरविहर-माणसांबशिवप्रेरितेन अप्पय्यदीक्षितेन विरचितायां दुरूहशिक्षायां नियमविधि-समर्थनभङ्गः ।

—*Durūhaśikṣā*, R. 3936 (*a*)

(२) इति श्रीमद्दक्षिणसमुद्राधीश्वर चोक्कनाथ भूपालप्रियसचिवसज्जनाव-लम्बब्रह्मण्यबिरुदाङ्कि (ङ्क) चिनबोम्म भूपहृदयकमलकुहरविहरमाणश्रीसाम्बसदाशिव-प्रेरितेन अप्पयदीक्षितेन कृते (प्राकृत) मणिदीपे अपभ्रंशप्रकरणम् ।

—*Prākṛtamaṇidīpa*, R. 2346 (*a*)

In R. 4282, where we have the beginning of the *Prākṛtamaṇidīpa*, we find the work itself ascribed to this Cinna Bomma.[1] This shows that Appayya III was a contemporary of King Cokkanātha, 1659-82, and that he was patronized by one of the Poligars, Cinna Bomma, son of Cinnamāmbā. In *Local Records*, Vol. 47, p. 214, we have the summary of the geneology of the Poligars of Kariśappaṭṭu where we find the ninth Poligar as a Bommaya, son of Cinna Lakkamāmbā and Vijaya Raghunātha Bommaya. We can identify Appayya III's patron with this ninth Poligar of Kariśappaṭṭu, Bommaya, son of Cinna Lakkamāmbā. In *Local Records*, Vol. III, pp. 174 ff, we read a history of these Poligars of Kariśappaṭṭu Palayappattu, from which we understand that the ninth Cinna lakka Kumāra Bommaya and his son were contemporaries of Cokkanātha Nāyaka.[2]

[1] अनुग्रहाद्ब्राह्मणपुङ्गवानांमवाप्तविद्यश्चिनबोम्मभूपः ।
करोम्यहं प्राकृतरत्नदीपं मन्दानिलस्पन्दनिभैर्वचोभिः ॥

[2] I am thankful to Mr. M. Venkataramayya, University of Madras, for helping me to identify this Cinna Bomma.

KUMĀRA TĀTĀCĀRYA, THE REAL AUTHOR OF SOME OF THE WORKS ASCRIBED TO KING RAGHUNĀTHA OF TANJORE

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KING Raghunātha Nāyak of Tanjore, who ruled from 1616-1633 is not only known as a great patron of art and letters, but is also described in some of the works of the authors of his court as an author in both Sanskrit and Telugu. The music treatise, *Saṅgīta-sudhā*, which has been published by the Madras Music Academy, purports to be a work of King Raghunātha, but from a reference and quotation in the *Caturdaṇḍī-prakāśikā* of Veṅkaṭamakhin, we understand that the real author of the *Sangīta-sudhā* is Venkatamakhin's father, Govinda Dīkṣita, the minister at the Tanjore court (see p. 14 *C. D. Prakāśikā*, Music Academy edn.).

The *Saṅgītha-sudhā*, Introduction, śls. 62-63, ascribe to King Raghunātha a *Pārijātāpaharaṇa*, a *Vālmīki carita*, an *Acyutendrābhyudaya*, a *Gajendra mokṣa*, a *Nalacarita* and some *Yakṣagānas* like the *Rukmiṇī-kalyāṇa*. Of these, the *Acyutendrābhyudaya* must be an interesting work, because it is clearly a historical kāvya dealing with the life of Raghunātha's father, King Acyutappa Nāyak. From reliable evidence we come to know that, as of the *Sangīta-sudhā*, of this kāvya also, Raghunātha is the author only by ascription. The real author is S'atamakha Carurvedi Kumāra Tātācārya of Nāvalpākkam, who became the Vaiṣṇava teacher at the Tanjore court.

Fortunately, we possess some information about this Tātācārya who moved from Nāvalpākkam to Tanjore and from there to Kumbhakonam. He had two sons known to us now, Pāṭṭrācārya alias Veṅkaṭācārya and S'rīnivāsa yajvan. The former has left us an account

of his father S'atakratu Caturāmnāya Kumāra Tātācārya, in a small work of his called *Kumāra-Tāta-Des'ika-Vaibhava-Prakās'ikā*, published from Kumbhakonam. In this eulogy on his father, Pāṭṭrācārya Veṅkaṭācārya gives a list of the works written by his father and by himself and his six other brothers. Unfortunately, the list does not separately mention the works of each, but from other evidences, such as actual manuscripts of some of the works in the Tanjore and Madras Libraries, we are able to identify most of the works and their respective authors. One of these works is the *Acyutendrābhyudaya.* From Pāṭṭrācārya Veṅkaṭācārya's account of Tātācārya's life, we see that he was brought to Tanjore by King Acyuta himself. From which circumstance we can assign the *Acyutendrābhyudaya* to Tātācārya himself. Anyway, the mention of this historical Kāvya among the works of Tātācārya and his sons, by one of Tātācārya's own sons, removes the possibility of this work being a production of King Raghunātha. We know from references in another work of Tātācārya, of which manuscripts are available, that Tātācārya continued to be a Guru of King Raghunātha also. No manuscript of this *Acyutendrābhyudaya* has come to light.[1]

Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita, another poet patronized by King Raghunātha, in the prologue to his drama, *Ānandarāghava* (Madras, Des. No. 12495), mentions the *Pārijātāharaṇa* and the *Nalābhyudaya* ascribed to Raghunātha in the *Sangīta-sudhā* and other works as a drama. If the *Pārijātāharaṇa*[1] ascribed to Raghunātha is a drama, it is in all likelihood identical with the *Pārijātāharaṇa* nāṭaka in five acts written by Tātācārya and of which there is a manuscript in the Tanjore Library, and another in the Madras Library. Tanjore *Des. Cat.* No. 4381. Madras *Trien. Cat.* No. 1672). Tātācārya describes himself here as a guru of King Raghunātha and mentions his father as Veṅkatācārya and grandfather as S'rīnivāsa. The *Pārijātāharaṇa* is mentioned in the list of works given in the *Tātācārya-Vaibhava-Prakās'ikā* also.

In the Tanjore library, there are three manuscripts (Nos. 9467, 9468, and 9469) of an abridgement of the *Rāmāyaṇa* as the work of King Raghunātha. The list of works in the *Tātācārya-Vaibhava-prakās'ikā* also contains a name '*Rāmāyaṇa Kathāsāra.*' It does not

[1] The *Acyutendrābhyudaya* is mentioned as one of the numerous works of Raghunātha by Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita in his *Sāhityaratnākara*, VI, 36. In VI, 30 Yajñanārāyaṇa tells us that King Raghunātha wrote the *Pārijātaharaṇa* within a few hours.

seem to be far-fetched to identify the two names and take this production ascribed to Raghunātha also as a work of Tātācārya or a son of his.

Pāṭṭrācārya Veṅkaṭācārya's Account of His Father, Kumāra Tātācārya

The *Kumāra-Tātācārya-Vaibhava-Prakas'ikā* gives the following details about the life of Kumāra Tātācārya. He was originally living in the village of Nāvalpākkam in Tuṇḍīra Maṇḍala. While he was one day proceeding to the tank for the noon-time ablution, he saw a royal figure lying asleep, with a serpent's hood spread over his head. That person was Acyutappa who, after a time, became the king of Tanjore. This is a tale which is told with reference to many kings and their gurus, and a similar tale is told with reference to king Acyuta and Govinda Dīkṣita also. What is clear is that during king Acyuta's time (1561-1614), Tātācārya of Nāvalpākkam moved with his family to Tanjore and lived there near the Nīlamegha Perumāl Temple. Tātācārya became a Vaiṣṇava guru of the court. He performed numerous yajñas and conducted similar yajñas for his seven sons also. He consequently got the title ' S'atakratu ' and ' Caturveda.' With the king's help he founded Agrahāras like the Pauṇḍarīkapura and gave them away to Brāhmaṇas. He toured the Coḷa villages, collected donations and repaired Viṣṇu temples. He then returned to Tanjore for some rest.

The booklet then gives a list of the works of Tātācārya and his sons, which has already been referred to.

Kumāra Tātācārya was then invited to Kumbhakonam where, at the request of devotees, he consecrated a separate shrine for Goddess Komaḷāmbā in the S'ārṅgapāṇi temple. He then visited his ancestral village of Nāvalpākkam and erected a Viṣṇu temple there; and in the neighbouring place, Dīrghācala (நெடுங்குன்றம்), where he is said to have met Acyuta, he erected a temple of Rāma, and founded an Agrahāra called Raghunāthapura. Finally he retired at Kumbhakonam and passed away there. King Acyuta erected an idol of Tātācārya in front of Komalāmbā in the S'ārṅgapāṇi temple at Kumbhakonam.

From two other eulogies by Pāṭṭrācārya Veṇkaṭācārya on his father, a *Sambhāvanā* and a *Maṅgalās'āsana*, we learn that Kumāra Tātācārya was also known as Ayyā Kumāra Tātācārya.

THE DATE OF THE SŪKTIRATNAHĀRA OF KĀLIṄGARĀYA SŪRYA

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THE *Sūktiratnahāra* of Kāliṅgarāya Sūrya was long known to scholars as an anthology in manuscript in the Trivandrum Palace Library. It has now been published as No 141 of the TSS. The editor takes it to be a work of a Prime Minister of a Kulas'ekhara of Travancore. We shall examine the date of this anthology and its author.

The *Sūktiratnahāra* extracts from the works of Bhoja and Kṣmendra who wrote in the 11th century A.D. and from Vijñānes'vara, A.D. 1070-1100. We find that the anthology extracts a good number of passages from the *Mānasollāsa* of Somes'vara of Kalyāṇ, a work compiled in A.D. 1131. The anthology mentions a Pratāpa Cakravartin (pp. 205 and 209) and *Jagadeka-vīra-carita* (pp. 253-4). The latter is evidently a historical kāvya on the former, Pratāpa Cakravarti Jagadekamalla, A.D. 1138-1150. The *Alaṃkara-sarvasva* used by the anthology is a work of the second and third quarters of the 12th century and S'rīharṣa, whose *Naiṣadhīya-carita* is quoted in the anthology, wrote in the latter half of the 12th century. These facts bring the date of the *Sūktiratnahāra* to about 1200 A.D.

The anthology has extracts from Sakalavidyādhara Cakravartin (pp. 31, 43, 195, 198, 217, 218, 249), the author of the *Gadyakarṇāmṛta*, a prose-poem on the ninety days battle of Srirangam between Narasimha II son of Tribhuvanamalla Vīra Ballāla of the Hoys'āla dynasty and the combined army of the Pāṇḍyas and others about a few years before Vīra Somes'vara's marriage and accession to the throne in A.D. 1234 (See *Mysore Arch. Report*, 1912, p. 12). This would bring the *Sūktiratnahāra* to the middle of the 13th century.

The anthology has two verses of Taruṇavācaspati, the commentator on Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādars'a*. Till now, nothing has been known about the date of Taruṇavācaspati. In the Trivandrum Curator's Library there is a commentary on the *Kāvyādars'a* itself by a Kes'ava Bhaṭṭāraka, who describes himself as the son of Taruṇavācaspati and as one honoured by king Rāmanātha[1] :

इति महाराजाधिराज श्रीरामनाथ नरेन्द्रवन्दितचरणारविन्द महोपाध्याय तरुणवाचस्पतितनूजन्मना केशवभट्टारकेण विरचिते काव्यादर्शतात्पर्यनिरूपणे तृतीयः परिच्छेदः ।

Trivandrum Curator's Office Library, Transcript No. 27, p. 217.

King Rāmanātha who patronized Kes'avabhaṭṭa is Hoys'āla Vīra Rāmanātha who came to the throne in 1255 A.D. From this again, we are led to place the *Sūktiratnahāra* in the latter part of the 13th century.

The *Sūktiratnahāra* extracts extensively from a gnomic treatise called the *Pratāparudrīya*. This *Pratāparudrīya* is evidently the *Pratāparudrīya Nītisāra* mentioned by the Telugu writers (See Appendix to Kavi's edition of Baddena's *Nītisāramuktāvalī*, p. 218). The Pratāparudra after whom this *Nīti* work is named can be no other than Kākatīya Pratāparudra whose time is A.D. 1295-1323. This would bring down the date of the *Sūktiratnahāra* to the former half of the 14th century.

As early as 1924, the late Mr. A.S. Ramanatha Ayyar discussed the date of the *Sūktiratnahāra* in a paper submitted to the Third All-India Oriental Conference held at Madras (See *Summaries of Papers*, III All-India Oriental Conference, pp. 115-119). The compiler of the anthology, Sūrya, had the title ' Kāliṅgarāya ' and was the 'Asādhāraṇa Mantrin' of a Kulas'ekhara, according to the colophon at the end of the anthology. Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar had pointed out two persons in South Indian history answering this description : 1, Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimān of Vaṇḍai, who was attached to Kulottuṅga Coḷa and 2, a subordinate of the Pāṇḍya king Māravarman Kulas'ekhara I, A.D. 1268-1308. The unlikelihood of the former being

[1] The first reference to this work was kindly given to me by the late Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar of the Epigraphy Office, Madras and the actual extracts from the Trivandrum MS. was kindly sent to me by Mr. P. K. Narayana Pillai of the Trivandrum Curator's Office.

our compiler has been accepted by Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar. It is indeed the latter, the Pāṇḍya chief, who is likely to have been the compiler of the *Sūktiratnahāra*. His time roughly coincides with the date to which our examination of the writers quoted in the anthology has led us, *i.e.* the first half of the 14th century.

THE GAUTAMASMṚTI

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THE *Smṛti* of Gautama now under consideration is different from the *Gautamadharmasūtra*. It is in verse and contains fourteen chapters dealing mainly with *āhnika* and *s'rāddha*.

It is in the form of a conversation between Sage Narada and Gautama, the latter expounding the *dharma* to the former :

गौतमं मुनीनां श्रेष्ठं सर्वधर्मविशारदम् ।
शिवभक्तं समेत्यैनं नारदो वाक्यमब्रवीत् ॥

* * * *

गौतमः—श्रृणु नारद वक्ष्यामि.

This *S'mṛti* deserves to be studied carefully and has so far remained without attracting attention. A critical edition of the work has been undertaken by the Adyar Library.

The work seems to be a manual held authoritative by the S'aivites as special emphasis is laid in several places in the work on S'aiva ritualistic practices.

[1] The author of this paper is now Joint Editor of the *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Adyar Library, Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras. (ED.)

YAMAKAKAVI VĀSUDEVA

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(क)

संस्कृतसाहित्ये एतावत्पर्यन्तं सुविदितानि यमककाव्यानि नलोदय-युधिष्ठिर-विजय-कीचकवधानि त्रीण्येव भवन्ति। एषु नलोदययुधिष्ठिरविजयौ चिरात् सहृदयानाम् आस्वादयोग्यौ स्तः। नीतिवर्मनाम्ना भूपेन विरचितं कीचकवधं नाम काव्यं नचिरादेव प्रकाशितम्। केरलीयेन वासुदेवेन निर्मितयोः नलोदय-युधिष्ठिर-विजययोः कर्तृत्वमधिकृत्यान्यथा काचित् प्रथा सर्वत्र वरीवर्ति। तथाहि— कालिदासत्रयेऽन्यतमेन केनचित् परिमळकाळिदासेन विरचितो नलोदयः। तद्वत् युधिष्ठिरविजयकाव्यमपि काश्मीरिकस्य कस्यचन कवेर्विलसितमिति। एतादृशाना-मध्यासानां कारणं केचन व्याख्यातारः ग्रन्थप्रसाधकाश्चेत्यत्र नास्ति सन्देहः।

तस्य च वसुधामवतः काले कुलशेखरस्य वसुधामवतः।
वेदानामध्यायी भारतगुरुरभवदाद्यनामध्यायी॥
समजनि कश्चित्तस्य प्रवणः शिष्योऽनुवर्तकश्चित्तस्य।
काव्यानामालोके पटुमनसो वासुदेवनामा लोके॥

(युधिष्ठिरविजयारम्भभागः)

कुलशेखरस्य राज्यभारकाले पुराणपरमाचार्यः भारतगुरुनामा कश्चिदाचार्यः अभूत्। तस्यानुवर्तकः प्रधानशिष्यः 'भारतसुधामदभ्रान्त'श्च वासुदेवः युधिष्ठिर-विजयं काव्यं रचयतीति काव्योपक्रम एव प्रस्तुतम्। कुलशेखरपदं च दक्षिणापथे प्रवृत्तचक्राणां केरळेश्वराणां मध्ये चेरक्षितिपालानां वंशबिरुदमिति सर्वेऽपि विदन्त्येव। चेरक्षोणिपालानां वंशपरम्परायामुत्पन्नः महोन्नतमहामहिमशाली इदानीन्त-नोपि श्रीचैत्रकेमहाराजः कुलशेखरबिरुदं वहन्नेव अनन्तशयनराजधानीमधितिष्ठति।

एवं स्थिते वस्तुतत्त्वे 'काश्मीरिकः कविः' इत्ययं प्रसाधकस्याभ्यूहः प्रामादिक इत्येव वक्तुं शक्यते। किञ्च, "**भारतसुधामदभ्रान्तेन**" इत्येवं कविरात्मानं अन्यत्र विशेषयति। अस्य च पदस्यार्थे विचार्यमाणे शब्दशक्तिरन्वयमर्यादया 'केरळदेशे प्रवहन्त्यां भारतनद्यां नित्यं स्नानेन मत्तः भृशं तत्र स्नानकरणायासक्तः' इति, व्यतिरेकमर्यादया 'यद्येकस्मिन् दिने तस्यां नद्यां स्नातुमसौकर्यं तर्हि अतीव दुःखी' इति च वस्त्वनन्यतयार्थं ध्वनयति। अध्यस्तं नलोदययुधिष्ठिरविजययोः कर्तृत्वं केरळीये वासुदेवभट्ट एव कैश्चित् प्राज्ञैः समर्थितचरमिति नायं विषयः प्रकृत-निबन्धस्य प्रमेयपरिपाठ्यामन्तर्भवति। परन्तु युधिष्ठिरविजयस्य कर्तारमधिकृत्याधिकं किमपि प्रमाणमप्यस्ति। तच्चोध्द्रियते—महाभारतकथां सङ्गृह्य द्वादशाभिः सर्गैः विरचिते 'पाण्डवचरित'[1]नाम्नि काव्ये केरलीयः कविः वासुदेवं स्वपूर्वाचार्यं नमस्करोति, वासुदेवकृतं युधिष्ठिरविजयमपीत्थं स्मरति—

तस्मै नमोऽस्तु कवये **वासुदेवाय** धीमते।
येन पार्थकथा रम्या **यमिता** लोकपावनी॥ इति।

एवं कवितत्त्वविमर्शकैः बहवः प्रमादाः तत्र तत्र श्रद्धाजाड्येन क्रियन्त इति परं विभावनीयं सुधीभिः।

(ख)

अस्मिन् निबन्धे वासुदेवकविं तत्कृतयमककाव्यानि इतरांश्च प्रबन्धानधिकृत्य सङ्ग्रहेण निरूपयितुं परमुद्युज्यते। केरलीयेन वासुदेवेन प्रणीता एतावदधिगता प्रबन्धास्त्विमे भवन्ति—

(१) देवीचरितोदयः,
(२) सत्यतपःकथोदयः,
(३) शिवोदयः,
(४) अच्युतलीलोदयः,
(५) शौरिकथोदयः,

[1] "A poem describing the leading incidents in the life of Pāṇḍavas in 12 Cantos." *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.*, Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, R. No. 3390.

(६) नलोदयः,
(७) युधिष्ठिरविजयोदयः,
(८) त्रिपुरदहनम्,
(९) कौमारिलयुक्तिमाला,
(१०) गजेन्द्रमोक्षम्,
(११) चकोरसन्देशः,
(१२) वाक्यावली,
(१३) अर्जुनरावणीयव्याख्या,
(१४) वासुदेवविजयं सव्याख्यम्,
(१५) न्यायसारपदपञ्चिका,
(१६) संक्षेपभारतम्,
(१७) संक्षेपरामायणम्,
(१८) प्रयोगसाख्याख्या सर्वाङ्गसुन्दरी,
(१९) रामकथा,
(२०) भृङ्गसन्देशः,
(२१) विद्धसालभञ्जिकाव्याख्या ।

एषु निबन्धेषु केचन मुद्रयित्वा प्राकाश्यं नीताः । केचित् जराजर्जरितमहार्घ-ताळपत्रग्रन्थरत्नावतंसिता एव दृश्यन्ते । तत्र प्रथमे अष्टौ निबन्धा यमककाव्यानि । कवितामाहात्म्यम्, रचनारीतिः, पाकः, साजात्यपारस्पर्यम्, साहित्यगुणसमृद्धिः, भङ्गिभणितिवैचित्र्यम्, अलङ्कारघटना, प्रयोगविशेषयोजना, कृत्रिमशब्दवश्यता इत्यादिकं सर्वमपि सुष्ठु विवेच्यमानं निबन्धाष्टकस्यापि एककर्तृकतामवबोधयति ।

देवीचरितोदये[1]—

भक्त्या ते वीतमदश्चरितमिदं यच्छिवामुदे वीतमदः ।
काव्यं परममरचयं पठन्निदं मोदयति हि परममरचयम् ॥

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[1] *ibid.*, "An alliterative poem stating that the Goddess Devi, worshipped under the name Gopāli in Vedāraṇya or Kunnamkulam in Malabar, is no other than Durgā who is said to have born as the eighth issue of Devaki and the sister of Lord Kṛṣṇa, by Vāsudeva, son of Gopāli and Maharṣi. Contains two to six Ās'vāsas only" R. No. 3060 (*a*).

स सुधाशानां भूताराध्या जगतां चतुर्दशानां भूता ।
माता वेदवनमिताधिजनार्या विजयतां **वेद्वन**मिता ॥
सदाशिवा शिवा परा परा जयत्वनुत्तमा ।
निकेत**वेदकानना** पराजयत्वनुत्तमा ॥

"इति श्रीमत्कात्यायनीपदाम्बुजमधुव्रतेन श्रीमद्**गोपालीसुतेन श्रीवासुदेवेन** विरचिते श्रीमद्देवीचरिते काव्यरत्ने षष्ठ आश्वासः" इति ।

सत्यतपःकथोदये[1]—

स्वस्ति भवेदमितायै **वेद्वनं** श्रूयमाणवेदमितायै ।
देव्यै नामागस्य स्थितं तटाकं च नामागस्य ॥

* * * *

गदितं परमाख्यानं नाशितवन्तौ मयेह परमाख्यानम् ।
भक्तेनाम्नायमितं भूत**मृषौ सत्यतपसि** नाम्ना **यमितम्** ॥
सत्यतपा नामास [व्यघ] **ऋषिरभ्यो** द्विजाधिपानामास ।
स पुनर्वेदमहार्थं नाकसदां भूसदां च वेदमहार्थम् ॥

* * * *

भूतायामद्भुताद् **गोपालीत**स्ततो हि गोपालीत ।
मुदिता भूतार्या नो **वेद्वने** सादरा भवेद्वने ॥ इति.

शिवोदये[2]—

स्वस्ति भवेद्वनायैवार्यायै गोरवाप्तवेद्वनायै ।
[सप्तमी] **द्वेद्वनायै**का-ताश्रमगर्भिजपगवेद्वनायै ॥

* * * *

वेदारण्यं नामस्त**र्षि** यदि तमखिलतो हिरण्यं नाम ।
शुचि सदरण्यं नाम **ह्येतियशो यन्नतश्शरण्यं** नाम ॥

[1] *ibid.*, R. No. 3060 (*b*) "The story relating to Satyatapas, also called Maharṣi who is stated to be one of the ancestors of the author, and who is said to have made penance in Vedārṇya and also on the banks of the river Nilā now called Bhāratappuzha by the same author (Vāsudeva). Contains one to three Ās'vāsas.

[2] *ibid.*, R. No. 3060 (*c*) "Herein the author Vāsudeva gives the history of himself and his eight brothers. Contains the first two Ās'vāsas.

रते निर्वेदकानने नु वत्स **वेदकानने** ।
जयार्तवेदकानने स्थितेऽम्ब वेदकानने ॥ इति,

अच्युतलीलायाम्[1]—

जयति **श्रुतिकान्तारं** श्रितागुणोल्लासिवेदरुतिकान्तारम् ।
देवी नानावर्णाश्रित वृषमुनिमज्जगत्पुनानापर्णा ॥
यास भुवि विधात्राद्य त्रिदशान्नत्वाच्युतस्य विविधात्राद्याः ।
लीलासद्यमकेन ग्रन्थेन मयोच्यते **लसद्यमकेन** ॥

* * * *

प्रणतोऽस्मि गतं भवसागरं नाविकसद्धृदयं **भवदास**महम् ।
भवभक्ततयानुभवन्तमितं विकलसद्धृदयं भवदासमहम् ॥ इति ।

कौमारिलयुक्तिमालायाम्[2]—

भवेत्सुखं वर्यगुणेह **गोपाल्यसौ** चिरं मत्प्रभवत्वगेता ।
दिव्य[व्य]मेयर्षिवराद्दता सन्नुता नम**श्रुत्यटवी** शिवायै ॥

इति श्रीमच्छ्रु**तिकान्ता**रावस्थित[वृषावितृभूतार्यानन्दायि]भास्वच्छबरार्य**कृ**ष्णनत**महर्षि-**
गोपालीनन्दनकृतिः कौमारिलयुक्तिमाला . . . . पदश्रितसदादृत-
श्रीम**द्वासुदेवार्यश्रीमत्परमेश्वरार्य**पदश्रितशिव . . श्री**पार्थसारथिसु**चरितपरि-
तोषि[क]कृतिकौमारिलतिलकं समाप्तम् ।

इति च दृश्यते । धूमपत्रस्य प्रसिद्धिमद्वेदारण्यं नाम नगरं वासुदेवस्याभि-जनप्रदेश आसीत् । पूर्वमुद्धृतेषु भागेषु वेदारण्यमिदं वेदवनम् वेदकाननम् पुरुवनम् श्रुतिकान्तारम श्रुत्यटवी इत्येवं पर्यायपदैः प्रतिपादितं दृश्यते । अयं च प्रदेश इदानीं केरळेषु 'कुन्नङ्कुळम्' इत्यभिख्यया व्यवह्रियते । 'भूतार्या' 'गोपाली' इति व्यपदेशद्वयेन प्रसिद्धाया दुर्गायाः प्रतिष्ठा अत्रास्ति । मीमांसावेदान्त-ज्योतिस्तन्त्र-साहित्यादिविविधशास्त्रपारङ्गतानां विदुषां निलयभूताद्विख्यातात् 'पय्यूर'भवनात्

[1] *ibid.*, R. No. 3060 (*d*) "A yamaka poem narrating some of the sportive deeds of S'ri Kṛṣṇa and stating that he is the same God Acyuta, worshipped in Vedāraṇya by the same author. Contains one to four Ās'vāsas."

[2] *ibid.*, R. No. 3060 (*e*) "A narration of the principles as maintained in his arguments in the *Mīmāṁsāvārtika* of Kumārila. The sentences of Vararuci which are useful in the preparation of Indian Calendars are incorporated by the author in this treatise and form the beginning in each stanza, by the same author."

नातिदवीयान् 'वेळक्काड्' इत्ययं प्रदेश एव वेदारण्यमिति, तत्रस्था देवी पय्यूर-भवनवासिनां यमककविवासुदेवादीनां कुलदेवतेति च कीर्त्यते। गोपालीनाम्ना उपास्यमानेयं दुर्गा देववया अष्टमप्रसूतिभूता श्रीकृष्णस्य स्वसेति आगमिकैः कविवंश्यैः संस्तूयते। देवीवर्जं वेदारण्ये प्रख्याते श्रीकृष्ण-शिवक्षेत्रे च स्तः। इमास्तिस्रो देवता अधिकृत्यैव वासुदेवः भूयसा यमककाव्यानि व्यरचयत्। वासुदेवस्य पिता महर्षिः माता गोपाली च। कविवंश्याः गोश्रीराज्यान्तर्गतत्रिच्चूरदेशे शिवं भजन्ते। वृषग्रामः वृषक्षेत्रम् इत्यादयः संज्ञाः त्रिच्चूरदेशस्याभवन्। इत्यादयो विषयाः पूर्वमुद्धृतेभ्यो भागेभ्यो व्यक्तं भवन्ति। अप्रकाशितेभ्यो निबन्धेभ्यः एवमुद्धरणदानस्य प्रयोजनम्— निबन्धानां स्वरूपैकदेशावगमः, निरूप्यमाणानां प्रमेयाणां प्रमाणवाक्यप्रदर्शनं चेति द्वयं भवतीति "आम्राश्च सिक्ताः पितरश्च प्रीणिताः"।

सत्यतपःकथोदये यमककाव्ये नायकः कवेः पूर्वजन्मा पय्यूरवंश्यः तपोमहिम्ना सत्यतपाः इति प्रथां गतः ऋषिरित्यपराभिधानः कश्चित्। वेदारण्ये भारतनद्यास्तटप्रदेशेषु चानेन तप्तं तपः कवनसौभाग्यपरिवाहिन्या भङ्ग्या वर्णितं दृश्यते। शिवोदयाद्यमककाव्यात् कवेर्वासुदेवस्याष्टौ भ्रातर आसन्निति विज्ञायते।

शौरिकथोदय[1]-त्रिपुरदहन[2]योर्यमककाव्ययोरपि कर्ता अयमेव वासुदेव इत्यत्र आगमिकान्याभ्यूहिकानि च लक्ष्याणि बहूनि विद्यन्ते। तच्च गवेषणतत्परैः कैश्चिन्निरूपितचरमेवेति नास्माभिरिदानीं तत् समर्थयितुं समर्थकलक्ष्येषु दृष्टिर्निपात्यते।

[1] *ibid.*, R. No. 1852 (*b*) कवितारीत्यवगमार्थं शौरिकथायाः कानिचन वाक्यान्युद्ध्रियन्ते—

अवनतदेवं देहं पुंसः परमस्य सम्पदे वन्देहम्।
यत्पदमम्बुध्यन्ते यतयो यत्तत्वमुत्तमं बुध्यन्ते॥

* * * *

जयति सुधामा **रामः** **क्षितिपालः** काव्यवीरुधारामः।
दधदभिमस्तकलीलामंसेन बिभर्ति योयमस्तकलीलाम्॥
अस्यां मे **यमितायां शौरिकथायां** शुभप्रमेयमितायाम्।
करुणालेशं सन्तः कुर्वन्तु कवेर्बलाबले च शंसन्तः॥
अथ षट्सु कुमारेषु भ्रात्रा व्यापादितेषु सुकुमारेषु।
सुतमेकं सद्वेषं प्रासूयत देवकी सकंसद्वेषम्॥

[2] *ibid.*, R. No. 1852 (*a*) "A small poem in three Ās'vāsas narrating the story of the burning of the demon Tripura by God S'iva. The stanzas are in what are called the Ardhayamaka style.

गजेन्द्रमोक्षाख्ये काव्ये,

कल्याणं कुरुताद्वो भूतानामधिपतिः स करुणाब्धिः ।
रक्षार्थं सुजनानां सन्निदधत् पुरुवने पुण्ये ॥

* * * *

यस्य च भाजकरूपं प्रसादतो विश्ववित्तविमलयशाः ।
यमयामास सुमेधाः कथासुधा वासुदेवकविः ॥

* * * *

भक्त्या प्रणम्य देवं हरिं गुरुं श्रीगुरुप्रसादेन ।
वृत्तैर्गजेन्द्रमोक्षं ब्रूमस्तं शृणुत वृत्तज्ञाः ॥

इत्येवं कविः प्रस्तौति । अत्र भूताधिपतिनिर्देशः, पुरुवनपदप्रयोगः, द्वितीये पद्ये शिवानुग्रहानुगृहीतः कविः शिवस्य पौराणिकमितिवृत्तं पुरस्कृत्य यमककाव्यशरीरं पूरयामासेति प्रस्तावना, तृतीये पद्ये 'श्रीगुरुप्रसादेन' इति पदेन भारतगुरोरुद्देशः इत्यदिकं सर्वमपि वासुदेवकविरेव गजेन्द्रमोक्षस्यापि कर्तेति विनिश्चेतुं प्रमाणं भवति । श्रीपरमेश्वरस्येतिवृत्तमाश्रित्य निर्मिते यमककाव्ये शिवोदयत्रिपुरदहने एव । तत्र त्रिपुरदहनस्य वासुदेवशिष्यप्रणीता काचिद्व्याख्यास्तीति[2] श्रूयते ।

The author is Vāsudeva." पद्यद्वयमुद्ध्रियते—

वपुरतिगौरच्छायं जयति विभोरभिदधाति गौरच्छायम् ।
विषकटुकायेनाहिश्रेणी भूषणमिव स्वकायेनाहि ॥
येन च कालोऽलोपि स्मरं च निजघान योम्बिकालोलोपि ।
योऽस्थाद्विषमास्वाद्य स्वस्थः सुरततिषु जातविषमास्वाद्यः ॥

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इति वासुदेवविरचिते त्रिपुरदहने प्रथमाश्वासः ।

[1] *ibid.*, R. No. 3637 (*f*).

[2] *ibid*. R. No. 2711. व्याख्यानस्य नाम पदार्थदीपिनीति । व्याख्याता च नित्यप्रिय-मुनितनयः (?) ।

चकोरसन्देशस्यान्तिमभागगते,[1]

नार्या देव्याः पदमभजता रक्षता चेष्ट [देता]
देव्यो **गोपाल्यपि** जयतु सा ते च देव्यौ जयेताम् ।

अस्मिन् पद्ये गोपालीशब्दप्रयोगदर्शनात् चकोरसन्देशप्रणेता वासुदेवः यमककव्यभिन्न एव ।

पय्यूरवंशीया विद्वांस इव वासुदेवकविरपि मीमांसाद्वयशास्त्रे सम्यग् व्युत्पन्न आसीदित्यत्र साक्ष्यं लक्ष्यं तत्कृता कौमारिलयुक्तिमालैव । नीतितत्त्वाविर्भावाख्यस्य मीमांसाशास्त्रग्रन्थस्य व्याख्यायां तत्कर्ता गोपाली ऋषिः इत्यनयोः पुत्रश्च परमेश्वरः,

एवं स्वतःप्रमावादं व्याख्यद् **गोपालिकासुतः** ।
वासुदेवपितृव्योक्तरीत्या केवलयैव तु ॥
अभिवन्द्य महादेवीं **वेदारण्य**निवासिनीम् ।
कालप्रत्यक्षतावादे व्याख्या प्रस्तूयते मया ॥

इत्येवं स्वपितृव्यस्य वासुदेवस्योपदेशमनु स्वतःप्रामाण्यवादनिरूपणं कृतमिति प्रस्तौति । तद्वत् मीमांसासूत्रार्थसङ्ग्रहाभिधस्य ग्रन्थस्यारम्भे तत्कर्ता परमेश्वरः जैमिन्यादिसिद्धमीमांसकेभ्य इव वासुदेवायापि नमस्करोति । तस्माद्विज्ञायते वासुदेवस्य मीमांसायामतीव प्रावीण्यमभवदिति । तर्के मीमांसायां व्याकरणे ज्योतिषे अलङ्कारे इतरत्र च कालुष्यरहितवैदुष्याभिवृद्धः अयं वासुदेवः साधारणकवय इव केवलकाव्यनिर्मितौ विरस आसीत् । गङ्गाप्रवाहवत् साहित्यगुणसमृद्धितरङ्गितेन निरर्गळं निर्गळता सुशब्दप्रवाहेन वासुदेवः वश्यवाक् कश्चिद्दिव्य इत्येव वक्तव्यम् । पाण्डित्योच्छ्रायः तं कृत्रिमसुन्दराणां निबन्धानां रचनायां समुत्सुकमकरोत् । गजेन्द्रमोक्षोद्धृते

[1] *ibid.*, R. No. 3608 (*f.*) सन्देशकाव्यस्य प्रारम्भभाग एवम्—

काचिन्नारी किमपि च गते कार्यमुद्दिश्य दूरं
कालं कान्ते बहुतरमना याति कार्यान्तरेण ।
कामार्ता निरग्रहनि च सदा नाडिकां मन्यमाना
क्रान्ताऽपश्यत् कमपि च कदाप्यन्तिके तं चकोरम् ॥
सा चावोचत्तमपि पततामीश्वर स्वागतं ते दृष्ट्वैव त्वामभिमतफलं प्राप्तमेवेति मन्ये ।
वामे पार्श्वे क्षणमपि पुरो दक्षिणे वापि तत्तत् कार्यारम्भे वदति हि जनो दर्शनं मङ्गलं ते ॥

तृतीये पद्ये वृत्तज्ञानां मुदे गजेन्द्रमोक्षं विरच्यत इति कवेः प्रास्ताविकात् न केवलमितिवृत्तवर्णनायां परन्तु छन्दःशास्त्रसरःपरिधावपि क्रीडितुमस्य काव्यपोतस्य विरचनेति व्यक्तं भवति। अत्रापि कवेः कृत्रिमा वासना स्फुटीभवति। एवं कौमारिलयुक्तिमालायामपि कविः स्वकीयं कृत्रिमाभिनिवेशमभिव्यञ्जयति। कुमारिलभट्टेन मीमांसावार्तिके वितत्य प्रतिपादिता वाचोयुक्तीः संक्षिप्य प्रत्येकाधिकरणनिर्वृत्तान् मीमांसाराद्धान्तान् पद्यरूपेण कविः कौमारिलयुक्तिमालायां प्रतिपादयति। परन्त्वत्र एकैकस्मिन्नपि पद्ये आद्यभागे हैन्दवपञ्चाङ्गकरणोपयुक्तानि वाक्यकारवररुचिकृतानि "गीर्नः श्रेयः," 'धेनवः श्री' इत्यादिवाक्यान्यपि आयोजितानीत्यहो कवेः सामर्थ्यम्।

वाक्यावल्यां[1] चतुर्भिः सर्गैः श्रीकृष्णचरितं सुष्ठु वर्ण्यते। अत्रापि कौमारिलयुक्तिमालायामिव वररुचिवाक्यान्यायोजितानि। पद्यानि सर्वाण्यपि अलङ्कारैरलङ्कृतानि वृत्तविशेषवृत्तानि विशिष्टव्याकरणप्रयोगव्याकृतानि च दृश्यन्ते। तस्माद्वाक्यावल्या अपि कर्ता अयमेव वासुदेव इति निश्चीयते।

अर्जुनरावणीयकाव्ये कार्तवीर्यार्जुनरावणयोः प्रवृत्तं जन्यं वर्ण्यते। काव्यस्यास्य वासुदेवकृतं किञ्चिद् व्याख्यानं अस्ति। काव्यगतेषु पद्येषु भगवतः पाणिनेराचार्यस्य अष्टकतन्त्रगतानि सूत्राणि निदर्शितानि। कृत्रिमबद्धस्य क्लिष्टकल्पनाजटिलस्य चास्य काव्यस्य व्याख्यां विरचयितुं सामान्यमहाकाव्यानां व्याख्यानप्रणयनायाप्रवृत्तस्य अस्यैव वासुदेवस्य मतिरजनिष्टेति निश्चप्रचम्। व्याख्यानान्यभागे एवं दृश्यति—

वासुदेवैकमनसा **वासुदेवेन** निर्मिताम्।
वासुदेवीयटीकां तां वासुदेवोऽनुमोदताम्॥ इति।

स्वोपज्ञव्याख्यासनाथं श्रीकृष्णकथां पुरस्कृत्य वासुदेवेन विरचितं दुरूहप्रौढिविलसितमेव वासुदेवविजयाभिधं काव्यम्। सर्गत्रयेणोपसंहृतेऽस्मिन् काव्ये पाणिनेरष्टाध्यायीसूत्राणां याथार्थ्येन कार्तार्थ्यमापादितम्। काव्यमिदं कवेर्महावैयाकरणत्वं

[1] *ibid.*, R. No. 4204. "A poem in four sargas narrating the story of Lord Kṛṣṇa. Brief notes are given at the end of each stanza indicating the Alaṅkāras the metre and the grammatical peculiarities. Each stanza begins with one of the Vararuci's Sūtras which are intended for use in preparing a Hindu Calendar."

प्रत्यक्षयति । अस्य काव्यस्य परिशिष्टतया मेल्पत्तूर् नारायणभट्टपादेन धातुकाव्यं निर्मितम् । धातुकाव्योपक्रमे,

उदाहृतं पाणिनिसूत्रमण्डलं प्राग्वासुदेवेन तदूर्ध्वतोऽपरः ।
उदाहरत्यद्य वृकोदरोदितान् धातून् क्रमेणैव हि माधवाश्रयात् ॥

एतत्पद्यगतस्य वासुदेवपदस्य "वासुदेवो नाम केरलेषु पुरुवनग्रामजन्मा कश्चिद् द्विजन्मा" इति व्याख्यादर्शनात्, वासुदेवविजयस्य कृत्रिमविधायकत्वात्, युधिष्ठिरविजयाभिधानसामान्याच्च कविरनन्य इत्येव वक्तुं शक्यते ।

प्रमाणत्रयवादिसर्वज्ञकृतस्य न्यायसारस्य वासुदेवप्रणीता पदपञ्चिकानाम्नी कापि व्याख्या अस्ति । पञ्चिकोपसंहारे 'काश्मीरसूर्यसूरीन्द्रसूनुविरचिता न्यायसारपदपञ्चिका' इति दर्शनात् सोयं वासुदेवः यमककविभिन्न इति निश्चीयते ।

राजशेखरकृतेर्विद्धसालभञ्जिकाया व्याख्याकारो वासुदेवः करुणाकरस्य शिष्य इति ज्ञायते । अयं वासुदेवः साहित्यमल्ल इति प्रसिद्ध आसीत् । व्याख्यानस्य च नाम 'विद्धशालभञ्जिकामार्गदर्शिनी' इति ।

संक्षेपरामायण-[1] संक्षेपभारते केनचिद्वासुदेवेन प्रणीते । बालानां काव्यव्युत्पत्तिमाधातुं उपयुक्ता ललिता रचना अनयोर्दृश्यते । रविवर्मनाम्नः कस्यचन भूपस्य निदेशात् काव्यद्वयमिदं प्रणीतम् । तस्मादयं वासुदेवः यमककविभिन्नः स्यात् ।

सर्वाङ्ग[2]सुन्दर्यभिधा प्रयोगसार (मन्त्रसार) व्याख्या कवितार्किकचक्रवर्तिना श्रीमद्देवराजगिरिपूज्यपादशिष्येण स्वर्गग्रामाधिपेन वासुदेवविपश्चिता कृतेति सोयं यमककविभिन्न इत्यनुमीयते ।

[1] *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.*, Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, R. No. 2895.

[2] *ibid.*, R. No. 4155. "A Commentary on Prayogasāra which is a treatise one medicine. The Commentary which was written by Vāsudeva of Svarṇagrāma also called Svarṇattūr-mana known as Ponnūrkoṭṭumana, and desciple of Devarājagurupūjyapāda. "श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यकवितार्किकचक्रवर्तिश्रीमद्देवराजगुरुपूज्यपादशिष्यस्य श्रीवासुदेवविदुषः कृतौ प्रयोगसार व्याख्यायाम् ।"

प्रयोगसारव्याख्याभूत् कृता सर्वाङ्गसुन्दरी ।
स्वर्णग्रामाधिपेनेयं वासुदेवविपश्चिता ॥

रामकथायाः[1] गद्यकाव्यस्य कर्ता वासुदेवः नारायणस्य उमायाश्च पुत्र इति, आदित्यवर्मनृपतेर्निदेशात् रामकथां विरचितवानिति च यमककविभिन्न एव ।

भृङ्गसन्देशस्य[2] कर्ता वासुदेवः क इति निश्चेतुं नास्त्यभ्युपायः । परशुरामक्षेत्रस्य केरलस्य मध्यखण्डभूतं शिवाह्वानदेशं (त्रिच्चूर्) परं क्वचिदयं स्मरति ।

(ग)

इतःपरं वासुदेवमधिकृत्याधिकतया यावल्लब्धान्युपकरणानि पुरस्कृत्य प्रस्तोतव्यं किञ्चिदिह प्रस्तूयते । आचार्यमण्डनमिश्रकृतस्फोटसिद्धेर्व्याख्याया [3] गोपालिकानाम्न्याः 'नीतितत्त्वाविर्भाव'स्य 'तत्त्वबिन्दोः' 'विभ्रमविवेक'स्य च व्याख्यानानां

[1] *ibid.*, R. No. 3011. "A narration of the story of Rāmāyaṇa in prose by Vāsudeva son of Umā and Nārāyaṇa. It is stated that the author composed the work under the orders of the king Ādityavarma."

सतां परित्राणपरः सुमेधा जितारिषड्वर्गतया महीयान् ।
विभ्राजते विश्रुतविक्रमश्रीरादित्यवर्मा नरलोकवीरः ॥
* * * *
तस्याज्ञया सर्वजनीनवृत्तेरविस्तरा रामकथा पवित्रा ।
निगद्यते गद्यमयी मयेयं सन्तोऽनुगृह्णन्तु नितान्तमस्याम् ॥
यं वासुदेवमनुरूपमवाप पुत्रं नारायणो विमलबुद्धिरुमा तथाम्बा ।
प्राणायि तेन मनुवंशपतेः कथेयमादित्यवर्मनृपतेः कृतिनो निदेशात् ॥

This work is published in the 'S'rī Bālamanorama Sanskrit Series,' Madras.

[2] *ibid.*, R. No. 3395.

सम्प्राप्तव्यः सहज भवता श्रीशिवाह्वानदेशः
खण्डो मध्यः प्रथितमहिमा जामदग्न्ययस्य भूमेः ।
यत्रावासी स खलु भगवान् सार्धमद्रीन्द्रपुत्र्या
नित्यप्रह्वैरुरगमनुजस्वर्गिभिः सेव्यमानः ॥

Here the शिवाह्वानदेशः is Trichur in Cochin State.

[3] Madras University Sanskrit Series No. 6.

गोपालिकान्त्यभागे व्याख्याकारः परमेश्वरः एवं प्रस्तौति—

तत्त्वबिन्दोः कृता येन व्याख्या तत्त्वविभावना ।
तेनेयं रचिता व्याख्या नाम्ना गोपालिका स्मृता ॥
शब्दानां पालकं ह्येतदस्य मूलं निबन्धनम् ।
एषा व्याख्येयशब्दानामुपादानाच्च पालिका ॥
नन्दगोपसुता देवी वेदारण्यनिवासिनी ।
मात्रा गोपालिकानाम्न्या सेवितास्मदपेक्षया ॥

प्रणेता परमेश्वरः [1] व्याख्यासु स्वमातापितरौ गोपालिकां ऋषिं च पितृव्यान् भवदास-वासुदेव-सुब्रह्मण्यनाम्नः त्रींश्च कीर्तयति । एषु एकैकस्यापि गुरोः प्रत्येकानुग्रहोपदेशैरयं नीतितत्त्वाविर्भावव्याख्यायामेकैकं वादप्रघट्टकं विरचयितुं शक्त

तत्प्रसादादियं व्याख्या मया विरचिता किल ।
इति गोपालिकासंज्ञामस्या व्याचक्षते बुधाः ॥
मण्डनाचार्यकृतयो येष्वतिष्ठन्त कृत्स्नशः ।
तद्वंश्येन मयाप्येषा रचिताराध्य देवताम् ॥
ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेशानरूपिणीं विश्वमातरम् ।
ऋषिं पितरमानम्य **भवदास**मनन्तरम् ॥
गुरूनन्यांश्च रचिता व्याख्येयं क्षम्यतां बुधैः ।
यन्यूनमतिरिक्तं च दुरुक्तं चेह किञ्चन ॥
परमेश्वर एवास्याः कर्ता साक्षान्निरञ्जनः ।

अत्र पञ्चमे पद्ये 'येष्वधीयन्त' इत्यत्र 'येनाधीयन्त' इत्यपि पाठान्तरम् । 'तद्वंश्येन' इत्यस्य मण्डनमिश्रस्य वंश उत्पन्नः गोपालिकाकर्ता परमेश्वर इत्यप्यर्थः ।

[1] नीतितत्त्वाविर्भावव्याख्या । Adyar Library, xxxix. A. 8.

अत्र उम्वेक-मण्डन-पार्थसारथि-सुचरितमिश्रादयो मीमांसानिबन्धकारा बहुत्र स्मृताः ।

इति **गोपालिकासूनुः ऋषेः** पितुरनुग्रहात् ।
अन्तेवासी पितृव्यस्य **भवदासस्य** धीमतः ॥
चिदानन्दकृतावाद्यं व्याचष्ट परमेश्वरः ।
व्याख्यातुं कार्यवादं च समीहा तस्य सम्प्रति ॥

(Pages 141-7)

* * * *

इति व्याख्यापयामास कार्यवादमिमं सुधीः ।
सुब्रह्मण्यो यथार्थाख्यो भ्रातुरेव च सूनुना ॥
वेदारण्यनिवासिन्या **हैमवत्याः** प्रसादतः ।
व्याख्यानं कर्तुमेषोऽद्य प्रमावादेऽध्यवस्यति ॥

(Pages 275-83)

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एवं स्वतः प्रमावादं व्याख्यद् **गोपालिकासुतः** ।
भवदासपितृव्यस्य प्रसादादेव केवलात् ॥
कायवाङ्मनसां सम्यक् प्रह्वीभावेन **शङ्करे** ।
अन्यथाख्यातिवादेऽपि स व्याख्यातुं समुद्यतः ॥

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अभूदिति प्रस्तौति । प्रस्तावनयानया वासुदेवकवेस्त्रयो भ्रातर आसन्निति विज्ञायते । वासुदेवस्य पित्रोः ऋषिगोपाल्योः वासुदेवेन सह नव पुत्रा आसन्निति शिवोदयान्निर्णेतुं शक्यते । तथापि ऋषि-भवदास-वासुदेव-सुब्रह्मण्यांश्चतुरो वर्जयित्वा अन्ये पञ्च विद्वांसः नमतोऽपि न ज्ञायन्ते । स्फोटसिध्यादिग्रन्थव्याख्यातुः परमेश्वरस्य पितरौ ऋषिः गोपाली च, तत्र ऋषेः पितरौ गोपालिका ऋषिश्च, इत्ययं विषयस्तु सुनिश्चित एव । मीमांसासूत्रार्थसङ्ग्रहकारः परमेश्वरः स्फोटसिध्यादिग्रन्थव्याख्यातुः परमेश्वरस्य पौत्रमात्मानं निवेदयति । तदेवम्—

"तथाच तत्रभवन्तः षड्दर्शनीपारदृश्यत्वे सन्त्यपि विशेषतः कौमारिलतन्त्र्यवत्तया विवृतत्त्वाविर्भाव-तत्त्वबिन्दु-स्फोटसिद्धयः अस्मत्पितामहपादा विभ्रमविवेकव्याख्यायाम्" इति । सूत्रार्थसङ्ग्रहकर्ता परमेश्वरश्च कस्यचन ऋषेः पुत्र

व्याकरोदन्यथाख्यातिवादं गोपालिकासुतः ।
साक्षात्प्रतीतिवादे च व्याख्यातुमयमुद्यतः ॥

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गणेशस्य प्रसादेन वृषक्षेत्रनिवासिनः ।
कल्पनापोढवादस्य व्याख्या तावत्कृता मया ॥
अभिवन्द्य हृषीकेशं वृषक्षेत्रनिवासिनम् ।
व्याख्यानं क्रियते योगरूढिवादेपि शक्तितः ॥

(वृषक्षेत्र is another name of Trichur)

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अथ नत्वा महादेवं वृषग्रामनिवासिनम् ।
कर्मप्रत्यक्षवादस्य व्याख्या प्रस्तूयते मया ॥

(वृषग्राम Trichur)

(Page 492)

* * * *

मनोवैभववादोऽयं व्याख्यातः साम्प्रतं पुनः ।
मरुद्विहायः प्रत्यक्षवादो व्याख्यायते स्फुटम् ॥
यो न्यायकणिकाव्याख्यामकरोत्परमेश्वरः ।
तस्य पौत्रेण तत्सूनोरेवान्तेवासिना स्वयम् ॥

(Page 484)

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[1] I. 38, 37, Govt. MSS. Library, Madras.

(26) R. No. 3630. end. *ibid.* "श्रीमच्छङ्करपूज्यस्य शिष्येण . . . . तेनेयं व्याक्रिया कृता ।

एवेतीदम् "इति श्रीमदृषिपुत्रपरमेश्वरविरचिते सूत्रार्थसङ्ग्रहे" इत्येवं सङ्ग्रहग्रन्थस्य प्रतिपादसमाप्तिवाक्यादवगन्तुं शक्यते। ऋषि-जातवेद-भवत्रात-हृषीकेशादिनामानि केरलीयानां ब्राह्मणभट्टपादानां साधारणाभिधेयानि।

परमेश्वरविरचितायां न्यायकणिकाव्याख्यायां स्वदितङ्करिण्यभिख्यायां "इति श्रीमदृषिगौरीनन्दन श्रीभवदासपितृव्य श्रीमच्छङ्करपूज्यपादशिष्यपरमेश्वरकृतौ" इत्येवमुपसंहार वाक्यदर्शनात् वासुदेवयमककवेः पितृव्यः कश्चित्परमेश्वरोऽप्यभूत्। तस्य पितरौ गौरी ऋषिश्च, पितृव्यश्च भवदासः, इति निर्णीयते। अयं परमेश्वरः 'जुषध्वङ्करणी' इत्यपि कञ्चन ग्रन्थमरचयदिति विज्ञायते। अस्यैव परमेश्वरस्य पौत्रः गोपालिकानाम्न्याः व्याख्यायाः कर्ता परमेश्वर इत्येतत्—"यौ न्यायकणिकाव्याख्यामकरोत्परमेश्वरः। तस्य पौत्रेण तत्सूनोरेवान्तेवासिना स्वयम्"॥ इत्येव नीतितत्त्वाविर्भावे दर्शनात्स्पष्टं भवति।

(घ)

किञ्च, नीतितत्त्वाविर्भावव्याख्यायां इतरे पितृव्या यथा स्मृतास्तथा पितृव्यपदप्रयोगाभावेपि,

> कालप्रत्यक्षतावादमेवं व्याख्यदृषेः सुतः।
> **भवदासपितृव्यस्य** प्रसादादेव केवलम्॥
> कायवाङ्मनसां सम्यक् प्रह्वीभावेन **शङ्करे**।
> अन्यथाख्यातिवादेऽपि स व्याख्यातुं समुद्यतः॥

इत्येवं ख्यातिपञ्चकान्यतमभूतान्यथाख्यातिसम्बन्धिवादप्रक्रमपद्य एव कश्चन शङ्करः स्मृतो वर्तते। स च निगृहीतमनोवाक्कायः कश्चन संयमी। तस्मादुपदेशसिद्धेः प्रसक्तिराहित्येपि केवलं सान्निध्येन स्वपूजनीयतां तस्मिन् परमेश्वर आविर्भावयति। तस्मात् शङ्करोपि पितृव्येष्वन्यतम एव स्यात्। स्वदितङ्करणीग्रन्थमातृकायामेकस्यां 'इदं पय्यूरभगवत्पादकृतम्' इति लेखदर्शनात् अन्यतस्य लक्ष्यसमूहादेते महान्तो विद्वांसः सर्वे पय्यूराढ्यवंशपरम्परायां लब्धजन्मान इति व्यक्तं भवति। पूर्वं स्वदितङ्करणीग्रन्थोद्धृते भागे 'शङ्करपूज्यपादशिष्य' इति स्मरणात् गौरीभर्तुः ऋषेरपि कनीयान् भ्राता शङ्कर इति कश्चिदभूदिति कल्पनायाः सामञ्जस्यं कियद्दूरमित्यत्र वाचकमहाशयाः प्रकरणम्।

(ङ)

वासुदेवयमककवेर्जीवितसमयादिकं निर्णेतुं पर्याप्तं लक्ष्यं किमपि नास्ति। तथापि कैश्चित् कृतं दिक्प्रदर्शनमनुसृत्य सकृतज्ञं किञ्चित् प्रस्तूयते। परमेश्वरादिविरचितेषु ग्रन्थेषु शास्त्रदीपिका-नयविवेकतत्त्वसङ्ग्रहादिशास्त्रग्रन्थप्रतिपादिता विषयाः सम्यगनूदिता वर्तन्ते। तस्मात् कलेश्चत्वारिंशच्छतकादनन्तरमेव वासुदेवस्य जीवितसमय इतीदं निश्चप्रचं भवति। उद्दण्डकविः स्वकीये कोकिलसन्देशे[1]

किञ्चित् पूर्वा रणखलभुवि श्रीमदध्यक्षयेथा
स्तन्मीमांसाद्वयकुलगुरोः सद्म पुण्यं महर्षेः।
विद्वद्वृन्दे विवदितुमनस्यागते यत्र शश्व-
द्व्याख्याशालावलभिनिलयस्तिष्ठते कीरसङ्घः॥
शास्त्रव्याख्या हरिहरकथा सत्क्रियाभ्यागताना-
मालापो वा यदि सह बुधैराक्षिपेदस्य चेतः।
तद्विस्रब्धद्विजपरिवृते निष्कुटद्रौ निषण्णः
कोकूयेथाः स खलु मधुरां सूक्तिमाकर्ण्य तुष्येत्॥
श्लाघ्यश्छन्दः स्थितिमयि मया शोभनार्थे नियुक्तं
श्राव्यं शब्दैः सरससुमनोभाजमभ्रान्तवृत्तिम्।
दूरप्राप्त्या प्रशिथिलमिव त्वां सखे काव्यकल्पं
धीमान् पश्येत् स यदि ननु ते शुद्ध एव प्रचारः॥

इत्येवं प्रस्तौति। अत्रोद्धृतात् प्रथमपद्याद् द्वितीयपद्याच्च शम्बरक्रोड-वृषपुरयोर्मध्यवर्ती 'रणभला'ख्यः (भाषायां पोर्कळम् इति प्रसिद्धः) प्रदेशः वासुदेवपितुर्महर्षेः निवासस्थानमभूत्; ऋषिश्च नैकशास्त्रपारङ्गतः गृहस्थधर्मनिरतः इतरेषां निरतिशयभक्तिपात्रं चाभूत्; इति स्पष्टं भवति, केरळीयाः सर्वेपि ग्रन्थकाराः स्वनिर्मितान् ग्रन्थान् सहृदयाग्रेसरं ऋषिं श्रावयन्ति स्म इति च तृतीयं पद्यमस्मानवबोधयति। एवमुद्दण्डकविः मल्लिकामारुताख्ये[2] नाटके स्वकीयपाण्डित्यपारम्यप्रशंसकं कञ्चन ऋषिपुत्रपरमेश्वरं चोपश्लोकयति। एतादृशात् प्रस्तावात् उद्दण्डकविः पय्यूराढ्यभूसुराणा-

[1] IIa, 170, 178, 80. *ibid*. Also printed at Mangalodayam Press, Trichur.
[2] Edited by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1878, page 15.

मतिपरिचित आसीदिति व्यक्तं भवति। पय्यूराढ्याश्च परम्परया सामूतिरि-महाराजसभामभूषयन्निति सर्वविदितमेव।

६०२ तमे कोळम्बहायने जातस्य तन्त्रसमुच्चयप्रणेतुः जयन्तमङ्गलद्विजवरस्य समकालिक आसीदुद्दण्डकविः। तन्त्रसमुच्चयगतं 'शङ्खप्रेङ्खच्चटुल' इत्यादिपद्यम् उद्दण्डप्रणीतमिति हि प्रसिद्धिः।[1]

उद्दण्डप्रतिस्पर्धी काकश्शेरिभट्टः स्वकीये वसुमतीविक्रमाख्ये[2] नाटके,

यस्मिन् प्रीणाति वाणीकरतलविलसद्वल्लकीतौल्यभाजां
सोता वातायनाधीश्वरविशदशिरःकम्पडम्भावहानाम्।
वाचां मोचामधूलीमधुररसजुषामुल्लसन्नैगमाध्व
श्रद्धालुः केरलक्ष्मातिलकमृषिः साहितीपारदृश्वा॥

इत्येवं कस्मैचन ऋषये श्लाघते।

४६ तमे कलिशतके जीवन् चतुराधिकशतप्रबन्धनिर्माता नीलकण्ठदीक्षितस्य पितामहभ्राता अप्पय्यदीक्षितः वेदान्तकल्पतरुग्रन्थं व्याख्याति स्म। तदा युवकविरयमुद्दण्डशास्त्री,

अप्पदीक्षित! किमित्यतिस्तुतिं वर्णयामि भवतो वदान्यताम्।
सोऽपि कल्पतरुरर्थलिप्सया त्वद्गिरामवसरं प्रतीक्षते॥

इत्येवं दीक्षितमुपश्लोकितवान्। इदं सर्वमपि उद्दण्डपण्डितस्य कालः ४६ कलिशतकपरिसरवर्ती इति निर्णेतुं गमकं भवति। वासुदेवयमककवेर्जीवितसमयश्च तत्समीप एव भवितुमर्हतीत्येतावदेवेदानीं वक्तुं शक्यते।

[1] Trivandram Sanskrit Series Nos. 67 and 71.

[2] Madras University, Sanskrit Series No. 6, Introduction, page xviii.

5. ARDHAMAGADHI AND PRAKRIT

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY B. M. BARUA, M.A., D.LIT.,
Calcutta

BROTHER DELEGATES,

I consider it no mean privilege to have the honour of addressing you as President of the Prākṛt Section of the All-India Oriental Conference, with which I had been completely out of touch since its Lahore Session in 1928. Much water has flown in the Ganges between the time when I met some of you at least there and now when I am here to-day to play this rôle. I sincerely wish that the Chair I have the honour to occupy had been occupied by a worthier man.

As sectional President I think it is my main duty to confine myself to briefly stating the problems concerning Ardha-Māgadhī and other Prākṛts that still await solution, to making a general review of the progress of researches made so far in this vast and varied field, and to suggesting, if possible, the lines on which the research activities may usefully proceed with expected results.

As for the problems, the study of Prākṛts lands us, as you all know, in a world of uncertainty, and, therefore, in one of speculation. Even the term *Prākṛt*, as employed and made popular by the grammarians and rhetoricians, is vague and of a very loose connotation. Pressing for a clear definition of the term, we cannot expect to have any more than a few authoritative statements that darken counsel because of their being at variance with one another, or at the most, some theories that evoke our admiration by the cogency of reasonings. Thus the very definition of the term Prākṛt is still a problem.

The term Prākṛt occurs both as a genus and as a species, and so does the term *Apabhraṁśa*. The former as a species is distinguished

from such sister languages and dialects of India as Māgadhī, Ardha-Māgadhī S'aurasenī, Pais'ācī, Apabhraṁs'a and Des'ī. In view of that Mahārāṣṭrī is invariably omitted from such lists, it has been easy to understand that here by *Prākṛt* is only meant the Prākṛt *par excellence, i.e.*, Mahārāṣṭrī which, in the opinion of experts, " was the language of the Prākṛt Epics and Lyrics, and formed the starting point for Prākṛt Grammarians." But how far the pre-eminent position assigned to Mahārāṣṭrī is historically warrantable is also a problem, especially in presence of its strong rivals in Pāli and Ardha-Māgadhī.

According to Patañjali, all deviations from Sanskrit, either phonetic or grammatical, are Apabhraṁs'as. All Prākṛts, in accordance with this verdict, come under the term Apabhraṁs'a. Yet in later enumerations, Apabhraṁs'a is distinguished from other Prākṛts. Again, in earlier classifications Apabhraṁs'a seems to have stood for the same language or dialect as Des'ī, while in later classifications Apabhraṁs'a forms a separate category from the Des'ī-bhāṣās or local dialects. And these anomalies give rise to yet another problem.

The name Ardha-Māgadhī naturally tempts one to believe that the language is but a sub-class of Māgadhī. But the connotations of the term suggested by the old authorities do not necessarily indicate this. The origin of the name Ardha-Māgadhī and its historical relation to Māgadhī of the Prākṛt grammarians are also problems.

Similarly, the origin and propriety of the name Māgadhī and its applicability of Pāli are a much-discussed problem, particularly because of the high antiquity claimed by the Pāli scholiasts and grammarians for Māgadhī as a dialect and the dominant tendency of Pāli, or the language of the Buddhist Canon preserved in Ceylon, Burma and Siam, being to keep clear the distinctive characteristics of Māgadhī.

Pāli, as we now have it, is exclusively the sacred language of the religious literature of a particular Buddhist school or sect, *viz.*, the Terīya or Sthavira. Ardha-Māgadhī is exclusively " the language of the oldest Jain books, which form the Canon of the S'vetāmbara Sect." The bulk of literature produced in Pāli, with the rare exceptions of a few secular works of late origin, is an embodiment of Buddhist thoughts ideas, disciplinary rules, their interpretations and history. Similarly the Jaina books produced in Ardha-Māgadhī are embodiments of the Jaina thoughts, ideas and the like.

Whether or no, any of these two languages, in the forms in which we find them, were ever spoken in any part of the country by any people other than the learned members of a particular Buddhist or Jaina order, and whether or no, Pāli or Māgadhī is the language in which the founder of Buddhism promulgated his Doctrine and Discipline, and Ardha-Māgadhī is the language in which the founder of Jainism propounded his Doctrine and Discipline constitute problems of an equally baffling character.

The Buddhists and Jainas have produced a fair amount of religious literature in later ages in other Prākṛts as well along with some secular works, while the Brahmins as Brahmanists have studiously used Sanskrit for both religious and secular purposes, and as to Prākṛts other than Pāli and Ardha-Māgadhī, they have used them for secular purposes only in the epics and dramas. If it can thus be assumed that the prestige of the Brahmanists bound up with Sanskrit, and that of the Buddhists, Jainas and others with Prākṛts, in dealing with the subject of Prākṛts and their historical development side by side with Sanskrit, it is difficult to escape from the interesting but delicate problem of the Brahmin position as contrasted with that of other sectarians in the cultural history of India and Greater India.

Besides these problems, there is yet another, which appertains to the non-Sanskritic inscriptions and coin-legends. Arranged chronologically and classified according to localities, denominations and political influences, what light do they actually throw upon the cultural history of India in general and literary and linguistic history in particular?

Even these are not all. The inter-relations amongst the Prākṛts including Pāli and the literary processes in them and the results to which they have led from age to age, the inter-relation between Prākṛt and Sanskrit and their common relation to the Vedic dialect and literature and their common bearing on the development of the modern languages of India with their local, racial and cultural distinctiveness, constitute problems, the seriousness of which may be easy to realize.

These problems have been variously discussed and rediscussed by competent scholars and the results, too, have been synthetically, though concisely, presented by Woolner mainly from a grammatical and partly from a literary point of view, and by Gune from a

philological standpoint. A clear statement of the views expressed by different scholars, both Indian and European, with critical judgments of the author himself, may surely be found in Winternitz's *History of Indian Literature*, which, thanks to the Calcutta University and Mrs. Kelkar and Miss Kohn, is now available in an authentic English translation. We shall soon have reasons to be grateful to this premier University of the East for the publication of an equally faithful translation of Dr. Geiger's classical—*Pāli Literatur und Sprache*, completed by Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, to whom we also owe an English translation of a portion of Pischel's monumental work—*Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*. Much credit is due to the same University also for the publication of Dr. P. C. Bagchi's valuable emendations to the readings of the *caryāpadas* in the *Bauddha-Gān-O-Dohā*, published by the late MM. Haraprasad Shastri from the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat. The revised edition of the *Dākārṇāva* and the Apabhraṁs'a texts of the *Bauddha Dohakoṣa* as emended by Dr. Shahidullah of the Dacca University are not negligible contributions to the textual and linguistic studies in Prākṛt in the latest phase of its development and in the process of its transition to some of the modern languages, Bengali in particular. A sure way has been paved for a fruitful comparative study of the latest phases of development of Buddhist and Jaina religious thoughts and outlooks through the Apabhraṁs'a texts by the publication of the *Apabhraṁs'a-Kāvyatrayī* (Three Apabhraṁs'a Works of Jinadatta-Sūrī) with commentaries from the Oriental Institute, Baroda, by Paṇḍit Lalchandra Bhagawandas Gandhi, and that of the *Pāhuḍa-Dohā* and Sāvayadhaṁma-Dohā, the two Digambara Jaina works on mysticism by Professor Hiralal Jain of the King Edward College, Amraoti. Paṇḍit Gandhi's Introduction has a claim to be read and evaluated as an illuminating dissertation on Prākṛts in general, and Apabhraṁs'a in particular. But even more valuable than these, in respect of expositions of the metaphysical aspect and Yogic method of Jaina mysticism, are the Apabhraṁs'a Dohās in Yogīndudeva's *Paramappapayāsu* (*Paramātma-prakās'ā*) and *Yogasāra*, which, too, have been made accessible to us in Professor Upadhye's edition. I may also mention that the Calcutta University has afforded facilities for critical estimates of the wealth of mystic Sahaja cults in these Dohās and the ascertainment of their historical connections with the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyā doctrines and the Dohās of Kabīr, Dādu and other

later medieval Indian saints. This is to refer to the forthcoming book on this subject by Mr. Shashi Bhusan Dasgupta.

Dr. M. Ghosh's edition of the *Karpūra-mañjarī*, forming as it does his Doctorate thesis, bears ample evidence to the critical acumen of the writer. In the field of Ardha-Māgadhī, Dr. Schübring who is the leading scholar in Europe on Jainism after Jacobi and Charpentier the old veterans, formulates the following scheme for the stratification of metrical portions of the Jaina Āgama:

1. the oldest stratum consists of Triṣṭubh, Jagatī, Vaitālīya, Aupacchandasaka, S'loka, and Ārya (or Gāthā of the old form);
2. the second stratum consists of those texts in which the S'loka predominates;
3. the third stratum consists of those texts in which the Veḍha predominates;
4. the last stratum consists of those texts in which Gāthā or Āryā of the common form predominates."

Among Indian scholars, Dr. Amulya Charan Sen in his critical Introduction to the *Paṇhāvāgaraṇāiṁ*, has made the fullest use of this scheme in determining the chronological stratum of the Jaina Canon to which the present text of the Aṅga in question may be taken to have belonged. The Law of Mora by which Jacobi and others sought to explain some of the striking phonetic changes in Prākṛts has its application, as fully demonstrated by Dr. Geiger, also in the field of Pāli philology. It is a happy sign of the time that the Jainas as a community have become fully alive to the necessity of publishing critically edited texts with commentaries for a proper comprehension of the Jaina culture and many of the rich men amongst them have in recent years usefully applied at least a portion of their charities in starting and maintaining several series and to such efforts on their part we owe the beautiful edition of the *Ṣaṭ-khaṇḍāgama of Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali* by Professor Hiralal Jain, and the *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa* and other later interesting Prākṛt works by Jinavijaya.

In the field of Pāli, Dr. Helmer Smith's edition of the *Saddā-nīti*, the best treatise on Pāli grammar produced in Burma, and Dr. Malalasekera's *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* are each a monument of industry. The University of Bombay and Professor N. K. Bhagvat may be congratulated upon their bringing out Devanāgarī editions

of the Pāli texts for the benefit of Indian readers, although one may wish that these were as well done from a critical and research point of view as Dr. Bapat's edition of the *Sutta-Nipātā* or the Bengali edition of the *Vinaya Mahāvagga* published from Calcutta. I lay special stress on this point for the simple reason that the texts as published by the Pāli Text Society need a careful revision here and there.

In the field of epigraphy, the publication of the Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions and documents, the plaque of the Maurya Age found at Mahāsthāngaḍh, the inscriptions found at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, and the Yerraguḍi version of As'oka's Minor Rock Edict deserve special mention. The time is ripe for the compilation of a *Dictionary of Prākṛt Inscriptions*, and I am glad to mention that the Calcutta University has undertaken this useful work through a competent scholar, Mr. D. L. Barua.

Dr. B. C. Law's two volumes of *History of Pāli Literature*, added to Mabel Bode's *Pāli Literature of Burma* and Dr. Malalasekera's *Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, serve as excellent synopses of the contents of Pāli literature as a whole, and one may legitimately wish that a similar venture were undertaken with regard to Prākṛt literature supplementing, wherever possible, Winternitz's master-piece.

Dr. Sukumar Sen's suggestive paper on women's language in Indian literature, Pāli and Prākṛt included, and Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri's comparative study of the verses of Indian poetesses in Sanskrit, Pāli and Prākṛt bring to the forum for discussion an aspect of Indian literature which is generally neglected. So far as the poetic effusions and religious experiences of the Early Buddhist Sisters is concerned, the world is much indebted to Mrs. Rhys Davids for the way shown for their sympathetic appreciation.

As for Prākṛt lexicons, the useful work deserving mention after the *Rājendra-Abhidhāna* and the illustrated Ardhamāgadhī dictionary is the *Pālasadda-mahāṇṇava* compiled by Paṇḍit Haragovinda Das Seth, a late lecturer of the Calcutta University. But yet a Prākṛt lexicon, in scope more comprehensive and on lines more scientific, is as much a *desideratum* as a good Concordance of the Pāli Canon and the Jaina Āgama, with cross-references to the Upaniṣads, the Mahābhārata and other Brahmanical scriptures. The cross-references to Brahmanical works in such a concordance may serve these four

purposes: (1) to show how the Upaniṣads among other Vedic texts and the pre-Pāṇinian *Mahābhārata* had formed a common literary and religious background to Pāli, Ardha-Māgadhī and Sanskrit literatures that grew up during the five centuries before the birth of Christ, a period which, as shown by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Rhys Davids and others, was dominated by reactionary forces against Brahmanism; (2) to indicate how Vedic language followed two distinct lines of development, Sanskrit and Prākṛt (Pāli and old Ardha-Māgadhī each with its many dialectical presuppositions and phonetic variations and both standardized, more or less, by the grammatical rules of Pāṇini; (3) to envisage the various literary processes mainly under religious influences; and (4) to detect how in spite of apparent divergences, all national and cultural movements bore a family likeness and a common characteristic of the age. It will suffice to illustrate here only one point.

Ajitakeśa-kambalin figured as a leading atheistic thinker at the time when Buddhism and Jainism arose. His personal history is completely ignored in Jaina and Brahmanical literatures, although his doctrines are recorded in almost the same terms in Buddhist, Jaina and Brahmanical texts, and looking for a background of the doctrines, we chance upon certain views in some of the earlier Upaniṣads.

(a) Pāli (*Dīghā-nikāya*, I): Cātummahābhūtiko ayaṁ puriso yadā kālaṁ karoti paṭhavi paṭhavi-kāyaṁ anupeti anupagacchati, āpo āpo-kāyaṁ, tejo tejo-kāyaṁ, vāyo vāyokāyaṁ anupeti anupagacchati, ākāsaṁ indriyāni sankamanti. Āsandīpañcamā purisā matam ādāya gacchanti, yāva āḷāhanā padāni paññāpenti, kāpotakāni aṭṭhīni bhavanti. Bāle ca paṇḍite ca kāyassa bhedā ucchijjanti vinassanti, no honti parammaraṇā ti.

(b) Ardha-Māgadhī (*Sūya-gaḍaṁga*, I. 1. 11, II. 1. 1. 15): N'atthi puṇṇe vā pāve vā, n'atthi loe ito vare | sarīrassa viṇāseṇaṁ viṇāso hoi dehiṇo || sarīra-dharamāne dharai, viṇaṭṭaṁmi ya na dharai, eyaṁtaṁ jīviyaṁ bhavati ādahaṇāe agaṇijjhāmie sarīra-purihiṁ nijjati, kavotavaṇṇāni aṭṭhīṇi bhavaṁti, āsaṁdīpaṁcamā purisā gāmaṁ paccāgacchaṁti.

(c) Sanskrit (*Bhela-saṁhitā*, old prose text): Sa yadā bhedaṁ gacchati tad-āpaḥ ap-kāyameva yānti, vāyur vāyukāyaṁ,

tejaḥ tejaḥkāyaṁ pṛthivī pṛthivī-kāyaṁ, ākās'am ākās'a-kāyaṁ iti. Tadā raso rasa-kāyaṁ indriyaṁ, indriya-kāyaṁ bhajate.

(d) Their common literary background (*Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, III. 2. 13) : Yatrāsya puruṣasya mṛtasyāgniṁ vāg-apyeti vātaṁ prāṇas' cakṣur ādityaṁ manas' candraṁ dis'aḥ s'rotraṁ pṛthivīṁ s'ariaṁ ākās'am ātmauṣadhīr lomāni vanaspatīn kes'ā apsu lohitaṁ ca retas' ca nidhīyate kvāyaṁ tadā puruṣo bhavatī ti ?

This is only one of the multitude of instances that may be cited. You will excuse a personal reference when I say that one of the best endeavours of my life has been to establish that Buddhism, Jainism and other so-called anti-Brahmanical movements of thought were in different ways only a continuation of the brilliant ideas, half poetical half philosophical, which found their most striking expression in the Upaniṣads. And yet I have succeeded in showing only in a fragmentary way that many of the Pāli dialogues are nothing but elaborations of passages from the Upaniṣads. It must indeed be admitted that so far as the development of Indian languages is concerned, the chronological table suggested by Rhys Davids, my *guru*, is still the best guide.

In Senart's expert opinion, the early Indian inscriptions 'at no time, either in spelling or in vocabulary, present us with a faithful picture of any vernacular,' and 'the degree in which they become more and more nearly allied to Sanskrit, is a curious and interesting barometer by which we can gauge the approach of the impending revolution in politics, religion, and literature.'

But please allow me to observe that although either Vedic Sanskrit, Pāli, Ardha-Māgadhī, the different forms of mixed Sanskrit in Buddhist literature, or various Prākṛts of the inscriptions, coin-legends, dramas, epics and lyrics can no longer be wholly identified with any of the actual dialects then locally current, yet when each of them started as a literary language, it did start from a stage where its approximation to or connection with some current dialect was of a close nature. But with the progress of literary processes in each, it appeared as an island in a river of dialects, and the islands themselves thus formed from time to time came to follow a connected system, each with its own continuity and characteristics and exertion of influence over the spoken dialects that are more or less fluid. Through

continued processes of action and reaction and mutual influences amongst the literary languages and the regional dialects and between literary languages and spoken dialects, it is easy to understand that while the tendency of the spoken dialect is to create a Tower of Babel between men and men, the service rendered by literary languages has been to increase the degree of intelligibility through human speech and widen the province of human understanding.

Winternitz has so ably demonstrated the wealth and variety of Jaina contributions to Indian literature, as to preclude anyone else from dwelling upon the point. As regards Pāli, its *Vinaya* and *Abhidhamma* texts and commentaries, yet imperfectly studied and understood, constitute together an ocean of method (*nayasāgara*) and a large store-house of vocabulary of Āryaṇ speech.

I need not repeat the oft-quoted verse of Rājas'ekhara claiming as it does the superiority of Prākṛit poetry over Sanskrit in respect of sweetness of diction, elegance and exquisiteness. There may, however, be room for dispute over this, but as regards prose style, the grand models afforded by the Pāli *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*, the *Jātakas* and the *Milinda-panha* stand unrivalled. The royal panegyrics in Sanskrit of which we have abundant quantities from the Gupta period onwards are generally laboured and stereotyped and compare unfavourably in sobriety and good sense with their earlier prototypes in Prākṛts, the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela in particular, which is almost on a par, in style and diction, with the prose of the Pāli *Milindapanha*.

All Buddhist traditions, earlier and later, assign to the Pāli Canon a paramount position in Buddhist literature in respect of its antiquity, authority, authenticity and quality of diction. Other recensions came into existence afterwards with certain alterations, minor or major, effected by various schools of so-called Schismatics, each in its own way as stated in the *Dīpavaṁsa*. The truth of this tradition, emphasized by Mr. S. N. Mitra and Dr. B. C. Law, is confirmed by the degrees of variations, textual and linguistic, in one and the same text, *e.g.*, the *Dhammapada*, in its successive recensions culminating in Sanskrit. And without being dogmatic I may point out that all attempts to establish that there were recensions of the Canon even earlier than the one in Pāli have so far sadly failed. The evidence of As'oka's inscriptions does not disprove the pre-existence

of the Pāli texts, although one may with slight modification accept the pregnant suggestion of Dr. Luders that old Ardha-Māgadhī (not to call it Māgadhī) held the field in the centuries before Christ and was probably 'the foundation of Pāli.' It would, I think, be historically more correct to say that some form of conversational dialect agreeing in its main features with Ardha-Māgadhī and the language of As'oka's inscriptions excluding those of Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra and partly those of Girnar, constituted a literary vehicle of expression for the wealth of religious thoughts of the Jainas, Ājīvikas, and others, as old and archaic as Pāli in its beginning, if not somewhat older and more archaic than the latter, and both developed side by side with Sanskrit and had passed through at least two stages, first, more archaic but less technical, and second, less archaic but more technical, before they became elegant and appealing, classical and scholastic.

In taking a bird's eye view of Prākṛts, it has not been possible for me to mention the names of all the writers, ancient or modern. But it may be hoped that those whom I have mentioned are enough to indicate that the labours of individual workers have already produced a wonderful result of national and international importance. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee with his far-reaching vision of a new Nālandā gave a stimulus to the study of all aspects of Indology by the Indians themselves, which has called up research activities in all Indian Universities. I am glad to note that the All-India Oriental Conference which is an institution with the set purpose of recording the progress of those activities from year to year, has at last found it expedient to allot a section to Ardha-Māgadhī and other Prākṛts. I sincerely hope that from the next session of this Conference Pāli, too, will be given a distinct place which it pre-eminently deserves.

KAṀSAVAHO, A PRĀKṚT KĀVYA

By Prof. A. N. Upadhye, M.A., D. Lit.,
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Though listed by Oppert and mentioned by Aufrecht in the last quarter of the 19th century, *Kaṁsavaho* of Rāmapāṇivāda has not attracted the attention of oriental scholars. Recently a MS. of it from the Madras Oriental Library is described in '*A Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts* VI, i.'

As far as I know, only two complete MSS. of this work have been accessible, though two more incomplete ones are found in Malabar. The Prākṛt Text in both the MSS. is accompanied by a Sanskrit *Chāyā*: whether it is added by the author himself or by some later hand cannot be decided at present. Both the MSS. are full of corrupt readings that baffle the editor like anything.

The work is divided into four cantos and contains 234 verses in different classical metres. Though the slaying of Kaṁsa is the central theme, the other details of Kṛṣṇa's life are added by the bye. The author mainly draws his material from *Bhāgavata*, and *S'is'upālavadha* is the classical ideal before him. The style is dignified, though Sanskrit-ridden; and it reminds us that of Rājas'ekhara. The author very often exhibits the real merits of a classical poet. In various ways the work is unique in the history of Prākṛt Literature.

Rāmapāṇivāda hails from Malabar, and he flourished at the beginning of the 18th century A.D. He was a voluminous writer both in Sanskrit and Malayāḷam. He has to his credit a Prākṛt grammar as well. Among the Keraḷa poets he ranks only next to S'rī S'aṅkarācārya.

I have on hand a critical edition of this important work with English translation etc., and it would be out soon.

REMNANTS OF THE JAINA S'RUTĀṄGA DIṬṬHIVĀDA

By H. L. Jain, M.A., LL.B.,
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1. Traditions About the Aṅgas

According to the unanimous tradition of both, the Digambara as well as the S'vetāmbara Jainas, the teachings of the last Tīrthaṃkara Mahāvīra were arranged into twelve books called Aṅgas, and they were handed down by word of mouth from preceptor to pupil till they began to fall into oblivion. But as to the subsequent history of the Aṅgas, the two accounts differ. The S'vetāmbaras hold that the canon of the Aṅgas was successively settled during the second, the sixth and the tenth century after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra, by congregations of Monks at Pāṭaliputra,[1] Mathurā[2] and Vallabhi,[3] under Sthūlabhadra, Skandilācārya and Devardhigaṇi respectively, and that the forty-five books now current as Āgamas were the result of the labours of the last congregation. The Twelfth Aṅga *Diṭṭhivāda* was, however, irretrievably lost and what had remained of it was only the table of contents found in the various books of the restored canon.

This tradition the Digambaras do not accept. According to them the whole of the original canon was lost and what had remained of it was only fragmentary knowledge of the subject-matter which has been reproduced by subsequent writers in their own language. The only works which may be said to be directly associated with the canon were preserved in what were popularly known as Dhavala, Mahādhavala and Jayadhavala Siddhāntas. Of these works, however,

[1] Haribhadra Sūri, *Upades'apada*.
[2] *Nandisūtra Cūrṇi*
[3] Samayasundra Gaṇi, *Sāmācārī s'ataka*.

a single manuscript was known to exist in Kanarese script on palm leaves at the Jaina pontifical seat of Muḍabidri in South Kanarā. For the last several centuries these MSS. had been used only for worship and they were not available for study. It was only during the last twenty years that transcripts of two of them *i.e.* the first and the third, had become available, and the information given here was the result of the examination of those transcripts in connection with the edition of the same which the present writer has undertaken.

2. How Fragments of Diṭṭhivāda Were Saved from Oblivion

An examination of the Dhavala Siddhānta MS. shows that it consists of Sūtras in Prākṛt and a very extensive commentary, in Prākṛt alternating with Sanskrit, in the nature of a Bhāṣya, in which are found many verses, mostly Prākṛt, quoted from older writers. This commentary has been called Dhavalā by its author Vīrasena who reveals himself in the Pras'asti as the disciple of Elācārya and also a pupil of Āryanandi the disciple of Candrasena, belonging to the Pañcastūpa line of teachers and completing the commentary on the 13th day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in S'aka year 738 (equivalent to the 8th October 816 A.D.) when Jagattuṅga deva's reign had come to an end and Boddaṇarāya was ruling. These kings I identify with Govinda III and his successor Amoghavarṣa I of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty.[1]

This commentary, in its introductory part, gives information about the composition of the original Sūtras as follows:

The teachings of Lord Mahāvīra were arranged into twelve Aṅgas by his pupil Indrabhūti Gautama and they were handed down from preceptor to pupil through a line of twenty eight Ācāryas. But the knowledge was ever decreasing and what the last of the Ācāryas, Loharya, knew in full was only the first Aṅga. After him only fragments of the Aṅgas were known to Dharasena who practised austerities at Girinagara in Saurāṣṭra (modern Kāthiāwār). He felt the necessity of preserving the knowledge and so he wrote a letter on the subject to the monks of southern India who had assembled at Mahima (probably Mahimā-nagarh in the Satara district). The latter sent two

[1] *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, Vol. I, Intro. p. 35 ff.

monks from the banks of the Benna in the Āndhra country, and Dharasena, after satisfying himself as to the capacity of the monks to learn, taught to them the grantha. These two monks came to be known as Pupphayanta (Puṣpadanta) and Bhūdabali (Bhūtabali), and they reduced the knowledge to writing in the form of the Sūtras upon which the commentary *Dhavalā* has been written. The contribution of Puṣpadanta was the first one hundred and seventy-seven Sūtras while all the rest of them were composed by Bhūtabali.[1]

3. Period of Restoration

As regards the time of the composition of the Sūtras the commentary helps us to this extent only that it gives the list of Ācāryas upto the twenty-eighth succession from Mahāvīra, records their period of time which comes to 683 years and declares that Dharasena lived sometime after that. But how long after is not made clear. Other succession lists also record the same period, but one of them, the Prākṛt Paṭṭāvali of Nandi Saṃgha, differs from them all materially in recording the time of each Ācārya separately, in extending the list to four more Ācāryas amongst whom are included our Dharasena, Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali and in showing them to have flourished between 614 and 683 years after Mahāvīra. The times mentioned here in and the account of the gradual disappearance of the Aṅgas appear to be more reasonable. The time given for Dharasena is in agreement with that of another independent authority the *Bṛhat-ṭippaṇikā* which attributes a work by name *Jonipāhuḍa* to Dharasena and assigns it to 600 years after Vīra Nirvāṇa. The time of the composition of the Sūtras thus falls, according to the traditional reckoning of Vīra Nirvāṇa, between 87 and 156 A.D.[2]

4. Commentaries on the Restored Texts

Yet another authority has preserved for us an account of the commentaries that were written from time to time on the Sacred Sūtras. This authority is the *S'rutāvatāra*.[3] The time of its composition is

[1] *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, Vol. I, text and trans. p. 65 ff; Intro. p. 13 ff.
[2] *ibid.*, p. 35.
[3] Maṇikacandra D. J. *Granthamālā*. No. 13, pp. 74-89.

not definitely settled, but one conjecture identifies its author Indranandi with the Indranandi Guru mentioned in the *Gommaṭasāra*.[1] This makes *S'rutāvatāra* a work not later than the eleventh century A.D. The details preserved in this work about the composition of the Sūtras are substantially the same as those recorded in the commentary of Vīrasena. There is yet another circumstance that shows the work to be reliable. The author, when he speaks about the place of Dharasena in the succession list of Ācāryas boldly confesses that "he does not know it because he came across no book or teacher declaring the same."[2] This shows that where the author is informative he relies on some tradition oral or written and not merely on his own imagination.

Indranandi gives some details of five commentaries written upon the Sūtras before Vīrasena. The first of these was called Parikarma. Its extent was twelve thousand s'lokas and its author was Kundakundācārya, the celebrated author of several Prākṛt works. We find numerous references to Parikarma in the *Dhavalā* itself and the quotations given from it are all in Prākṛt. This shows that the commentary was written in Prākṛt. The time of Kundakundācārya is about the second century A.D. There seems to be no reason to doubt about the statement of Indranandi. The second commentary mentioned by Indranandi is *Paddhati* by S'āmakuṇḍa, also equal to twelve thousand s'lokas in extent. The third is *Cūḍāmaṇi* by Tumbulūrācārya in Kanarese, and as extensive as ninety-one thousand s'lokas. The fourth is ascribed to Samantabhadra, a celebrated name in Jaina literature. This is said to have been written in "very beautiful and tender Sanskrit," to the extent of forty-eight thousand s'lokas. The fifth commentary was the *Vyākhyāprajñapti* by Bappadeva Guru in Prākṛt equal to seventy-three thousand s'lokas in extent. It was written at Maganavalli near Utkalikā, a village situated between the rivers Bhīmarathi and Kṛṣṇamekha. Indranandi also tells us that Vīrasena had this commentary before him when he wrote the *Dhavalā* and this is borne out by the fact that we find references to and quotations from it in the commentary of Vīrasena. The details given by Indranandi about the locality where Bappadeva wrote may be taken to indicate that he was more closely acquainted with this work than

[1] Manikacandra D. J. *Granthamālā*. No. 13, Intro. p. 2.

[2] *ibid.*, text p. 85, verse 151.

with the others, and that he may not have been separated too long from him. Though the time of these commentators is uncertain, we would not be far wrong in separating them from each other by a century and assigning them to the third, fourth, fifth and sixth century respectively.[1]

Unfortunately, however, all these commentaries are at present mere names to us, except so far as we can find traces of some of them in the commentaries of Vīrasena. But it is not unlikely that some of them are still reposing in some manuscript store of the Deccan which has proved itself so pregnant with such treasures, awaiting the hand and the eye of the explorer, even as the *Dhavalā* itself had remained locked up for centuries at Muḍabidri.

5. VARIATIONS IN THE TEXTS AND DOGMAS, AND THE LANGUAGE OF THE SŪTRAS

Even a peep into the *Dhavalā* is enough to give us a glimpse of the wealth and richness of the literature that Vīrasena had before him. He had to deal with several different readings found in the several Sūtra books (Sutta-potthaesu) that he had before him and the varying interpretations put upon them by earlier writers and teachers. These he frequently quotes, refutes or supports or leaves the question open for the verdict of those " who might know better than himself." Of a particular interest are his references to the dogmas of two different schools of thought which he calls the northern and the southern, he himself identifying with the latter. He also mentions and quotes from several authors and works that are otherwise unknown to us for example, *Sārasaṃgraha* of Pūjyapāda, *Chedasutta*, *Kammapavāda* and *Dasakaraṇī-saṃgraha* and *Jonipāhuḍa*.[2]

As regards the language of the Sūtras, the technical terminology is almost wholly Ardhamāgadhi as also many other forms. For the rest, the phonology and morphology is predominantly S'aurasenī but exhibiting signs of Mahārāṣṭrī influence. Thus, we may say that the back ground of the language of the Sūtras is Ardhamāgadhī, the general structure is S'aurasenī and there is a superimposition of Mahārāṣṭrī. How Mahārāṣṭrism may have developed in the language

[1] *ante* p. 87 ff; *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, Vol. I, Intro. p. 46 ff.

[2] *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, Vol. I, Intro. p. 53 ff.

might be illustrated here. There are several verses of Prākṛt quoted by Vīrasena in his commentary from earlier writers. Many of these verses recur in the *Gommaṭasāra* of Nemicandra which was based upon the work of Vīrasena, and some of those verses appear in the latter work in a strikingly Mahārāṣtricized form. Not only this, but the contrary phenomenon is also discernible. Some verses in the *Gommaṭasāra* retain the Sauraseni traits while they appear in a Mahārāṣṭricized form in the manuscript of *Dhavalā*. From this it appears probable that the latter traits may have been imparted by the copyists. It is, however, difficult to say definitely at present how far the Mahārāṣṭrī influence was originally in the Sūtras and how far it may have been developed later.[1]

6. EXTENT OF DIṬṬHIVĀDA AND RELATION TO IT OF THE ṢAṬKHAṆḌĀGAMA

The most interesting part of the commentary is that it gives us details of the extent of the twelfth Aṅga *Diṭṭhivāda* and indicates clearly what part of it has been reproduced in the present Sūtras. *Diṭṭhivāda* consisted of five parts, the fourth of which was called Pūrvagata. Pūrvagata, again, contained fourteen sections the second of which was known as Āgrāyaṇīpūrva. Of the fourteen sub-sections of Āgrāyaṇīpūrva, the fifth was Cayanalabdhi which itself contained twenty books called Pāhuḍas. Amongst them the fourth was *Kamma-payaḍi-pāhuḍa* the twenty-four topics of which from the subject matter of the Sūtras and the commentary we are dealing with. Only one small section of the work is based upon the fifth Aṅga *Viyāhapaṇṇatti.*

The work of Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali has been called by Vīrasena *Chakkhaṇḍa siddhānta* and it acquired subsequently the popular title of *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*. The names of the six khaṇḍas are Jivaṭṭhāṇa, Khuddābandha, Bandha-sāmitta-vicaya, Vedanā, Vaggaṇā and Mahābandha. Their subject-matter is Karma philosophy which is dealt with in the first three khaṇḍas from the point of view of the soul which is the agent of the bondage, and in the last three khaṇḍas from the point of view of the objective karmas, their nature and extent. On this twofold division of the subject matter of this Āgama were based the two parts of *Gommaṭasāra* of Nemicandra

[1] *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, Vol, I, Intro. p. 78 ff.

Siddhānta-cakravarti, namely the Jīvakāṇḍa and the Karmakāṇḍa. The first five khaṇḍas are said to contain six thousand Sūtras and these together with the commentary *Dhavalā* of Vīrasena which is said to be Seventy-two thousand s'lokas in extent, is popularly known as the Dhavala Siddhānta. The extent of the sixth khaṇḍa is said to be thirty or forty thousand s'lokas and it is entirely the work of Bhūtabalī himself. It is this khaṇḍa, *i.e.*, the Mahābandha that is popularly known as *Mahādhavala*. The only surviving manuscript of it still reposes in the sanctuary of Muḍabidri Jaina temple.[1]

Yet another teacher by name Guṇadharācārya is responsible for the preservation of another portion of the *Diṭṭhivāda*, about the same time as Dharasena. Of the fourteen Pūrvas the fifth was known as Jñānapravāda consisting of twelve vastus or subjects. Of the twenty Pāhuḍas included in the tenth Vastu, the third was called Pejjadosa-pāhuḍa, and it is this Pāhuḍa that was preserved by Guṇadharācārya in 180 Gāthās under the name of Kasāya Pāhuḍa. The commentary written by Vīrasena and his pupil Jinasena on this work is sixty thousand s'lokas and is called Jayadhavalā. This work is popularly known as *Jayadhavalā* Siddhānta.

The information given in these works as to their origin shows the vast extent of the Aṅga literature in general and of the twelfth Aṅga in particular, and they afford us a peep into the subject matter of the lost *Diṭṭhivāda*. A fuller scrutiny of their contents is yet to be carried out and it is likely to throw considerable light upon the mystery of the name Pūrva or Pūrvagata and the story of their disappearance. In this connection it is noteworthy that the S'vetāmbara Jainas have preserved versions of the first eleven Aṅgas but take the twelfth Aṅga to be entirely lost. The eleven Aṅgas are disowned by the Digambara school which, however, has scrupulously preserved the above men-ioned portions of the twelfth Aṅga unknown to the Svetāmbaras. The two traditions, thus, inscrutably seem to complement each other.[2]

Prof. B. M. Barua, the President of this Section put on record the following:

"Professor Hiralal Jain who has been editing the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* with the commentaries and already published the first volume is a scholar who has a first-hand knowledge of this important work of the Digambara Jainas. His paper eminently deserves to be published in the Proceedings of the Conference, although I would request Professor Jain to append to his interesting paper. The table of Contents of the Dṛṣṭivāda as given in the Ṭhānaṃga and that gathered from the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* or its commentaries."

—EDITOR.

[1] *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, Vol. I, Intro. p. 63 ff.

[2] *ante*, p. 71 ff.

REMNANTS OF THE 12TH JAINA S'RUTĀṄGA DIṬṬHIVĀDA

APPENDIX

A Comparative Table of the Contents of Diṭṭhivāda

As Gathered from Nandī Sūtra	As Gathered from Dhavalā and Jaya-Dhavalā
Five main divisions of *Diṭṭhivāda*.	Five main divisions of *Diṭṭhivāda*.
१. परिकम्म[1]	१. परिकम्म[1]
२. सुत्त	२. सुत्त
३. पुव्वगय	३. पढमाणिओग
४. अणुओग	४. पुव्वगय
५. चूलिया	५. चूलिया
Seven subdivisions of *Parikamma*.[2]	Five subdivisions of *Parikamma*.[2]
१. सिद्धसेणिआ	१. चंद-पण्णत्ती
२. मणुस्ससेणिआ	२. सूर-पण्णत्ती
३. पुट्ठ-सेणिआ	३. जंबूदीव-पण्णत्ती
४. ओगाढ-सेणिआ	४. दीवसायर-पण्णत्ती

[1] तत्र परिकर्म नाम योग्यतापादनम् । तद्धेतुः शास्त्रमपि परिकर्म । (नंदीसूत्रटीका).

[2] Jainas (चउक्कनढीक) recognized only the first six, while the seventh was recognized only by the Ājivakas (तेरासिय).

छ-चउक्कनइआइं । सत्ततेरासिआइं सेत्तं परिकम्मे । (नंदीसूत्र).

[1] परितः सर्वतः कर्माणि गणितकरणसूत्राणि यस्मिन् तत् परिकर्म । (गोम्मटसारटीका).

[2] The first three of these appear as the 7th, 5th and 6th Upāṅgas respectively (see, Winternitz, *Hist Ind. Lit.*, II, p. 456 ff.).

५. उवसंपज्जण-सेणिआ
६. विप्पजहण-सेणिआ
७. चुआचुअ सेणिआ

Fourteen subsections of *Siddha-seṇiā.*

१. माउगापयाइं
२. एगट्ठिअपयाइं
३. अट्ठपयाइं
४. पाढोआमासपयाइं
५. केउभूअं
६. रासिबद्धं
७. एगगुणं
८. दुगुणं
९. तिगुणं
१०. केडभूअं
११. पडिग्गहो
१२. संसारपडिग्गहो
१३. नंदावत्तं
१४. सिद्धावत्तं

Fourteen subsections of *Maṇussa-seṇiā.*

१—१३ same as above.

१४. मणुस्सावत्तं

Eleven subsections of *Puṭṭha-seṇiā.*

१—१० same as above, leaving out the first three.

११. पुट्ठावत्तं

५. वियाह-पण्णत्ती

Contents of *Candapaṇṇatti.*

चंदपण्णत्ती छत्तीसलक्खपंचपदसहस्सेहिं (३६०५०००) चंदायु-परिवारिद्धि-गइ-बिंबुस्सेह-वण्णणं कुणइ ।

Contents of *Sūrapaṇṇatti.*

सूरपण्णत्ती पंचलक्खतिण्णिसहस्सेहिं (५०३०००) सूरस्सायुभोगोवभोग-परिवारिद्धिगइ-बिंबुस्सेह-दिणकिरणुज्जोव-वण्णणं कुणइ ।

Contents of *Jambūdiva-paṇṇatti.*

जंबूदीवपण्णत्ती तिण्णिलक्खपंचवीस-पदसहस्सेहिं (३२५०००) जंबूदीवे णाणाविहमणुयाणं भोग-कम्म-भूमियाणं अण्णेसिं च पव्वद-दह-णइ-वेइयाणं वस्सावासाकट्टिम-जिणहरादीणं वण्णणं कुणइ ।

Contents of *Dīvasāyara-paṇṇatti.*

दीवसायरपण्णत्ती वावण्णलक्खछत्तीस-पदसहस्सेहिं (५२३६०००) उद्धार-पल्लपमाणेण दीवसायरपमाणं अण्णं पि दीवसायरंतब्भूदत्थं बहुभेयं वण्णेदि ।

Contents of *Viyāhapaṇṇatti.*

वियाहपण्णत्तीणाय चउरासीदिलक्ख-छत्तीसपदराहस्सेहि (८४३६००) रूवि-

Eleven subsections of *Ogāḍha-seṇiā.*

१—१० same as above.

११. ओगाढावत्तं

Eleven subsections of *Uvasaṃ-pajjaṇaseṇiā.*

१—१० Same as above.

११ उवसंपज्जणावत्तं

Eleven subsections of *Vippaja-haṇaseṇiā.*

१—१० same as above.

११ विप्पजहणावत्तं

Eleven subsections of *Cuācua-seṇiā.*

१—१० same as above.

११ चुआचुआवत्तं

Eighty-eight sub-divisions of *Sutta.*

१. उज्जुसुयं
२. परिणयापरिणयं
३. बहुभंगिअं
४. विजयचरियं
५. अणंतरं
६. परंपरं
७. मासाणं
८. संजूहं
९. संभिण्णं
१०. आहव्वायं

अजीवदव्वं अरूविअजीवदव्वं भवसिद्धिय-अभवसिद्धिय-रासिं च वण्णेदि।

Contents of *Sutta.*

सुत्तं अट्ठासीदिलक्खपदेहि (८८०००००) अबंधओ, अवलेवओ, अकत्ता, अभोत्ता, णिग्गुणो, सव्वगओ, अणुमेत्तो, णत्थिजीवो, जीवोचेव अत्थि, पुढविआदीणं समुदएण जीवो उप्पज्जइ, णिच्चेयणो, णाणेणविणा, सचेयणो, णिच्चो, अणिच्चो, अप्पेति वण्णेति। तेरासियं णियदिवादं विण्णाणवादं सद्दवादं पहाण-वादं दव्ववादं पुरिसवादं च वण्णेदि। उत्तं च—अट्ठासी अहियारेसु चउण्ह-महियाराणमत्थिणिद्देसथ। पढमो अबंध-

११. सोवत्थिअवत्तं
१२. नंदावत्तं
१३. बहुलं
१४. पुट्ठापुट्ठं
१५. विआवत्तं
१६. एवंभूअं
१७. दुयावत्तं
१८. वत्तमाणप्पयं
१९. समभिरूढं
२०. सव्वओभद्दं
२१. पस्सासं
२२. दुप्पडिग्गहं

The above 22 suttas are of four kinds[1] each—

१. छिन्नछेअनइआणि
२. अछिन्नछेअनइआणि
३. तिग-णइयाणि
४. चउक्क-णइयाणि

Thus the Suttas are $22 \times 4 = 88$.

याणं विदियो तेरासियाण बोद्धव्वो। तदियो य णियइपक्खे हवइचउत्थो ससमयम्मि[1] ।

[1] The first and fourth kinds were admitted by the Jainas while the remaining two kinds were according to the Ājīvakas—

इच्चेइयाइं वावीसं सुत्ताइं छिन्नछेदनइआणि ससमयसुत्तपरिवाडीए, इच्चेइयाइं वावीसं सुत्ताइं अछिन्नछेअनइआणि आजीविअसुत्तपरिवाडीए। इच्चेइआइं वावीसंसुत्ताइं तिग-णइयाणि तेरासिअसुत्तपरिवाडीए इच्चेइआइं वावीसइं सुत्ताइं चउक्कनइआणि ससमयसुत्तपरिवाडीए। एवमेव सपुव्वावरेणं अट्ठासीइ सुत्ताइं भवंतीति मक्खायं। (नंदीसूत्र)

[1] सुत्ते अट्ठासीदि अत्थाहियारा, ण तेसिं णामाणि जाणिज्जंति, संपहि विसिट्ठुवएसामावादो। (जयधवला).

Fourteen divisions of *Pūrvagaya.*

१. उप्पाय (१० वत्थू+४चूलिआ)

२. अग्गाणीयं (१४ वत्थू+१२ चूलिआ)

३. वीरिअं (८वत्थू+८ चूलिआ)

४. अत्थिणत्थिप्पवायं (१८+१०)

५. नाणप्पवायं (१२ वत्थू)

६. सच्चप्पवायं (२ ,,)

७. आयप्पवायं (१६ ,,)

८. कम्मप्पवायं (३० ,,)

९. पच्चक्खाणप्पवायं (२० वत्थू)

१०. विज्जाणुप्पवायं (१५ वत्थू)

११. अवंझं (१२ वत्थू)

१२. पाणाऊ (१३ वत्थू)

१३. किरिआविसालं (३० वत्थू)

१४. लोकविंदुसारं (१५ वत्थू)

Fourteen divisions of *Pūrvagaya.*

१. उप्पाद (१० वत्थू[1])

२. अग्गेणियं (१४ ,,)

३. वीरियाणुपवादं (८ ,,)

४. अत्थिणत्थिपवादं (१८ ,,)

५. णाणपवादं (१२ ,,)

६. सच्चपवाद (१२ ,,)

७. आदपवादं (१६ ,,)

८. कम्मपवादं (२० ,,)

९. पच्चकरवाण (३० ,,)

१०. विज्जाणुवादं (१५ ,,)

११. कल्लाणवादं (१० ,,)

१२. पाणावायं (१० ,,)

१३. किरियाविसालं (१० ,,)

१४. लोकबिंदुसारं (१० ,,)

CONTENTS OF THE FOURTEEN PŪRVAS

१. उप्पादपुव्वं जीव-काल-पोग्गलाणमुप्पाद-वय-धुवत्तं वण्णेइ ।

२. अग्गेणियं अंगाणमग्गं वण्णेइ ।

३. वीरियाणुपवादं अप्पविरियं पर-

[1] Each वत्थू of every Purva is said to have been further divided into twenty Pāhuḍas.

एक्केक्कं छिय वत्थू वीसं वीसं च पाहुडा भणिदा ।
विसम समा हिय वत्थू सव्वे पुण पाहुडेहि समा ।
(धवला)

Thus the total number of *Vatthus* in the 14 Purvas was 195, and of their *Pāhuḍas* 3900.

विरियं उभयविरियं खेत्तविरियं भवविरियं तवविरियं वण्णेइ ।

४. अत्थिणत्थिपवादं जीवाजीवाणं अत्थिणत्थित्तं वण्णेदि ।

५. णाणपवादं पंचणाणाणि तिण्णि अण्णाणाणि वण्णेदि ।

६. सच्चपवादं-वाग्गुप्तिः वाव-संस्कार-कारणं प्रयोगो द्वादशधाभाषा वक्तारश्च अनेकप्रकारं मृषाभिधानं दशप्रकारश्च-सत्यसद्भावो यत्र निरूपितस्तत्सत्यप्रवादम् ।

७. आदपवादं आदं वण्णेदि वेदेत्तिवा विण्हुत्ति वा भोत्तेत्ति वा बुद्धेत्ति वा इच्चादिसरुवेण ।

८. कम्मपवादं अट्ठविंह कम्मं वण्णेदि ।

९. पच्चक्खाणं दव्व-भाव-परिमिया-परिमिय-पच्चक्खाणं उववासविहिं पंच समिदीओ तिण्णि गुत्तीओ च परूवेदि ।

१०. विज्जाणुवादं अंगुष्ठप्रसेनादीनां अल्पविद्यानां सप्तशतानि रोहिण्यादीनां महाविद्यानां पञ्चशतानि अन्तरिक्ष-भौमाङ्गस्वर-स्वप्न-लक्षण-व्यंजनछिन्नान्यष्टौ महानिमित्तानि च कथयति ।

११. कलाणं रवि-शशि-नक्षत्र-तारा-गणानां चारोपपाद-गति विपर्ययफलानि शकुन - व्याहृतमर्हद्बलदेव - वासुदेव - चक्रधरादीनां गर्भावतरणादिमहाकल्याणानि च कथयति ।

१२. पाणावायं कायचिकित्साद्यष्टांगमायुर्वेदं भूतिकर्मजांगुलिप्रक्रमं प्राणापानविभागं च विस्तरेण कथयति ।

१३. किरियाविसालं लेखादिकाः द्वासप्ततिकलाः स्त्रैणाँश्चतुःषष्टिगुणान् शिल्पानि काव्यगुणदोषक्रियां छन्दोविचितिक्रियां च कथयति ।

१४. लोकबिन्दुसारं अष्टौ व्यवहारान् चत्वारि बीजानि मोक्षगमनक्रियाः मोक्षसुखं च कथयति ।

Two divisions of *Aṇuoga*.

१. मूलपढमाणुओग
२. गंणिआणुओग

Contents of *Mūla-paḍha-māṇuoga*.

अरहंताणं भगवंताणं पुव्वभवा देवगमणाइं आउंचवणाइं जम्मणाइं अभिसेआ रायवरसिरीओ पव्वज्जावो तवा य उग्गा केवलनाणुप्पयाओ तित्थपवत्तणाणि सीसा गणा गणहरा अज्जपवत्तिणीओ संघस्स चउव्विहस्स जं च परिमाणं जिण मणपज्जव ओहिनाणी सम्मत्तसुअनाणिणो वाई अणुत्तरगई उत्तरवेउव्विण्णो मुणिणो जत्तिआ सिद्धा सिद्धीवहो जहदेसिओ जच्चिरंच कालं पाओवगया जे जेहिं जत्तियाई भत्ताइं छेइत्ता अंतगडे मुणिवरुत्तमे तमरओघविप्पमुक्के मुक्खसुहमणुत्तरं च पत्ते

Contents of *Paḍha-māṇioga*.

पढमाणिओए चउवीस अत्थाहियारा तित्थयरपुराणेसु सव्वपुराणाणमंतब्भावादो (जयधवला) पढमाणियोगो पंच सहस्सपदेहि(५०००)पुराणं वण्णेदि । उत्तं च

वारसविहं पुराणं जं दिट्ठं जिणवरेहि सव्वेहिं । तं सव्वं वण्णेदि हु जिणवंसे रायवंसेय ॥ १ ॥ पढमो अरहंताणं विदियो पुण चक्कवट्टिवंसोदु । विज्जाहराण तदियो चउत्थओ वासुदेवाणं ॥ २ ॥ चारणवंसोतह पंचमोदु छट्ठो य पण्णसमणाणं । सत्तमओ कुरुवंसो अट्ठमओ तहय हरिवंसो ॥ ३ ॥ णवमो य इक्खयाणं दसमो विय कासियाण बोद्धव्वो । वाईणेक्कारसमो बारसमो णाहवंसो दु ॥ ४ ॥

एवमन्ने अ एवमाइभावा मूलपदमाणुओगे-
कहिआ ।

Contents of *Gaṇḍiāṇuoga.*

गंडिआणुओगे कुलगरतित्थयर-चक्क-वट्टि-दसार-बलदेव-वासुदेव-गणधर-भद्दबाहु-तवोक्कम-हरिवंस-उस्सप्पिणी-चित्तंतर-अमरनर-तिरिय-निरय-गइ-गमणविविहपरियट्टणेसु एवमाइआओ गंडिआओ आघविज्जंति पण्णविज्जंति ।

Contents of the Cūliās. These are the Cūlias of the first four Puvvas which number 4+12+8+10=34.

Five divisions of *Cūliās* and their contents.

१. **जलगया** जलगमण-जलत्थंमण-कारण-मंत-तंत-तपच्छरणाणि वण्णेदि ।

२. **थलगया** भूमिगमण-कारण-मंत-तंत-तवच्छरणाणि वत्थुविज्जं भूमिसंबंधमण्णं पि सुहासुह-कारणं वण्णेदि ।

३. **मायागया**-इंदजालंवण्णेदि

४. **रूवगया**-सीह-हयहरिणादि-रूवायारेण परिणमण-हेदु-मंत-तंत-तवच्छरणाणि चित्त-कट्ठ-लेप्प-लेणकम्मादि-लक्खणं च वण्णेदि ।

५. **आयासगया**-आगास-गमण-णिमित्त-मंत तंत तवच्छरणाणि वण्णेदि[1] ।

Contents of the second Puvva *Aggeṇiyaṃ* and the portions that are found preserved in the work recently brought to light popularly known as *Dhavala Siddhānta.*

[1] The number of padas in each Cūlikā is said to be 20989200.

The Fourteen *Vatthus* of *Aggeṇiyam*.

1. पुव्वंत, 2. अवरंत, 3. ध्रुव, 4. अद्धुव, 5. चयणलद्धी, 6. अद्धुवम, 7. पणिधिकप्प, 8. अट्ठ, 9. भौम्म, 10. वयादिय, 11. सव्वट्ठ, 12. कप्प-णिज्जाण. 13. अतीदसिद्धबद्ध, 14. अणागय-सिद्ध-बद्ध.

Of the twenty Pāhuḍas of the fifth Vatthu *Cayaṇaladdhi* the fourth Pāhuḍa was called *Kamma-payaḍi-Pāhuḍa* and its twenty-four adhikāras are dealt with in the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* and its commentary *Dhavalā*.

The contents of the twenty-four adhikāras are as follows :

१. **कदि**—कदीए ओरालिय-वेडव्विय-तेजाहार-कम्म-इय-सरीराणं संघा-दण-परिसादण कदीओ भव-पढमापढम-चरिमम्मि ट्ठिद-जीवाणं कदि-णोकदि-अवत्तव्व-संखाओ च परूविज्जंति ।

२. **वेदणा**—वेदणाए कम्म-पोग्गलाणं वेदणा-सण्णिदाणं वेदण-णिक्खे-वादि-सोलसेहि अणिओगद्दारेहि परुवणा कीरदे ।

३. **पास**—पासणिओद्दारम्मि कम्म-पोग्गलाणं णाणावरणादिभेएण अट्ठभेदमुवगयाणं फास-गुण-संबंधेण पत्त-फासणीमाण-पासणिक्खेवादि सोलसेहि अणियोगद्दारेहि परूवणा कीरदे ।

४. **कम्म**—कम्मेत्ति अणिओगद्दारे पोग्गलाणं णाणा-वरणादिकम्मकर-णक्खमत्तणेण पत्तकम्मसण्णाणं कम्मणिक्येवादि सोलसेहि अणियोगद्दारेहि परूवणा कीरदे ।

५. **पयडि**—पयडित्ति अणियोगद्दारे हि पोग्गलाणं कदिम्हि परूविद-संघादाणं वेदणाए पण्णविदावत्थाविसेस-पच्चयादीणं पासम्मि परूविदजीवसंबंधाणं जीवसंबंधगुणेण कम्माम्मि णिरूविद-वावाराणं पयडि-णिक्खेवादि-सोलस-अणियोग-द्दारेहि सहाव-परूवणा कीरदे ।

६. **बंधण**—जं तं बंधणं तं चउव्विहो-बंधो बंधगा बंधणिज्जं बंधविधाण-मिदि । तत्थ बंधो जीवकम्मपदेसाणं सादियमणादि पंच बंधं वण्णेदि । बंधगाहियारो अट्ठविहकम्मबंधगे परूवेदि, सो च खुद्दाबंधे परूविदो । बंधणिज्जं बंधपाओग्ग-तद-पाओग्ग-पोग्गलदव्वं परूवेदि । बंधविहाणं पयडिबंधं ठिदिबंधं अणुभागबंधं पदेसबंधं च

७. **णिबंधण**—णिबंधणं मूलुत्तर-पयडीणं णिबंधणं वण्णेदि । जहा चक्खिदियं रूवम्मि णिबद्धं, सोदिंदियं सद्दम्मि णिबद्धं, घाणिंदियं गंधम्मि णिबद्धं, जिब्भिदियं रसम्मि णिबद्धं, पासिंदियं कक्खदादिपासेसु णिबद्धं, तहा इमाओ पयडीओ एदेसु अत्थेसु णिबद्धाओ त्ति णिबंधणं परूवेदि, एसो भावत्थो ।

८. **पक्कम**—पक्कमेत्ति अणियोगद्दारं अकम्मसरूवेण ट्ठिदाणं कम्मइय-वग्गणाखंधाणं मूलुत्तरपयडिसरूवेण परिणममाणाणं पयडि-ट्ठिदि-अणुभागविसेसेण विसिट्ठाणं पदेसपरूवणं कुणदि ।

९. **उवक्कम**—उवक्कमेत्ति अणियोगद्दारस्स चत्तारि अहियारा-बंधणो-वक्कमो उदीरणोवक्कमो उवसामणोवक्कमो विपरिणामोवक्कमो चेदि । तत्थ बंधोवक्कमो बंध-विदियसमयप्पहुडि अट्ठण्णं कम्माण पयडि-ट्ठिदि-अणुभाग-पदेसाणं बंधवण्णणं कुणदि । उदीरणोवक्कमो पयडि-ट्ठिदि-अणुभागपदेसाणमुदीरणं परूवेदि । उवसामणो-वक्कमो पसत्थोवसामण्णमप्पसत्थोवसामण्णाणं च पयडि-ट्ठिदि-अणुभाग-पदेसभेदभिण्णं परूवेदि । विपरिणाममुवक्कमो पयडि-ट्ठिदि-अणुभाग-पदेसाणं देसणिज्जरं सयलणिज्जरं च परूवेदि ।

१०. **उदय**—उदयाणियोगद्दारं पयडि-ट्ठिदि-अणुभागपदेसुदयं परू-वेदि ।

११. **मोक्ख**—मोक्खो पुण देस-सयलणिज्जराहि परपयडिसंकमोकड्डुण-कड्डुण-अद्धट्ठिदिगलणेहि पयडिट्ठिदि-अणुभाग-पदेस-भिण्णं मोक्खं वण्णेदित्ति अत्थमेदो ।

१२. **संकम**—संकमेत्ति अणियोगद्दारं पयडि-ट्ठिदि-अणुभाग-पदेस-संकमे परूवेदि ।

१३. **लेस्सा**—लेस्सेत्ति अणिओगद्दारं छदव्वलेस्साओ परूवेदि ।

१४. **लेस्सायम्म**—लेस्सायम्मेत्ति अणियोगद्दार-मंतरंग-छलेस्सा-परिणय-जीवाणं बज्झ-कज्ज-परूवणं कुणई ।

१५. **लेस्सापरिणाम**—लेस्सापरिणामेत्ति अणियोगद्दारं जीव-पोग्गलाणं दव्व-भावलेस्साहि परिणमणविहाणं वण्णेदि ।

१६. **सादमसाद**—सादमसादेत्ति अणियोगद्दारमेयंतसाद-अणेयं तसो-दाणं गदियादिमग्गणाओ अस्सिदुण परूवणं कुणइ ।

१७. **दीहेरहस्स**—दीहेरस्सेत्ति अणिओगद्दारं पयडि-ट्ठिदि-अणुभाग-पदेसे अस्सिदूण दीहरहस्सत्तं परूवेदि ।

१८. **भवधारणीय**—भवधारणीएत्ति अणियोगद्दारं केण कम्मेण णेरइय-तिरिक्ख-मणुस-देव-भवा धरिज्जंति त्ति परूवेदि ।

१९. **पोग्गलत्त**—पोग्गलत्तेत्ति अणिओगद्दारं गहणादो अत्तापोग्गला परिणामदो अत्तापोग्गला उवभोगदो अत्तापोग्गला आहारदो अत्तापोग्गला ममत्तीदो अत्तापोग्गला परिग्गहादो अत्तापोग्गला त्ति अप्पणिज्जाणप्पणिज्जपोग्गलाणं पोग्गलाणं संबंधेण पोग्गलत्तं पत्त-जीवाणं च परूवणं कुणदि ।

२०. **णिधत्तमणिधत्त**—णिधत्तमणिधत्तमिदि अणियोगद्दारं पयडि-ट्ठिदि अणुभागाणं णिधत्तमणिधत्तं च परूवेदि । णिधत्तमिदि किं? जं पदेसग्गं णसक्कमुदए दादुं अण्णपयडिं वा संकामेदुं तं णिधत्तं णाम । तव्विवरीयमणिधत्तम् ।

२१. **णिकाचिदमणिकाचिद**—णिकाचिदमणिकाचिदमिदि अणियोगद्दारं पयडि-ट्ठिदि-अणुभागाणं णिकाचणं परूवेदि । णिकाचणमिदि किं? जं पदेसग्गं ण सक्कमोकड्डिदुमण्णपयडिं संकामेदुमुदए दादुं व तण्णिकाचिदं णाम । तव्विवरीदमणिकाचिदम् ।

२२. **कम्मट्ठिदि**—कम्मट्ठिदित्ति अणियोगद्दारं सव्वकम्माणं सत्ति-कम्मट्ठिदिमुक्कड्डणोकड्डुण-जणिद ट्ठिदिं च परूवेदि ।

२३. **पच्छिमक्खंध**—पच्छिमक्खंधेत्ति अणिओगद्दारं दंड-कपाट-पदर-लोगपूरणाणि तत्थ ट्ठिदि-अणुभागखंडय-छादणविहाणं जोगकिट्टीओ काऊण जोग-णिरोह-सरूवं कम्म-क्खवण-विहाणं च परूवेदि ।

२४. **अप्पाबहुग**—अप्पाबहुगाणिओगद्दारं अदीद-सव्वाणिओगद्दारेसु अप्पाबहुगं परूवेदि ।

Contents of the fifth Puvva *Ṇāṇa-pavāḍa* and the portions that are found preserved in the work recently brought to light and popularly known as *Jayadhavala Siddhānta.*

The fifth Puvva *Ṇāṇa-pavāda* had twelve *Vatthus.* The third Pāhuḍa of the tenth Vatthu was called *Pejja* or *Pejja-dosa* or *Kasāya Pāhuḍa* which consisted of sixteen thousand *padas.* This was briefly reproduced by Guṇadharācārya in 180 gāthās plus 53

Vivaraṇa gāthās, and these constitute the available *Kasāya Pāhuḍa*. This *Kasāya Pāhuḍa*, it is stated, was passed on through a line of teachers to *Ajja Maṅkhu* and *Nāgahatthi* who taught the same to *Jai Basaha*. The latter contributed six thousand *Cūrṇi Sūtras* to the same. These two strata of work in full, together with a number of casual references to the variant teachings of Ajja Maṅkhu and Nāgahatthi and to the *Vṛtti Sūtras* of a certain *Uccārṇācārya* (which, according to Indranandi, were twelve thousand), are found embedded in the voluminous commentary called *Jayadhavalā* by Vīrasena and his pupil Jinasena, which is equal to sixty thousand slokas in extent.

The fifteen sections of *Kasāya pāhuḍa* are the following :—

१. पेज्जदोस
२. विहत्ती-ट्ठिदि-अणुभाग
३. बंधग
४. संकम
५. उदय
६. उदीरणा
७. उवजोग
८. चउट्ठाण
९. वंजण
१०. दंसणमोहणीय-उवसामणा
११. दंसणमोहणीय-खवणा
१२. देसविरदी
१३. चरित्तमोहणीय-उवसामणा
१४. चरित्तमोहणीय-खवणा
१५. अद्धापरिमाण-णिद्देस

6. RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

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FELLOW DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It is one of the notable surprises of my insignificant life to have been invited to preside over the Religion and Philosophy Section of the All-India Oriental Conference. In the past this great honour has invariably been conferred on great and renowned scholars. I feel I do not deserve it so well as they did. Nevertheless, I am grateful to the Executive Committee of this great Conference for having chosen me for this high honour.

THE SCOPE OF THE SECTION AND THE WORK DONE

In this section we are concerned with the religion and philosophy of the East. As such, its scope is extremely wide. For the East is not only the birth-place of almost all the great religions of the world, but also of some of the greatest and deepest systems of philosophy. India, however, being the heart of the East, both geographically and culturally, and having contributed most to the culture called Eastern, the religious and philosophical ideology of India should be, and in fact is, the central theme of this section of the Oriental Conference.

It is a matter of great satisfaction that within the last fifty years enthusiastic Indian and foreign oriental scholars have been able to bring to light an appreciable number of ancient religious and philosophical works either by carefully editing the original Samskrit, Pāli and Prākṛt texts, or by translating them into modern languages, or by writing expository treatises on their subject-matter, so that at present we are fairly well acquainted with the ancient ideology and practices.

But the work hitherto done in this line is very little in comparison to what we have still to do. There is a vast deal of ancient religious and philosophical literature which has not yet been handled at all or not handled properly and satisfactorily. For example, we have still no authentic work dealing with the religion and philosophy of the *Purāṇas* or with those of the so-called *Minor Upaniṣads.*

THE KIND OF TRANSLATIONS WE NEED

Translation of ancient works into modern languages is a highly important foundational work which should be done with great care and caution. It is often a much more difficult task than writing an original and independent treatise. A good translator has to steer clear off literal and grammatical faithfulness which murders meaning, on the one hand, and intelligibility which is faithless to the text, on the other. The real success of a translation lies in being both faithful and intelligible. To attain it, the translator has to be not only a master of the two languages, but also well-versed in the current ideology and terminology of the subject concerned. A mere literal translation done with the help of a dictionary and grammar by one who is not a scholar of the subject dealt with in the text, is not only a mere waste of time and energy but also a great disservice to the work thus translated. Unfortunately we have a large number of such translations of our ancient works in print.

Adoption of the current terminology in translation does not, however, mean that we should read those modern ideas in the original work which were foreign to its author. It only means that the views of the author, studied in their historical setting, must be made as intelligible to us as possible. On the other hand, we should also not always presume that an ancient author could not have thought like a modern one and that all the ideas of modern and contemporary thought are absolutely new and were altogether unknown to the ancients. It has often been pointed out with sufficient justification that our ancients thought on the fundamental problems of life much in the same way as some of the most advanced thinkers of today are doing. A well-known western writer has gone so far as to say: "Modern scientific theories are largely a reversion to the ancient teachings, with the added force of experimental evidence and a greater knowledge of

detail[1]." This fact is borne out by a number of valuable comparative studies that have been published recently. Such studies deserve to be encouraged in order to draw the attention of the present-day West to the rich treasures of the ancient East and to reawaken self-respect in the Indian youth who has been looking to the West for inspiration and guidance.

GREATNESS OF THE ANCIENT INDIAN THOUGHT

Ancient India not only thought similarly on many problems as the modern West does, but also thought better on some, as is evident from some of the most recent critical and comparative publications on Indian Philosophy which have demonstrated that the ancient thought of India is not to be valued merely as "archæological exhibits," "palæontological fossils," or "relics of the old age;" that it is a thing of eternal importance; and that it can still contribute something valuable to the present-day world-culture. Honest western thinkers who have some acquaintance with our ancient lore have now and then admitted it. I take the liberty of quoting a few of them here. Sir John Woodroffe writes:

"An examination of the Indian Vedantic Doctrine shows that it is, in important aspects, in conformity with the most advanced scientific and philosophic thought of the West, and where it is not so, it is Science which will go to Vedanta and not the reverse."[2] Cannon says:

"India and Tibet can teach more about Psychology and the workings of the mind than any Freud, Jung, Adler, or the exponent of any other new-thought movement."[3] Paul Brunton thinks, "India holds an ancient heritage of spiritual thought from its past that stands unparalleled for profundity and unmatched for width. Young Indians, therefore, should claim this birth-right, finding what is worthy and applicable to the present needs. They should neither be awed by Western scepticism, nor corrupted by modern materialism, nor stupefied by religious wrangling, but go to their best thinkers for guidance."[4] Is it then too much to expect students and teachers of philosophy and

[1] Kingsland, *Rational Mysticism*, p. 56.
[2] *The World as Power Reality*, p. 6.
[3] *The Invisible Influences*, p. 33.
[4] *The Quest of the Over-self*, p. 19.

theology to acquaint themselves with the fundamental concepts of Indian religion and philosophy? It is our sacred duty to bring them to the focus of modern consciousness. All those scholars (thank God! their number is increasing day by day) who have done any kind of work in bringing ancient Indian religious and philosophical thought to light, deserve the well-earned gratitude not only of India but of the world at large.

Critical Studies to be Welcomed

Exploration and eulogization of the past is not enough. We should also welcome and encourage a new tendency in our thinking, which has found expression in a recently published work, namely, *The Critical Examination of the Philosophy of Religion.* In this fairly huge work the author, Sadhu Shanti Nath, has examined the main concepts and doctrines of almost all religio-philosophical systems of India and found them incapable of satisfactorily solving the enigma of life and the riddle of the universe. At the end of the work he says: "We have found by analysis and criticism of all the types of solutions, arrived at by the greatest thinkers and spiritual teachers, belonging to the various systems of philosophy and religion, that none of them could satisfactorily answer the questions which the logical intellect of man may put to them. . . . Hence the problem with regard to the ultimate ideal of life and supreme duty of man remains unsolved even by the philosophical speculations and the spiritual realizations of the greatest teachers of men." Sadhu Shanti Nath's work is thought-provoking; it throws a bold challenge to all the believers in various religions and to the followers of various systems of philosophy. The work is not at all actuated by any malicious motive of propaganda against Indian Culture but by "the most sincere, earnest and continuous search for" Truth. It is highly learned and clearly written, and deserves to be read by all students of religion and philosophy, whether one agrees with its conclusions or not.

Need of Creative Thinking

What India really needs most at present is critical and creative thinking. The spirit of India has to be reawakened to think afresh

on its present problems in the light of modern knowledge. Mere parrot-like repetition of the texts of yore, understanding the meaning of their words, mastering or advancing arguments in support of the ideas or views embodied therein, finding parallel thoughts and passages in the writings of modern western writers, or even becoming convinced of the superiority of our ancient ideas over those of modern thinkers is of little avail at the time of the present conflict of cultures. What is really of avail is living, original and creative thinking of which we find very little at present. A western writer has aptly remarked: "At present Aryan ideology is spineless, a peel without the orange, an empty word, a war-whoop, and an imitation gem."[1] I may add, a museum of mummies, a garden of dried-up trees. Dead bodies are either to be burnt or buried. Let the historians alone talk of them. Religion and philosophy are of no use unless they are creatively alive and are capable of satisfying our innermost needs and of solving our immediate and puzzling individual and social problems. Every individual and every age have to think on their own problems *afresh*. If our religion and philosophy are finished products, irresponsive to our ever-changing needs, they are more fit for a museum than for life. Life and its intellectual and spiritual needs are greater than any religion or philosophy. The latter are created by the former for their own satisfaction. Yājñavalkya was right when he said: "It is for the sake of the Self that gods are dear . . . In fact everything else is dear for the sake of the Self." What, therefore, we in India need at present, is such a reorientation of our thought as will enable us to live well both individually and socially. Our ancient religion and philosophy will not help us unless we make them alive and capable of readjusting to modern conditions and of solving the present-day problems.

DIFFICULT TIMES FOR RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

India is no longer secluded from the rest of the world. Every current of thought and every mode of living originating in any part of the world quickly passes through the length and breadth of India. And the thought of the world is now so much advanced that it is really doubtful for most men whether Indian ideology has any marked

[1] Horrwitz, *Veda and Vedānta*, p. 213.

superiority over others; whether it is worth preserving or reviving at all; whether it can survive the present cultural struggle for existence by virtue of its inherent merits. The struggle for existence in the world of ideologies is very keen at present on account of countless such competitors in the field as can offer all sorts of temptations, particularly the lower ones of pleasure and comfort. Men no longer accept a religion or philosophy because it is indigenous and comes from their forefathers. In the field of religion and philosophy at present there is an absolutely free trade without any protection whatsoever. Every man feels absolutely free to accept and adopt any creed that pleases or suits him, no matter from what part of the world it comes; no matter who gave birth to it. If the nineteenth century raised the slogan of 'rationality,' the present century is mad after 'utility.' Truth is now being defined in terms of expediency. It is that which serves us most. That religion or system of philosophy has now the chance of having a greater number of followers which offers greater scope for the satisfaction of man's urgent instinctive desires. "Its ultimate principle," writes William James, the father of modern Psychology, "must not be one that essentially baffles and disappoints our dearest desires and most cherished powers . . . Nothing could be more absurd than to hope for the definite triumph of any philosophy which should refuse to legitimate in an emphatic manner, the more powerful and practical tendencies."[1] Recent psychoanalytic investigations have further contended that religious creeds and philosophical doctrines are in fact nothing more than "organized expressions of wish-fulfilment," "rationalizations of our wishes rather than products of our reason," and "illusions, fulfilments of the oldest, strongest and the most insistent wishes of mankind." We are living in an age of psychic nudity. The animal instincts, of which the ancients used to feel shy and which they used to bring under the control and subordination of higher spiritual ends—Truth, Justice, Contentment etc.—are now being regarded as the most sacred springs of human action, of which no one need be ashamed. Satisfaction and expression, rather than control and extinction of the baser passions, seem to be the creed of the present-day youth. New religions and philosophies sanctioning and rationalizing the naturally pleasing ways of life are springing up and gathering large number of followers.

[1] James, *Principles of Psychology*, Vol. II, pp. 312, 315.

Competition with Science

There is another very great factor to be reckoned with in the modern age. It is the unprecedented and extraordinary success of science. There was a time when religion ruled the world; there was another time when philosophy did so. Now is the turn of science. In this age of scientific rule it has become absolutely necessary for religion and philosophy, the ex-rulers of the world, to depend upon and to be allied with science. There is a cry for scientific religion and scientific philosophy. Science is growing more and more aggressive and triumphant by virtue of its having supplied humanity with much more exact and reliable knowledge of the external world than perhaps all the ancient religions and philosophies could give. It has given humanity a great command over nature and environment and has democratized even those pleasures and comforts which were formerly available to the chosen few. Religion and philosophy have, therefore, to justify their very existence in the unquestioned reign of science.

Is there any need of religion ? What has now philosophy to do ? Is not science sufficient to satisfy all the intellectual and practical needs of men ? To get a satisfactory answer to such questions we have to differentiate clearly between science, philosophy and religion. For there was a time when philosophy revolted against religion in the same way as science did against both in her earlier days, and yet neither of the two revolts could give a death-blow to religion. Philosophy has also been living and once more regaining its prestige. Let us, therefore, try to understand properly the nature and function of each of the three in order to find a proper place for each in life and thus to end their conflict.

What is Religion ?

It is very difficult to define religion to cover all that has gone under this name in the past history of the world. It has been defined variously by scholars, but most of these definitions seem to be expressing some aspect of religion rather than the whole of what religion has been. I shall not try your patience with these definitions and their criticisms. I shall try to give you my own idea of what religion has

been and what it can and should be. In my opinion, religion, in the ordinary sense of the term, is man's cognitive, affective and conative attitude to his environment and to the Universe as a whole *chiefly determined by his instinctive and intuitive faith*, which gets stabilized in tradition. It comes into operation the very momen one becomes conscious of oneself as an individual surrounded by others, with whom he has to establish some such relationship as may enable him to feel at home with his environment, to continue his existence safely, and to satisfy all his natural cravings. This attitude lasts as long as this consciousness continues. It reigns supreme in life until the intellect comes of age and attains freedom from faith and tradition. It overtakes man when the intellect begins to deteriorate or when it fails to satisfy him. By intellect I mean the capacity to think rationally and critically, to question the beliefs based on naive faith, and to try to reform them on the basis of fact and logic. There is a time in the life of individuals and races when such a capacity remains dormant. Then religion rules their life. Then man's natural desire to know his environment is satisfied by myths constructed by unfettered anthropomorphic imagination or received from tradition; his emotional response is determined by the threatened frustration or promised fulfilment of his strong instinctive cravings; and his active reactions take the form of prayer to, propitiation of, and bargaining with the power or powers imagined to be controlling his life and the universe. Naturally, the outward expressions of religion differ in different times and geographical situations. As critical intelligence functions little in religious construction and remains subservient to instinctive faith, and as creative and wish-fulfilling imagination has unquestioned sway, it is too much to expect any coherence, consistency or system in religious ideologies and practices, which are more actuated by the 'pleasure-principle' than by the 'reality-principle,' as a Freudian would say. Religious structures are truly akin to our dream-structures. Traditional religions seem to be stabilised day-dreams of different groups of humanity. In some measure we are always religious and shall continue to be so, simply because our entire being can never be organized under the hegemony of intellect and because instinctive faith and wish-fulfilling imagination never cease to function in the subconscious and unconscious strata of our mind, which are outside the jurisdiction and control of intellect

and reason. We shall always fall back upon religion even in our conscious life whenever the intellect fails to satisfy us and reason lands us in the world of antinomies and uncertainties. We shall also resort to religion whenever we become conscious of such cravings within us as are mocked at by science and philosophy but are too deep and insistent to be snubbed easily. We shall take shelter in religion when science and philosophy are not able to console us in moments of our deepest grief, sorrow and disappointment. In what form religion will appear then, we shall see a little later. In the meantime, let us turn our attention to philosophy.

SPECULATIVE PHILOSOPHY AND ITS MAIN DEFECT

Philosophy is born with the maturity and freedom of intellect. With its adolescence the absolute monarchy and unquestioned authority of religion come to an end. Philosophy is a dispassionate pursuit of Truth under the guidance of Reason. It is an attempt at a rational, consistent, coherent and systematic interpretation of the universe as a whole arrived at independently by human intellect. A philosopher is one who seeks and fearlessly proclaims the naked truth, irrespective of its being pleasant or unpleasant. His emotions are controlled by his intellectual outlook, and his activities are directed towards the realization of truth and justice. He mercilessly examines religious beliefs and practices and retains or rejects them in accordance with their truth or falsity. He cannot take anything for granted except the self-evident and unquestionable principles of logic. Philosophy is the daughter of religion, and in her childhood she was brought up by the mother with the hope that she would serve, support and defend her. But alas! like all grown up daughters, philosophy forsook religion and freed herself from her influence. She not only neglected and disappointed her, but having won over the affection of the youth, she established her own reign over the kingdom which originally belonged to religion.

Phiiosophy governed the thought of the world for a number of centuries until the rise of modern science which was born of philosophy itself. The birth of science was due to certain inherent weaknesses of philosophy. Philosophers were generally meditators and secluded

easy-chair thinkers. Their business was to produce systems of philosophy out of mere thinking or *a priori* reasoning. In their case reason occupied the same place as imagination occupied in the case of religious thinkers. Each philosopher tried to discover some fundamental and self-evident propositions and to build on their basis a structure of thought which was deduced from them and was self-consistent and coherent. It was no wonder that philosophers widely differed with regard to their starting points, to the sources of knowledge, and to the methods of thinking; and, therefore, arrived at different conclusions about the same ultimate problems as they all attempted to solve. A number of systems of philosophy, giving quite different notions about the world and the individual, thus came into existence, producing a chaos and conflict in the world of human thought. Every one of them claimed to be perfectly logical and hence a consistent and coherent thought-construction. They differed widely from each other, not because of their faulty deductions, but because of their differences at the very start of their thinking. Every system of philosophy starts from some such propositions as must be self-evident truths based on unquestionable facts of experience. Reasoning is only a formal process. It does not add to the contents of the thought. The contents must come from a very careful observation of what is actually given in experience, which forms the basis of our philosophizing, and from a widened range of experience. No amount of mere thinking or *a priori* reasoning will guarantee the actual existence of any content of even a logically perfect thought unless its starting premises are rooted in unquestionable experience. "There is only one ultimate source of all knowledge, the ground and source of all the *pramaṇās*, namely, Direct Experience (*pratyakṣa*)"[1] as the author of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* rightly points out. Experience being the only source of knowledge, how can one who does not observe the universe but merely speculates about it within the four-walls of his room know correctly about the universe? Truths about Nature must be learnt from the observation of Nature itself, as Francis Bacon rightly pointed out. But Philosophy relied upon and occupied itself with mere thinking rather than with the *observation of Nature.* It never cared *to widen the range of human experience* and to distinguish fact from fiction, the given from the imaginary, within the field of knowledge.

[1] *The Yogavāsiṣṭha*, II. 16, 18.

Hence it was easily overthrown and superseded by a new way of thinking known as Science.

SCIENCE AND ITS ACHIEVEMENTS

As distinguished from religion and philosophy, science aims at an exact and detailed knowledge of the universe through actual observation and *iuductive thinking.* As I have stated elsewhere, " Science is a rational and systematized knowledge of the world based on careful and, as far as possible, controlled observation of facts of sensory experience. It aims to be precise and verifiable. It tries to understand events in terms of their causes, complex phenomena in terms of simple ones, and wholes in terms of their constitutent elements or parts. It proceeds by analysis, and in its attempt to understand the Universe it tries to avoid reference to anything which is not within the actual or possible sensory experience."[1] In connection with all the stages of scientific thinking—observation, description, recording, classification, analysis, experiment, explanation, generalization, and theorization, a highly mechanical and complicated technique has been evolved, in which there is no place for mere faith and *a priori* speculation. The power of human observation, which in its natural functioning, has obvious defects and limits, has been increased beyond imaginable bounds by the invention of mechanical apparatuses and chemical aids, so that now the range of human perception and the capacity of measurement and recording have increased in extent, depth and minuteness thousands of times the original.

The knowledge of the world around us, that science has hitherto been able to gather, is undoubtedly enormous. It is also highly useful and practical. It has exploded most of the myths of religion and has thrown into the background the old *a priori* speculations of philosophy. Science now so dominates human life that it has become necessary and advisible for religion and philosophy never to come in conflict with it, in case they are eager to continue their existence. They have to relinquish the territory now occupied by science, and have to seek shelter in those regions which are still beyond the sphere of scientific enquiry. Human mind, particularly in the civilized countries, has become so much accustomed to scientific way of thinking

[1] *Where Theosophy and Science Meet,* Edited by D. D. Kanga, Vol. III, p. 109.

that in order to get hearing, religion and philosophy must appear in the garb of science. Men now want a "scientific religion," a "philosophy by way of sciences."

Defects and Limitations of Science

Is it not really humiliating and deplorable for the mother and the grandmother of science to continue their existence in this subordinate manner? If religion and philosophy have to live at all, they should live a more honourable and independent life. They should find out some vocation for themselves for which science by its very nature is unfit. They should specialize in tasks which science is unable to perform and must answer to some deeper and higher needs of life which science cannot satisfy. Instead of competing with science in its own field they should create or discover new fields for their activity. I personally think that there is still much work for religion and philosophy, provided they are prepared to readjust themselves to the new age. Science has its own weaknesses and limitations which it can never get rid of without ceasing to be science. It alone cannot make the world happy and the individual perfect. A complete understanding of life and the universe, which is essential for human perfection and happiness, requires the contribution of religion and philosophy as much as that of science. Each of the three has a distinct contribution to make, which cannot be made by the other two. In order to understand the distinct and peculiar function of each, let us first note in brief some of the defects and limitations of science as an attempt to understand life and the universe.

The general tendency of Science has been to confine itself to the field of sensory experience. It has had little to do with supersensible entities, if there be any. There is no doubt that the range and capacity of the senses have been immensely increased by various powerful and superfine apparatuses like telescope, the microscope, the X-ray, yet we cannot affirm with certainty that there is nothing in the universe which is outside and beyond sense-observation. The sensible alone is not real. There may be many facts, entities and functions which can never be objects of sense-perception. Those of us who have kept in touch with the progress of what is known as Psychical Research, which unfortunately has not yet been recognized

as a science, know it fully well how vain it is to maintain that the universe and life can be completely understood in terms of facts revealed by sense-perception. There seem to exist not only super-sensible beings and realities but also super-sensible ways of knowing not yet recognized by science. Recent experiments by Dr. Rhine at the Duke University have established it beyond doubt that "Extra-sensory perception is an actual and demonstrable occurrence,"[1] and that it is "fundamentally different from sensation."[2] The entire structure of science, as it is at present, is built on the basis of sense-perception which works within the limits of space and time and assures us of their unshakable reality. But the facts discovered by Rhine and by many other workers in the field of Psychical Research "suggest the freedom of mind in ESP from the common material relations of extension and distance."[3]

Even the range of the sensible experience is too wide to be capable of being explored entirely by a scientist or group of scientists. The world has countless aspects. Every scientist or group of scientists has, therefore, to confine himself or itself to a particular class of facts or to particular aspects of the sensible world, and to leave other kinds of facts or other aspects of nature to other scientists. Science thus divides itself, for the sake of convenience and thoroughness, into a number of more or less independent branches, the only thing remaining common to them being their method of investigation. Sciences grown up in this way are quite numerous. The same object may be and is actually studied from different points of view and in its different aspects by a number of sciences. It becomes really difficult and often impossible for the same individual to keep in touch with all of them and to form a synthetic view of the object. Sometimes the knowledge of a scientist about fields other than his own is even worse than that of the common sense. His eminence in his own line, however, not only keeps him away from realizing his ignorance about fields other than his own, but also sometimes gives him an undeserved privilege of expressing an opinion which may be wrong and unauthentic, on matters beyond his province. Often a scientist, working within a particular field and occupied with certain aspects of the reality, loses

[1] J. B. Rhine, *Extra-Sensory Perception*, p. 223.

[2] J. B. Rhine, *New Frontiers of Mind*, p. 144.

[3] J. B. Rhine, *Extra-Sensory Perception*, p. 225.

sight of the fact that there are many other aspects in the reality than those with which he is concerned, and thus begins to believe that the reality has no other aspects and that the world-view, which he has come to formulate on the basis of his own limited and partial study, is valid for the entire reality. He then comes to deny the very existence and possibility of the facts about the occurrence of which others are as certain as he is about those in his own field. This unhappy tendency is responsible for the prevalent conflicts between science and religion, ethics and mechanics, physiology and mysticism, psychology and psychical research.

An isolated study of certain aspects of nature with an indifferent or negative attitude towards others is also responsible for an imperfect and defective understanding of the proper meaning and significance of those very aspects of nature with which a scientist is exclusively concerned. Everything in the Universe seems to be so well-connected with everything else that nothing can be properly and fully understood in isolation. The scientist, who has to study certain phenomena in abstraction from the rest of the universe, fails to notice the extent to which one aspect of the reality influences and modifies the rest in the whole as such. Just as in a chemical compound the properties of the constituent elements undergo unimaginable changes with reference to each other, and give rise to absolutely new ones in the compound as such, it is likely that in the reality as a whole there is transmutation and transfusion of the aspects and properties noticed by us in isolation and that there are different and unknown qualities or properties in the universe as a whole. Every analysis is, therefore, apt to miss the deeper or higher aspects which are peculiar to the whole. We cannot always reconstruct a whole from the parts or elements into which science analyzes it. It is particularly so in the field of biology, psychology and sociology. Science, therefore, fails to give a correct knowledge of the reality as a whole, or even of the elements of the reality as they stand in relation to each other in the total whole. It always deals with abstractions which it unfortunately confuses with the concrete reality.

Every science starts with certain assumptions and makes use of certain concepts which it formulates almost unconsciously and seldom cares to examine. For instance, almost every science takes it for granted that the world exists independently of our knowing mechanism

and activity, that it is knowable and intelligible; that it is governed by the law of uniformity; that every occurrence has a cause; that every complex phenomenon can be satisfactorily explained in terms of simpler ones; that the world is a closed system of facts revealed by the senses, uninfluenced and unaffected by anything from outside; that the scientific method is the sole and infallible method of understanding the nature of the reality. Most of these assumptions of science are certainly questionable. The scientific concepts of matter, motion, space and time, etc., are, when properly examined, found to be self-contradictory. But hardly any science questions its assumptions and cares to examine its most general concepts. Sciences are too busy with their specific problems.

Science can at best tell us how the objects of our sensory experience are mutually related and behave towards each other. It can never say what they are in themselves. All knowledge implies a subject and an object or a series of objects. But science can neither know the nature of the subject which is outside the phenomenon of knowledge, nor the nature of objects-in-themselves, which are known by us only as modified and strained by our knowing mechanism and process. In other words, sciences give us knowledge of only the phenomenal appearances and not of the realities behind them.

Every science, at some time or other in its career, comes to face some problems and perplexities which are not solved by the empirical and experimental method. Then two courses are open to it: Either it leaves the problems unsolved or it takes recourse to pure speculation. In the former case it leaves the intellect unsatisfied, and in the latter it ceases to be science. Some of the hitherto unsolved problems facing various sciences at the present time may be mentioned here: Astronomy is yet uncertain as to the origin of the solar system and as to the source of light and heat of the Sun. It cannot definitely say whether the reality is finite or infinite; whether the world-process is purposive or not; and how time and space are related. Geology is not yet definite about the nature of gravitation and as to how long the earth will remain habitable by man. Similar are the problems that confront Physics and Chemistry: Will the Universe run down? What is the nature of matter and electricity? Is there any fundamental material substance as the ultimate stuff of the world? Is ether a reality? Are the units of time, space and mass absolute or relative?

What is the ultimate explanation of the laws of motion. Can the facts of Biology, Psychology and Sociology be explained in terms of Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry? Biology does not yet know whether life is eternal or it has emerged from non-living matter; what the causes of mutations or variations in the germ-plasm are; how the complex structure of the adult organism is predetermined in the fertilized ovum; whether the difference in conscious and unconscious behaviour is merely due to greater degree of complexity. Psychology has not yet been able to make up her mind on these questions: Is mind anything other than the body? Is there any causal continuity in the series of mental events in a personality? Is there any unitary immaterial self behind the psychic life of an individual? How far is consciousness dependent upon the brain and the nervous system? Can consciousness survive the death of the physical body? Is telepathic communication between mind and mind possible? What is the role of heredity, environment and individual initiative in the life of a person?

Apart from such perplexities of science, there are many problems about the universe and life which have not yet been tackled by science and perhaps can never be solved by it satisfactorily. But they are insistent and cry for solution. Some of them may be briefly stated here: Is there anything unchanging and permanent at the basis of the ever-changing and ephemeral phenomena? Is the ultimate reality, if there be any behind the phenomenal appearances, of one and uniform nature, or is it of many kinds? What and how many are the fundamental characteristics of the ultimate reality? How are the various aspects, parts, elements, units, modes or attributes of the reality related to each other and to the whole? Is there any creator or governor of the world-order? Is the entire world of reality one cosmic system in which all the parts are interconnected, or is there any supernatural world over and above or beyond the world of nature, capable of interfering with the natural order? Is the world intelligible? Is our knowledge objectively true? How is the knowing activity related to the objects of knowledge? Is there any knower outside and beyond the field of knowledge? If so, how is it related to knowledge and its objects? What are the ultimate sources of knowledge? Are there any values intimately related to the ultimate reality? Are the values—truth, goodness and beauty—merely subjective norms or

objective realities? Is there any design or purpose behind the cosmic process? Is there any moral justice governing the life of all creatures? Is there any continuity of life after death? Do the dead reincarnate in this very world? Is there any deeper significance of life than what is obvious? What is the *summum bonum* of life?

What Philosophy Has to Do in this Age

For these and similar other problems, which science cannot solve or refuses to consider, we have again to go to philosophy, the mother of science, for it has been its life-long work to speculate on them. But now in order to satisfy the men of scientific age, philosophy has to be equipped with all the knowledge that science has gathered, at least in a general and comprehensive way. Sciences are the senses through which philosophy should perceive the world before it starts speculating about it. In its speculation, however, it is not be guided by the conclusions of science. Before coming to any definite conclusions of its own on the ultimate problems, it has to go much farther than science in tapping all possible sources of knowledge in order to be better fitted to solve the world-riddle. It should make a wider and more comprehensive survey of experience. It should take note of all sides or aspects of life—cognitive, moral, aesthetic and religious; should understand the implications of all kinds and levels of experience—waking, dream, sleep and trance—should probe equally into the subjective and objective realities. It should listen patiently and with equal interest and unbiased mind to what all the sciences, religions, mysticism, occultism, art and literature have to say with regard to life and the world. It must admit the claims of all the natural demands of life and should value the deepest intuitions of mankind. Philosophy is at present thus required to be "the most comprehensive scheme of concepts, prepared under the guidance of reason, in which all the contents of the actual and possible experience must fit; in which all the concepts of science, religion and other (earlier) philosophical systems must be offered a rightful place."[1]

Thus equipped with knowledge, liberality and insight, philosophy should now emerge out of her life-long seclusion to take up her new

[1] B. L. Atreya, *The Philosophy of the Yogavāsiṣṭha*, Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, 1936, p. 587.

role. The philosopher of today has a much greater, much more difficult, and much more responsible task before him than his predecessors used to have. In this scientific age he has (*a*) to draw the attention of science to those facts or aspects of experience which are not yet studied or noticed by any of its branches; (*b*) to investigate himself into those fields of experience which have not yet been taken up by exact sciences; (*c*) to examine the assumptions made by the various special sciences; (*d*) to analyze and logically examine the most general concepts of the various sciences; (*e*) to co-ordinate and synthesize the general theories of the various special sciences; (*f*) to correlate the scientific outlook with those of art, religion and ethics; (*g*) to construct a rational, systematic, comprehensive and coherent view of the universe as a whole on the basis of the implications of the entire actual and possible experience; (*h*) to determine the place, function and destiny of man in the universe as conceived by him; (*i*) to interpret particular facts and events in the light of and in relation to the whole universe; and, finally, (*j*) to extend a helping hand to the various special sciences in solving their ultimate problems and perplexities. Indian philosophy and Indian philosophers should certainly share this kind of work before the present-day philosophy, if they want to live a respectable life in this age.

What Religion Has to Do in this Age

What about the old grand-mother, Religion? Will it die of unemployment and infirmities? Many of the functions that religion used to perform in life formerly, have already, and perhaps for ever, been taken up by philosophy and science. Is there any work and place left for it? Can it survive the present-day vigorous movement of "Down with religion"? My answer is "Yes." But, only if and when religion ceases to be too ambitious and concedes to science and philosophy their proper place in life without interfering with their affairs, and comes to understand its right function. It is no longer expected of religion to give us knowledge of the world around us. Science has done it well and let it continue to do so. Science has given us far greater and much more accurate knowledge about the phenomenal world in a century than could religion give in its entire life-time of countless centuries. Let religion, therefore, cast aside its

fantastic astronomy, geography, history, physiology and psychology. Let religion also not philosophize any longer. In its earlier days it had to philosophize, but could not do well. Now its daughter, philosophy does this work much better. Let the mother not prove a fool before the daughter. What does then remain for religion? Certainly a much nobler and more valuable work than that done by science or philosophy.

In spite of all our advancement in knowledge and power, understanding and comfort, brought about by science and philosophy, humanity still remains miserable and unhappy. Man is torn by conflicts. He lacks in integration within himself and in adjustment to and harmony with his natural and social environment. He does not feel at home in the universe and with his fellow-beings. He is at war within and without, and is using his intellect and power, sharpened by philosophy and secured by science, in intesifying this war. Science and philosophy are being harnessed to the baser motives of human nature. Man needs a new vision, a new feeling, and a new motive, which may save him and make him happy, contented, and at home with the world and with his fellow creatures, loving them all and being loved in return. This we expect to come from religion. Religion should give us those secrets of the universe which are not open to the eyes of science and are not gauged by the intellect of philosophy; and through this deeper insight should change us into better beings than we are at present. If science has proved to be the eye of humanity, and philosophy its brain, let religion be the heart of it. Religion is capable of opening the gates of our soul and thus of bringing to us the vision of the vast inner world into which science and philosophy cannot probe. The innermost secrets of the Universe shall never yield to the senses and the intellect. They have to be directly apprehended and felt in a refined and perfected intuition. Intuition is to religion what sense-observation is to science and coherent thinking to philosophy. We need clear, infallible and unshakable intuition of the innermost realities, principles and values operating at the very heart of the Universe. It is the true and distinctive function of religion to refine and perfect our intuitive faculty through a process of culture which has always formed the core of all religions of the world.

The essence of religion, therefore, consists in that discipline which enlarges and widens the experience of the inner world. It is an effort to clearly grasp the highest values and to realize them in actual life. It is an attempt to feel and realize one's identity, continuity and kinship with the vast universe. It is an art of living in tune with the infinite. It is acquirement of an unshakable *faith* that, although science may not yet supply sufficient evidence for it and philosophy may not yet establish it as certain, the world is not alien to man, that it is ultimately rational and intelligible, adaptable to the innermost needs of man, and perfectly harmonious in its working; that there is a spiritual order in the world-process; that the cosmic process has an intrinsic meaning and value; that there is a provision in the reality for the eternal and deepest yearnings of man for immortality, omniscience, omnipotence and unending happiness; that in and behind the world there is a spiritual Unity, a Cosmic Intelligence, which eternally embodies these ideals of humanity in their entirety and perfection; and that there is a possibility of their immediate realization in the life of each individual *here* and *now*, by establishing a conscious contact with that Unity through feeling, prayer, worship and devoted service. The main function of religion is to bring about this contact, communion or union with God—the eternal embodiment of Truth, Goodness and Beauty—whose existence religious consciousness always postulates on the ground of our very yearning for Deity.

Realization of this unity, contact or relationship with or dependence upon the Divine Creator, Governor and Guide, whose existence begins to be felt within and without, gives the individual a new vision, a new vigour, a new feeling and a new motive. He begins to see the phenomenal world as the manifestation of the divine beauty and his fellow creatures as the children of the same divine Father and hence as his own kith and kin. Having realized unity with the Divinity within himself and thereby attained Peace, Joy and Love, he begins to regard it as his sacred mission to assist all his fellow creatures in realizing the same state of mind and to bring about upon this earth, where at present selfishness, jealously and strife are rampant, a heavenly atmosphere of fellowship, love, sympathy and kindness. His behaviour is always characterized by Peace, Justice and Love. He rises above the ordinary and normal level of humanity and becomes a superman.

Religion, therefore, as distinguished from science and philosophy has a five-fold function in the life of modern man, namely, (*a*) to awaken the more or less dormant faculty of *intuition*, (*b*) to kindle *faith* in the reality of highest values, (*c*) to bring about a living and conscious *contact* with the Eternal Embodiment of the highest values and thereby a sense of security to the individual, (*d*) to enable the individual to *realize* the highest possibilities of existence *here* and *now*, and (*e*) and to arouse in him *universal love*, fellowship and sympathy.

Religion has its source in the eternal yearning of man to be infinite in all dimensions of his being, which has not yet been satisfied by science and philosophy. Man has far deeper needs than those which can be satisfied by science and philosophy as they are at present. The knowledge and power brought about by science are limited and the conclusions of philosophy are uncertain. Philosophy at best can lead us to the land of antinomies and uncertainties. The soul of man, on the other hand, yearns for certainties. Religion sympathizes with man and urges him to keep faith in his yearning. It gives us an assurance that the forces at work in the universe, which have brought us forth here, cannot mock at our innermost desires. It does not wait for science and philosophy to establish or justify its convictions. It has a *faith* in them and asserts them fearlessly and boldly.

What, however, is expected of religion at the present time is that its conceptual formulations, which are not the essential things in religion, should not contravene scientific data and philosophical principles. Religion should take care that its ideas are self-consistent and that they are not inconsistent with the scientific and philosophical conclusions of the time. Concepts, tenets and dogmas are merely the external shell or slough of religion with which its real spirit, which is ineffable intuition or mystic realization, should never be identified. They are to be broken through and sloughed off from time to time. They should never be allowed to become traditional, as unfortunately they have always been in the past, and they must undergo a necessary transformation in every age and must be checked and corrected from time to time with reference to *actual mystic experience*, which may transcend reason but is never opposed to reason. It is only in this way that religion can have an eternal youth and a secure and useful place in human life in every age.

YOGA AND PRAYOGA

Just as in order to become a good scientist one has to undergo a long training in scientific method, and to become a good philosopher one has to be trained in valid thinking, so to attain religious experience, mystic intuition or spiritual insight, by whatever name it may be called, one has to undergo a long discipline and training. Its technique was highly developed in ancient India and was called *Yoga*. What the present age needs is that the various methods of *yoga* be re-tested and re-modelled with the help of modern scientific and experimental methods. India can make a great contribution to the culture of the world by bringing about an alliance between *Yoga* and *Prayoga* (Experiment) which is the essential feature of modern Science. A complete and comprehensive view of life (*darśana*), which may inaugurate a new era of hope for mankind, can only be born of this union of the East and the West.

It is claimed by ancient writers on *Yoga*,—and we cannot doubt it on merely *a priori* grounds—, that a systematic training in *Yoga* not only enables a man to realize mystic experience and religious consciousness of the above-mentioned type, but also brings about in him an emergence of some *supernormal powers* (*siddhis*) of knowledge, influence and action, so that a completely trained *yogi* becomes a different type of man, an all-round genius, a superman, a new species not yet produced by the natural evolutionary process. We cannot easily dismiss such a claim unless our experiments go positively against it. To the extent experiments have been made, it has actually been found that *Yoga* gives us super-normal powers. Extra-ordinary powers of 'mediums' observed and recorded by workers in the field of Psychical Research also make it highly probable that man's potentialities are incalculable. A western writer, who actually possesses some supernormal faculties of cognition, while writing about *Yoga*, says "The resulting psychic gifts which we now name clairvoyance, clair-audience etc., are then the normal faculties of a spiritually disciplined man . . . and can be used critically and intelligently as ordinary people use sight and hearing." (Phoebe Payne, *Man's Latent Powers*, p. 223). *Yoga*, therefore, should have sufficient attraction for even men of this scientific age, who crave for more and more knowledge and power.

THE BUDDHISTIC AND THE ADVAITA VIEW-POINTS

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One reading Buddhistic philosophy, especially the Mahāyāna schools, cannot fail to be struck by the great similarity between it and the Advaita. S'aṅkara has often been called by the rival schools of the Vedānta a *pracchanna bauddha*, a Buddhist in disguise. Bhāskara in his commentary on the *Brahmasūtras*[1] speaks of *vicchinna mūlam māhāyānikabauddhaghaṭitam māyāvādam*. Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍitācārya in his *Madhvavijaya*[2] calls the advaitin by the same name. S'rīpati Panditārādhya in his *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya*[3] calls all the advaitins *pracchanna bauddhas*. It is well known that in the *Bhaviṣyatpurāṇa* S'aṅkara is called so. This shows that many noticed even long ago that in the Advaita there are reflections of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Yet in spite of these accusations, the classical advaitin protests against the identification of his doctrines with those of Buddhism. All who have read S'aṅkara's commentary on the *Brahmasūtras* must have noticed that he refutes the Buddhistic schools along with those of the Nyāya, the Vais'eṣika, the Sāṅkhya etc. And almost all the followers of S'aṅkara take special pains to contradict Buddhism, not merely its religious side but also its philosophical doctrines. It seems really worth enquiring why the advaitins were so unsympathetic towards them.

The first reason that suggests itself is that Buddhism did not recognize the authority of the Vedas. It started as a purely ethical religion, and in course of time turned philosophical. It began with

[1] I, 4, 25.
[2] I, 51.
[3] I, 1, 3.

indifference towards the ideas of God, soul, and revelation,—an attitude opposed to the spirit of the Vedas. The advaitin with his insistence on the sanctity and infallibility of the *S'ruti* or Vedas could naturally have nothing to do with Buddhism, and would disclaim every connexion with it.

But when the other Vedāntic schools were accusing the advaitin of being a Buddhist, did he not think over his position ? If not, why ? Or, is it simply for fear of being driven out of the orthodox fold that he denied the presence of Buddhistic doctrines in his system ? Many have observed, and rightly too, that Gauḍapāda's *Māṇḍūkya Kārikas* owe much to Buddhistic thought. But then? is the advaitin ungrateful in not acknowledging ? Or is the spirit of the advaita different from that of the Mahāyāna Buddhism ?

To the author of this article the last seems to be the reason why the advaitin fights every school of Buddhism. It is recognized by almost all competent thinkers that every system of philosophy can be developed out of every other system through constructive criticism. Even in the expositions of any philosopher we find difference between what he ought to have said and what he actually said. Taking an Indian example, we know that Appaya Dīkṣita interpreted S'rīkaṇṭha's philosophy as S'ivādvaita, whereas S'rīkaṇṭha himself declares in so many words that his view is Vis'iṣṭhādvaita. By collecting together certain statements of S'rikaṇṭha, which do not agree with his Visiṣṭhādvaita position Appayya Dīkṣita has been able to show that S'rīkaṇṭha's real intention was to expound Advaita, and that he should have said something else in some other connection. Coming to Buddhism itself, we read that the two schools of the Mahāyāna were only developments out of the Sarvāstivāda school, nay, even the Teravāda school of the Hīnayāna. Not merely so, even the latest schools of the Mahāyāna claim to be true teachings of the Buddha and assert that the earlier schools only imperfectly understood him.

Besides, when every line of thought is developed, and developed to the furthest extreme, also without doing injustice to any aspect of our experience, all converge and give the same result. As Bosanquet has said, the conception of the Absolute is the highest watermark to which every philosophical speculation rises. There is another view of his, which is very significant when applied to philosophical speculation. It is also significant that it is he who wrote the book,

The Meeting of Extremes in Contemporary Philosophy, in which he pointed out how radical realism and the highest absolutism meet. The present point is one concerned with logic, but which can be applied with advantage to the logic of philosophizing. He tell us in his *Essentials of Logic* that every individual starts with his private experience and in the systematic connection he extablishes between bits of his private experience he comes to realize an objective world. Whether it is true or not in epistemology, we may say that it is true in a sense in philosophizing. Every philosopher starts with his own starting point, but in his attempt to include all aspects of experience he comes to a conception which is common to all philosophers. Hence when Buddhistic thought developed to the extreme, it is no wonder that it showed similarities to the Advaita. But the spirit with which it began and the method of its development may be different from those of the Advaita. Hence latter's repugnance to Buddhism.

What now is the spirit of Buddhism, which the advaitin dislikes? First, Buddhism was an unorthodox religion and philosophy which questioned the authority of the Veda. This point is certainly not of pure philosophical importance. Next, Buddha's silence when asked about the truth of God and soul has been variously understood. It is by almost all agreed that the earliest schools took his silence for denial, and preached the unreality of both. This was quite antagonistic to Hinduism. Further, the understanding of the world by Buddhism was mainly analytical. This point forms the fundamental difference between Buddhism and the Advaita. The Buddhistic doctrine of the *pratītyasamutpāda*, which is best translated by Dr. Dasgupta's phrase "dependent emergence," is common in one form or another to all analytical philosophies. Whenever the unity that is characteristic of the whole has to be explained, such philosophies say that the unity is a sort of entity or quality which emerges when a number of entities combine. The soul, according to Buddhism, is practically nothing but the combination of the five *skandhas* or aggregates. But this way of explanation is to catch hold of the parts and lose the whole and its unity. Or it is to explain the higher in terms of the lower. It is to deny the reality of the whole and affirm the reality of the parts. This is what the earliest Buddhist schools actually did. Certainly later Mahāyāna Buddhism is interpreted by Japanese and Chinese scholars like Suzuki, Sogen etc., as

affirming the reality of the whole and denying the reality of the parts. But this whole or S'ūnya is an interpretation and a development of the unreality of the whole of the Hīnayāna. We shall see later how this S'ūnya differs from the Absolute of the Advaita. Here it is enough for us to see that the S'ūnya remains a sort of negative idea with all its associations with the notion of unreality. Hence the reluctance of the advaitin to accept it. Certainly the *Ālaya* of Yogācārins is more positive and is like the *Brahman* of the advaitin. But it too developed like the idea of S'ūnya and, Suzuki tells us,[1] is treated as S'ūnya.

The spirit of the Advaita is not merely analytical. It never loses sight of the whole and its unity, and declares the parts to be only appearances of the whole. The soul is the truth, and the parts of the body come together only for the soul. It tells us that the soul or the self is identical with the Brahman, and like the later Mahāyānists says that the world is *māyā*. It is due to some metaphysical *bhrama* or illusion. But this *bhrama* is *sadadhiṣṭhāna*, that is, has a *locus*. Everything unreal presupposes something real as its basis. And this latter is not a mental product but objective. But in Buddhism *bhrama* is *niradhiṣṭhāna*. The S'ūnya can be the *adhiṣṭhāna* in the Mādhyamika philosophy and the *Ālaya* in the Yogācāra. But the S'ūnya is not a *bhāvapadārtha* or *positive* entity; and the Ālaya, though more positive, is still *bhavābhavā tīta*, that is, beyond the positive and the negative. That is something positive cannot be the *adhiṣṭhāna* of *bhrama*.

Thus negation in Buddhism comes to be without a basis. There is thus a difference between the logic of the Advaita and that of Buddhism. According to the Advaita, every negation presupposes an affirmation. In short, the *svarūpa* of *abhāva* is really the *svarūpa* of the *locus*, which is a *bhāva*, because negation has no ontological validity. There is thus something on which the advaitin can stand. But according to the Mādhyamika, even *bhāva* has no ontological validity, hence, there is nothing on which he can stand and view the universe.

The advaitin denies the ultimate truth of the universe only to affirm the ultimate truth of the Brahman, because both the higher and the lower cannot be equally true for him. But the Buddhist

[1] *Studies in Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, p. 260.

seems to deny the reality of the world merely for the sake of denying it. What is the criterion of his pronouncement on this world? Is there a standard of truth in the light of which this world has to be declared untrue? If that truth has no *sattā* or *bhavatva*, how can it be a truth? S'ūnya may be said to be truth, but has it *sattā*? The Mādhyamika denies *sattā* to it. His reason is: *sat* is never seen without *asat*, *bhāva* without *abhāva*[1]. The nature of *bhāva* is to be born and to die, that is, to pass away and become *abhāva*. But Nirvāṇa cannot have death and so is not *bhāva*. The Vijñānavādin's position appears to be different, but he too maintains that Nirvāṇa is S'ūnya, and so naturally must be beyond *bhāva* and *abhāva*. And very often the Vijñānavādin speaks of his Ālaya as if it were phenomenal, as the store house of *samskāras* etc., But how can unreal things remain, in whatever form in the Ālaya? Is it not the Ālaya itself that takes these forms? In fact, the word used by them here is *pariṇāma*, transformation or modification[2]. But how can a real thing become unreal through *pariṇāma*? If the essential being of the Ālaya is the same as that of the phenomena, then either the Ālaya must be unreal or the phenomena must be real. Further, this *vijñāna* is usually identified with the *buddhi* of the orthodox systems, and the advaitin treats it as unreal. Hence Buddhism in general is often interpreted as holding that the world which is unreal is without a real basis.

But the important question of logic and method here is: Do *bhāva* and *abhāva* stand on the same ontological level? The mādhyamika seems to argue that they do. But does *bhāva* presuppose *abhāva* just as much as *abhāva* presupposes *bhāva*? He does not follow this line of argument. He tells us that Nirvāṇa is not *bhāva* because it has no death, and it is not an *abhāva* because no *abhāva* is found without *bhāva*. Anyway, both *bhāva* and *abhāva* belong to the phenomenal world. But does not *bhāva* occupy a higher place than *abhāva* by being its presupposition? The Mādhyamika seems to think that even *bhāva* cannot occupy a higher place. The reason for him is that destruction is the nature of every *bhāva*, that is, there is no *bhāva* without one form of *abhāva*, namely, *dhvamsa*. But this is an

[1] *The Mādhyamika Kārikā*, Ch. XXVI, 4 and 7.

[2] Stcherbatsky, *The conception of Buddhistic Nirvana*, p. 32. Also, McGovern *An Introduction to Mahāyāna Buddhism*, pp. 60 foll.

unproved assumption for the advaitin. Some *bhāvas* may be destroyed, but not all. Every *abhāva* presupposes some *locus* which is a *bhāva*, and though one *bhāva* after another turns into *abhāva*, there must ultimately be something on which all the *abhāvas* can rest, and which must be a *bhāva*. The form of my perception of the absence of the pen on the table is really the form of the table, and the table is an existence without which the absence could not have been perceived.

But the question may be put: Is not the pen also ultimately unreal even according to the Advaita? If so, both *bhāva* and *abhāva* are unreal, and therefore cannot express the nature of Nirvāṇa or the Absolute. It is true that the advaitin, after dismissing the snake seen in the rope as unreal, later declares the rope too unreal. But the rope is unreal relatively to the Absolute, whereas the snake is unreal relatively the rope. That is, ontologically, the rope occupies a higher position than the snake, and the Absolute the highest position. But the Absolute is not perceived by our senses like the rope. It is an ideal obtained by the application of the criterion of truth formulated at the empirical level. So the ontological unreality of the rope is with reference to the ideal truth and not the preceptual truth. That is, no empirical perception informs us that the rope is unreal. Hence so far as our perceptual experience goes, it remains a *bhāva*. But then when we reach the ideal truth our ideas of *bhāva* and *abhāva* have to be readjusted. Certainly *abhāva* is not the same thing as the unreal or māyā; yet the lower reality is absent in the higher, and the advaitin himself says that there is *prapañcanis's'eṣābhāva* in the Brahman. Just as there is the negation of the snake in the rope at all times, there is negation of the rope in the Absolute at all times. And just as the rope is the *locus* or support of all the *abhāvas* that can be perceived in it and of all things for which it can be mistaken, the Absolute too is the support of all the *abhāvas* that exist in it and of all things for which it can be mistaken. And either for unreality or for *abhāva* the support is always *abhāva* and the form of *abhāva* is always the form of the *locus*, which is a *bhāva*. The distinction between reality and unreality ultimately settles down into that of *sat* and *asat*[1]. With reference to the snake the rope is

[1] *Bhāva* is *sat* even according to the Buddhists, Cp. *Mādhyamika Kārikas*, p. 86 Kārika 10, also ch. v, 8.

sat. And we get the Absolute only when the criterion formulated in order to determine what is *sat* at the perceptual level is idealized and, when applied to the rope itself, becomes inapplicable. Hence we go beyond the world to the Absolute. The idealized criterion of *sat* is applicable only to it. Thus it is our search for a complete and perfect *sat* that leads us to the Absolute. To say therefore that the Absolute is not *sat* is not only disappointing but also illogical. This readjusting of our idea of *sat* or *bhāva* is wanting in the Mādhyamika philosophy.

But it may be asked why not fix the concept of *bhāva* to the phenomenal things which are always becoming, and treat the Absolute as beyond *bhāva* and *abhāva* ? Mrs. Rhys Davids has been insisting upon treating *bhāva* as becoming and not as being and Nirvāna as the objective of this becoming. But then according to her, Nirvāṇa must be a positive entity and not beyond the positive and the negative. And the Mādhyamika does not seem to follow her. He just treats the phenomenal world only as *bhāvas* or existence and Nirvāṇa as beyond it. And this is a question of method. But the important point is, if we treat the phenomenal things as *bhāvas* then naturally our thought must treat satisfied with them. What then must spur it on to go beyond the phenomenal world ? If I have true existence in my hands I do not go elsewhere in search for it. Only because the phenomena do not satisfy the criterion of ideal *sat* or existence, do we proceed to the Absolute and treat them as unreal. And because the Absolute satisfies the criterion, it must be regarded as *sat* or *bhāva*, and relatively the phenomena should be regarded as not *bhāva*. If we are not prepared to readjust our concepts, our thought becomes unsystematic, and so far our philosophy will be defective.

It is for this reason that the S'ūnya or *paramārthasatya* of Nāgārjuna, which is neither *sat* nor *asat* seems to be simply the māyā of the advaitin. Māyā also is neither *sat* nor *asat* and the difference between it and S'ūnya is only in name. Further, Nāgārjuna tells us that the world is S'ūnya and there is no difference between the two.[1] In the Advaita the world is māyā, but it is not the same as the Brahman. True, it has no separate existence from the Brahman, only because it has no reality, not because the two are identical. The advaitin too tells us that every thing is the Brahman just as the

[1] *Mādhyamika Kārikas*, Ch. xxvi, 19.

Mādhyamika tells us that every thing is S'ūnya, but the reasons for the two are different; for the former the reason is that nothing else exists, but for the Mādhyamika it is that nothing exists. The latter maintains that the world is *bhāva*, but in its essence it is identical with the S'ūnya, which is neither *bhāva* nor *abhāva*. The advaitin too holds that we start with treating the world as *sat*, but when we enquire into its essential nature, we find that it is neither *sat* not *asat* and is māyā. So both treat the world alike saying that it is not real. But the advaitin goes further and points to something which is real, whereas the Mādhyamika is satisfied with simply pointing out that the world is not real. He certainly speaks of *paramārtha satya*, but that is for all appearances simply non-existence, or to avoid a negative compound term, it does not exist. The tendency is in a piece with that of the early Buddhists according to whom Nirvāṇa is just the destruction of the combination of the *skandhas*. What the Buddhist is specially concerned with is an analytical understanding of the world in order to destroy it. The four-fold truth of *duḥkha*, *sāmudāya*, *nirodha*, and *mārga*, is meant to show that the world is sorrow, and, it being an aggregate, the destruction of *duḥkha* can be accomplished by destroying the aggregate. In the earlier schools the simplest elements are regarded as eternal *bhāvas*, but the Mahāyāna does not so regard them. In spite of this difference what is wanted by both is a state where nothing can be known or experienced. This is achieved, according to the early schools, by destroying the phenomenal self which is nothing but a *samghāta* of the various skandhas, and according to the later schools, by realizing that every thing is Sūnya. The later concept seems to be a purely logical development of the former. No wonder then that the advaitin could not accept this view. A little more constructive effort would have landed the Buddhist in the position of the Advaita.

The Mādhyamika S'ūnya brings to mind the place of material substance in Berkeley's philosophy, and that of the spiritual substance also in that of Hume. Both have analyzed our idea of substance, found that we can find nothing in it but the ideas of qualities, and so declared that it is unreal. Because Berkeley admitted the truth of the spiritual substance, so far he may be compared to the Vijñānavādin and Hume to the Mādhyamika. Of course, the comparison ends there, for the differences in other points are overwhelming. But

the general tendency of the Buddhistic philosophers, like that of the empirical philosophers of Europe, is analytical; while that of the Advaita is rather rationalistic. But there we should be on our guard, for the advaitin never tries to deduce every thing from a single or a few first principles. He is, on the other hand, critical, and his method is transcendental like Kant's. His intention is to find out something which is beyond the contradictions of the world, but the Mādhyamika merely ends with pointing out these contradictions, and because he could not see anything beyond them, he maintains that nothing positive is beyond them. His philosophical vision seems to be limited to this world; he starts with the idea of the world as *bhāva*, analyzes it into something which is neither *bhāva* not *abhāva*, and stops there.

This paper discusses only the general tendencies. For, in Buddhism every type of philosophy can be found, and it would be easy to point out that Buddhism is realistic, idealistic, nihilistic, believed in the ātman and God, does not believe in them and so forth. But it is hoped that the general outlook of Buddhism and of Buddhism as generally understood by the Hindu is correctly represented in this paper. Reasons can be found in the discussion itself why the general Hindu thinks of Buddhism in the way he does. It is true that the Yogācāra philosophy and the Mādhyamika too with some additions and alterations can be turned into the Advaita. But these modifications and additions are so important that they change fundamentally both the outlook and method of Buddhistic philosophy.

THE DOCTRINE OF SUDDEN ECSTASY

IN

S'AIVISM AND VAIṢṆAVISM

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1. Prefatory

Indian religious systems usually stress the need of slow discipline that gradually moulds the entire range of psycho-physical functions into new patterns. The dialectic of the life of the spirit reveals the fact that each pattern logically and psychologically implicates those that follow it. It is for this reason that the teachers of religion within the fold of Hindu thought, the thought directly or indirectly draws its inspiration from the Vedic and Upaniṣadic tradition, have succeeded in presenting the scheme of spiritual culture as a well-knit system that denies accidents and unaccountable 'mutations' of the inner life.

Inspite of this, however, the doctrine of sudden onset of religious ecstasy is not new to Hindu thought. There is no question whatsoever that there are numerous instances of conversion as personal experience. I do not wish to approach this problem on the basis of such historical phenomena. My task is to consider how far sudden conversion is recognized in the doctrinal literature of the cults and sects.

2. Sudden Ecstasy in Kashmir S'aivism

The doctrine of sudden influx of religious ecstasy is in keeping with the doctrine of *Pratyabhijñā* or recognition. The general nature

of the doctrine is enunciated by Mādhava in the following terms: "There being a God whose omnipotence is learnt from the accredited legendaries, from accepted revelation and from argumentation,—there arises in relation to my presented personal self the cognition that I am that very God,—in virtue of my recollection of the powers of that God."[1] The individual, though one with the divine reality, does not recognize his true nature. Such recognition may, however, be brought about suddenly by virtue of the knowledge and experience that he possesses, but under the direct stimulation of a new experience such as initiation or precept of one who possesses true insight.

The author cited above elucidates this view by the following striking metaphor: "As the gallant (about whom the maiden has heard so much and towards whom her heart has softened), standing before the damsel is disdained as like all other men, so long as he is unrecognized, though he humble himself before her with all manner of importunities. In like manner the personal self of mankind, though it be the universal soul, in which there is no perfection unrealized, attains not its own glorious nature; and therefore, this recognition thereof must come into play."[2]

The idea of a sudden influx of spiritual experience under the general scheme of the *Pratyabhijñā* metaphysics has been elaborated in considerable detail by the several schools of thought that stressed the different phases of the "Recognition-theory." One of the ways of realization pursued by the adherents of the *Pratyabhijñā* doctrine is called Anupāya or the way without technic. This does not signify that no discipline or methods of inner purification are prescribed. It only means that when man has applied himself to God realization to the best of his ability, the divine influx sets in suddenly without any conscious anticipation on the part of the seeker. A word from the spiritual director or Guru may open up new vistas of life. As Abhinava says:

यदा खलु दृढशक्तिपाताविद्धः स्वयमेव इत्थं विवेचयति सकृदेव गुरुवचन-मवधार्य तदापुनरुपायविरहितो नित्योदितः अस्य समावेशः[3] ।

When man's intellect firmly grounds itself upon the notion of the spiritual reality, as ever creative, from the limitations of time and space, as the pure consciousness that illuminates all that ever can be known, and as the integral sense of joy that reflects itself in all

enjoyment, the sense of divine afflux descends upon the entire life and mind. As Abhinavagupta says :

उपायजालं न शिवं प्रकाशयेत् घटेन किं भाति सहस्रदीधितिः ।
विवेचयन्नित्थमुदारदर्शनः स्वयं प्रकाशं शिवमाविशेत् क्षणात्[4] ॥

3. The Doctrine of Sāhasa

The term *Sāhasa* in this context is derived from the word *sahasā* which means "sudden." The doctrine of *sāhasa*, then, is a phase of *Anupāya* as considered above. But the concept seems to mean a specific mode of experience which the seeker can personify and meditate for the purpose of worship. The following verse shows this :

संघट्टघट्टनबलोदितनिर्विकारशून्यातिशून्यपदमव्ययबोधसारम् ।
सर्वत्रखेचरदृशा प्रविराजते यत् तन्नौमि साहसवरं गुरुवक्त्रगम्यम् ॥

The last line which expresses the attitude of obeisance may be translated in the following way : I bow to the great *sāhasa* (sudden Inspiration) to which one can reach out only through the instruction from the mouth of the Guru (spiritual director)[5]. The essence of all things, according to this view, is the limitless consciousness that denies all finite qualities and yet "all operations are simultaneously unified therein." Sāhasa signifies the unexpected realization of this essence. It is a sudden transcendence of all one's commitments to the world and dues from it. There is, thus, an inflow of the self into its true nature which cuts across time and space. The true self, therefore, possesses no enduring fixations over the world of things. As the text says :

झटिति सर्वोल्लंघनक्रमेणानिकेतस्वरूपप्राप्तिसाक्षात्कारमहासाहसचर्चासंप्रदायं (अत्र निरूप्यते)

Such realization comes without any sequential progress or order— क्रमपरिपाट्युल्लंघनेन अक्रमप्रवृत्त्या ।[6] The spiritual ecstasy rejects the small orderliness of human mind and imposes its own vastness and grandeur upon the self.

4. Occasions of Sudden Ecstasy

The unexpected onset of ecstasy occurs, according to the S'aiva theory, on many specified occasions. No logical or causal link, however, is pointed out by the theories between ecstasy and the circumstances under which it arises. It is, however, quite probable and in many cases almost certain, that there are well-defined psychological reasons for the emergence of the ecstasy-phenomenon.

There are, broadly speaking, five different types of occasions that are favourable for the ecstasy-experience. There are (*i*) change in the subjective attitude of contemplation of familiar objects, (*ii*) fixation of attention upon limited but specified phases of happenings, (*iii*) contemplation of intense emotional situations, (*iv*) contemplation of certain physical object-situations, (*v*) certain types of bodily activity. These will be elucidated in reference to the relevant texts.

(*i*) The S'aiva technic enjoins upon the culture of new subjective outlooks upon objects and situations of daily life. The new point of view yields a novel view in regard to the inner nature of things. With this vision persists for a length of time, it leads to the unexpected emergence of a new plane of experience conveying the exhilaration of ecstasy.

When one view the world as a demonstration of magic, or when one assumes an aesthetic attitude towards all things similar to the attitude towards a painting, or again, when one views all things as moving, as they are seen from a moving vehicle, a sense of ecstatic joy grows upon the mind. The text says :

इंद्रजालमयं विश्वं व्यस्तं वा चित्रकर्मवत् ।
भ्रमत वा ध्यायतः सर्वं पश्यतश्च सुखोद्गमः ॥

A second passage suggests a change of outlook in another direction. When a person is able to abandon the awareness of his particular body and can persistently think of himself as all—pervading, reaches the state of joyful ecstasy :

विहाय निजदेहास्थां सर्वत्रास्मीति भावयन् ।
दृढेन मनसा दृष्टया नान्येक्षिण्या सुखी भवेत्

Think of the self expanding into the sky; think of it as incapable of specification in terms of space-directions, such as east, west, etc. When the mind becomes contentless it reveals its essential nature:

व्योमाकारं स्वमात्मानं ध्यायेद्दिग्भिरनावृतं ।
निराश्रया चितिः शक्तिः स्वरूपं दर्शयेत् तदा ॥[7]

(*ii*) The result can be achieved by fixation upon specific phases of experience, especially the transitional phases. These, in as much as they exclude all well-defined qualities, partake more of the nature of what may be called pure consciousness, or non-relational consciousness, *S'uddha-caitanya* or *Nirvikalpa-caitanya*. Since both the latter are said to sample the character of reality, fixation of the type recommended as a mode of spiritual culture, may be said to lead on to reality.

It is said: when a sound ends in an aspirate, fixate on the latter. The contentless mind will touch upon the eternal Brahman:

वर्णस्य सविसर्गस्य विसर्गान्तं चितिं कुरु ।
निराधारेण चित्तेन स्पृशेद् ब्रह्मसनातनम् ॥

The same principle is implication in another technic: Bring to a state of quiescence every desire that grows upon the mind. The desire dissolves into pure consciousness out of which it emerges. And fixation upon the phase of growth and disappearance acquaints one with pure consciousness. The text says:

झगितीच्छां समुत्पन्नां अवलोक्य शमं नयेत् ।
यत एव समुद्भूता ततस्तत्रैव लीयते ॥[8]

(*iii*) Certain types of intensive emotional experience that obliterate all mental contents and render the mind an undifferentiated stream of consciousness, are also said to induce sudden ecstasy. A sex-configuration, a social situation in which there is much festivity or one of re-union of friends, are occasions for the intensification:

आनन्देन इति प्राप्ते दृष्टे वा बान्धवैश्चिरात् ।
आनन्दमुद्गतं ध्यात्वा तल्लयस्तन्मना भवेत् ॥

जग्धिपानकृतोल्लासरसानन्दविजृंभनात् ।
भावयेत् भरितावस्थां महानन्दस्ततो भवेत् ॥[9]

(*iv*) The direction of attention upon certain auditory sensations and auditory images is said to lead to sudden ecstasy.

Thus, attention directed to the sensory image of a sound that would arise when the edge of a metallic vessel is hit, or to the murmuring sound of a quickly flowing stream, induces ecstasy.

अनाहते पात्रकर्णेऽभग्नशब्दे सरिद्द्रुते ।
शब्दब्रह्मणि निष्णातः परं ब्रह्माधिगच्छति ॥

When one fixates entirely upon the tonal succession of a stringed instrument, from the tones that lengthen out to those that are of a short duration, he may reach a stage of ecstasy at the close of the series.

तन्त्र्यादिवाद्यशब्देषु दीर्घेषु क्रमसंस्थिते ।
अनन्यचेता प्रत्यन्ते परव्योमवपुर्भवेत् ॥[10]

Fixation upon visual objects, too, seems to induce ecstasy. Fixate the eyes upon a vessel, such as a jar but not upon its base. When one is wholly absorbed in the object of perception, he is said to enter into ecstasy.

Fixate eyes upon the treeless base of a hill. All the mental contents disappear and the impulses cease. A state of ecstasy is said to set in.

घटादिभाजने दृष्टिं भित्तीस्त्यक्त्वा विनिक्षिपेत् ।
तल्लयं तत् क्षणात् गत्वा तल्लयात्तन्मयो भवेत् ॥
निर्वृक्षगिरिभित्त्यादि देशे दृष्टिं विनिक्षिपेत् ।
विलीने मानसे भावे वृत्तिक्षीणः प्रजायते ॥[11]

(*v*) Certain physical responses, too, according to the same authority are suitable methods for the induction of ecstasy.

If one, seated in a moving vehicle, or moving his own body, can achieve a perfect quiescence of impulses mental restlessness an ecstasy of full conscious joy arises.

चलासने स्थितस्याथ शनैर्वा देहचालनात् ।
प्रशांते मानसे भावे देवि दिव्यौघमाप्नुयात् ॥

When one walks round and round a place of worship and falls down in the end through exhaustion reaches a non-relational (*Nirvikalpa*) phase of experience which marks the ecstasy.

भ्रान्त्वा भ्रान्त्वा शरीरेण त्वरितं भुवि पातनात् ।
क्षोभशक्तिविरामेण परा संजायते दशा ॥[12]

It is difficult to reconcile the elaborate consideration of occasions with the concept of Anupāya or waylessness. It is, however, possible to subsume these under the concept of Sāhasa. For, the ecstasy arises in all these cases without any gradual transformation of the mind as in the case of the yogic discipline. It is more logical, then, to say that the Pratyabhijñā metaphysics in its epistemic aspect implies Anupāya or absence of any serian progression of steps necessarily leading to ecstasy. In the psychological sense, however, there are definable occasions when ecstasy suddenly arises. In this sense we may speak of ways and occasions of sudden ecstasy. It is sudden in contrast to the gradual preparation suggested in the yoga discipline.

5. Types of Sudden Ecstasy According to the S'aiva Doctrine

The principle that underlies the attainment of sudden ecstasy is elucidated in another text of the Pratybhijñā school. It is said that when one fixates upon the inner conscious states the relational phase of experience which tends to assume the form of discursive judgments ceases. If the mind is restrained from its excursion into different lines of thinking there emerges suddenly higher planes of spiritual experience touching upon the Divine. As the text says :

हृदये निहितचित्तः, स्वस्थिति प्रतिबंधकं विकल्पं अकिंचित् चिंतकत्वेन प्रशमयन्, अविकल्पपरामर्शेन देहाद्यकलुषस्वचित्तप्रमातृतानिभालनप्रवणः, अचिरादेव उन्मिषद्विकासां तुर्यतुर्यातीतसमावेशदशाम् आसादयति ॥[13]

Such ecstasy *(Āves'a)* is said to be of three principal types ; *S'āmbhava*, *S'ākta* and *Āṇava*.

(*i*) When a person has learnt to inhibit all his mental operations but not conciousness itself, and when his self has been duly " awakened " from its spiritual slumber by the Guru, a kind of ecstasy dawns upon the mind. This is called *S'āmbhava Āves'a*. As the text says :

अकिंचित् चिंतकस्यैव गुरुणा प्रतिबोधतः ।
उत्पद्यतेऽथ आवेशः शांभवोसावुदाहृतः ॥[14]

(*ii*) The ecstasy that sets in upon the mere mental contemplation of the " unrecited syllable " or *Ajapā Gāyatrī*, is called *S'ākta ecstasy*.

उच्चाररहितं वस्तु चेतसैव विचिन्तयन् ।
यं समावेशमाप्नोति शाक्तः सोऽत्राभिधीयते ॥[15]

(*iii*) When one recites the *praṇava* or *Om*, reconstructs its manner of enunciation and contemplates its significance, a third type of ecstasy grows upon the mind. This is called *Āṇava ecstasy*.

उच्चारकरणध्यानवर्णस्थानप्रकल्पनैः ।
यो भवेत् स समावेशः सम्यगाणव उच्यते ॥[16]

The S'aiva theory as surveyed above, though it stresses the principles of waylessness (Anupāya and suddenness (Sāhasa), seems to have enunciàted well defined methods for the attainment of ecstasy. Hence, it is not sudden or wayless in the same sense in which the phenomenon of sudden ecstasy is known among the mediaeval Christian mystics. In these latter instances, there is no mention of well defined methods the pursuit of which leads to ecstasy. Pascal, who had a vision of resplendent spiritual glory symbolized by " Fire," on Monday November 23, 1634, at 10-30 P.M. for about a minute and a half, remembered the experience all his life and is supposed to have worn a record of the event on a piece of parchment all his life. The ecstasy came after a long period of distress. There is an unconscious psychological preparation but no concious technic or expectation. [17]

Brother Lawerence's biographer likewise describes how the perception of a leafless tree in winter and the thought that the leaves would be renewed, " set him perfectly loose from the world and

kindled in him a love for God." In this instance, too, the ecstasy is regarded as a favour of God rather than as an achievement through a method. [18] It arises through a silent transformation of the personality rather than through purposive efforts.

A similar absence of logical or causal nexus is exhibited in the phenomena of inner life described by Mme. Guyon. There is, however, always evidence of persistent mortification of the life of appetites. "*Mes sens e'taient dans une mortification continuelle.*" But all the Christian mystics do not exhibit "effortlessness" of this type. The mental Oraison says Delaccroix in describing the inner life of St. Theresa, depends partly on our activity of meditation and partly upon our repose from effort of the understanding. A positive and a negative condition are specified though there is no assurance that ecstasy would necessarily arise upon these. "*Il y a un recuelliment surnaturel, que nous ne sommes pas maîtres de produire.*" [19] There is thus a hitatus between the effort and its success. And it can only be made up by factors that are conceived as supernatural.

6. The Vaiṣṇava Theory of Sudden Ecstasy

The supernatural principle that crowns mental and physical preparations with spiritual success, is stressed in Vaiṣṇava doctrine as also in the Christian mysticism as noted above. The effort is there; but something else is needed to direct it to its goal. This in the Vaiṣṇava theory is the Divine grace which brings to the devotee who desires nothing beyond spending his days in the Divine worship, the great joy of spiritual ecstasy. As *Bhāgavatam* says: He gives the devotee who desires nothing but opportunity for service to Him, the great joy of Divine contact.

स्वयं विधत्ते भजतां अनिच्छताम्
इच्छापिधानं निजपादपल्लवम् ॥[20]

But the wages of grace is love. God demands it in full before his grace descends upon man. No technic or doctrinal belief pays for the ecstasy that grace imparts. But there is only the assurance of faith that the divine afflux never fails the integral love of a devoted personality. No time or reason can be specified for the consummation.

There must, thus, be an element of suddenness in the emergence of the ecstasy.

As a matter of fact, the holy love itself appears suddenly without any gradual stages of preparation. It is said:

साधनेन विना यस्तु सहसैवाभिजायते ।
स भाव: कृष्णतद्भक्त: प्रसादज इतीर्यते ॥

Such love appears as an inner experience of great joy when the presence of any divine symbol.[21] Neither authority nor reason play any important part in the growth of this inner joy:

नात्रशास्त्रं न युक्तिं च तल्लोभोत्पत्तिलक्षणम् ॥[22]

And the arousal of such devotion leads the mind onwards towards ecstasy not necessarily by gradual stages but by sudden dashes.[23] There is then a " suddenness " in the attainment of ecstasy.

Such a consummation is to be distinguished, according to one authority, from another type of devotional love. The *Yoga-sūtras* speak of contemplation of God as a technic which does not lead man to ecstasy but merely prepares for it. Then the Vaiṣṇava texts refer to a stage which is the immediate antecedent of Samādhi or ecstasy.[24] I believe, however, that this interpretation does not do justice to the *Yoga* position. For, there too, the stage of divine love is an immediate antecedent of ecstasy. As Vyāsa says:

तदभिध्यानादपि योगिन आसन्नतम: समाधिलाभफलं च भवतीति ।[25]

The distinction in the outlook pointed out by the commentator of the *S'āṇḍilya-sūtra*, therefore, does not exist.

7. CONCLUSION

The conception of sudden ecstasy as instanced in the doctrines considered above, seems to possess a different connotation in the context of each religious discipline:

(*i*) The S'aiva theory is inclined to view as sudden all ecstasy-experience which cannot be logically linked with the antecedent practices.

(*ii*) Sudden ecstasy again appears at a point of events definable phenomenally. There is, however, no hint of the ecstasy previous to

its appearance. Nor is there a possibility of its prediction. It appears moreover as an integral experience, complete in its meaning and psycho-physical effectiveness There is no half-way ecstasy. And it is sudden in this sense.

(*iii*) The instances of the Christian mystics noted in the preceding section suggest that the concept of suddenness indicates unconscious psychological transformation. The change in the personality goes on below the threshold of conscious attention and effort for a long time. The result appears as a new order of experience after a long interval. Its novelty as a conscious event gives it the character of suddenness. The sudden ecstasy, then, is introspectively novel.

(*iv*) In the Vaiṣṇava doctrine, too, sudden ecstasy is novel in the psychological sense, as in the Christian doctrine. But there is another factor. The Vaiṣṇava invariably looks upon ecstasy as a contact with the Divine. Hence, the phenomenon possesses the character of a miracle.

The Christian mystics too often think of ecstasy as divine contact or presence. But they also think of it as consolation or gift. The latter certainly belongs to the natural order of events in the sense that it belongs to man's normal sphere of life which it serves to elevate. In the Vaiṣṇava view, the ecstasy always represents a transformation of the mind and the being into a higher spiritual plane.

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A CLUE INTO THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP INTO THE MYSTICAL AND RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS AS SEEN IN THE INTERPRETATION OF THE ĪŚĀVĀSYOPANIṢAD BY ŚRĪ VEDĀNTA DEŚIKA

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The mystical consciousness is different from the religious. Mystical Consciousness or Cosmic Consciousness is characteristically typified by the pioneers, liberators and idealists, who envisage a state of existence that is planetary or extra-worldly. The mystics are, because of this consciousness, iconoclasts governing their lives from some supreme principle or vision or sense of responsibility to higher forces immanent and transcendent within them. They have a sense of values and the ordinary world is worthless in their eyes. Sacrifice and struggle is their vocation. They may be born amidst traditions, and they may even embrace them, but they are never their slaves and followers. They adapt them to changing conditions with an eye to the Goal of mankind. A far-off look, a wide-awake intelligence and a stubborn resistance to all that lead to bondage of the human spirit are signs of the genuine mystic. They are *mumukṣus*, seekers after liberation which is to them the Reality of being. They are negators of negation, annihilators of limitation: they are not of the earth, conventional, abiding and obedient.

As the Mystical Consciousness can only occur in advanced and mature minds, though mere traces of it can be found in the primitive vital surgings of the individual who struggles and survives against an environment that seeks to devour him, it has been acclaimed as the only truth of being, the highest Consciousness of which we are aware.

The Mystical Consciousness in so far as it is a force of great vitality and importance to progress and self-realization, is indispensable to life itself. Aspiration is everything. And aspiration for *svarājya* is most valuable. Mystic Consciousness is aware of value as ideal, which must be realized. It is the Promethean force and Dionysic in its frenzy which brooks no barrier, however highplaced. Mystic Consciousness is the bearer of Value, the highest and the greatest of which the human consciousness is aware. But this should not blind us to the existence of another attitude that claims an equal importance in human life.

The religious attitude is apparently a more peaceful one, realistic and possessed of the Consciousness of dependence on some higher principle of Being. Supreme Faith in its rationality and justice and dependence utter and entire on it and reverence and wonder at the ways of the Providence and Deity are characteristics of the religious attitude. Loyalty or faith is absolute. The sense of the comforting nature of the Belief in the Divine is present. Love for the creation as the solution of man's misery is not as prominently present as the love for the Creator. The primitive human being or men of low mental calibre cannot appreciate the majesty of the cosmic phenomena, much less can they appreciate the inroads on nature that the human being has made in the transformation of the natural surroundings. Progress has been registered, but to the religious man, all these are achieved, and more are achievable, only through the Will of God. God is all in the view of the individual religious man. The *summum bonum* of life is realization of God rather than self-realization. But the religious attitude has another characteristic too which is that it leads to the birth into Divine Consciousness and enjoyment of the Divine. *Sambhūti* or birth into Divine Consciousness is the aim and effort of all religious people. To enjoy the Divine Lord through surrender to his will is one of the most significant features of the religious consciousness, more significant than the other features of following rituals and observing other practices. This is what the Commentator of the *Īśā Upaniṣad* makes out of the significant and pregnant phrase *Sambhūti*-birth. The use in the context of the two words, *Asambhūti* and *Sambhūti* is dynamic, and informs the praxes that have to be undertaken by the *seeker*. The practice of the destruction and the practice of birth are two stages of a single

phenomenon, but they are both needed. The results that occur from them are individual results, resulting in the knowledge of the Divine which alone confers the boon of *Amṛtānubhava* immortality-experience. The sense of creatureliness, dependence, recognition of the Highest Being as in all things and beings, as controlling, ordering and destining all creatures, as the supporter, creator as well as destroyer, are indeed included in the definition of the Divine Lord. The darkness of the night, and the deepening frightfulness of the forests, the high protrusions and huge sizes of the rocks and boulders, wide expanses of water and deep gorges and ravines are phenomena that strike terror in human hearts, and display the greatness of the Creator who far surpasses any calculation of strength by us. The glory of the stars and regularity in the periods of the day and night, and all eclipses reveal that the ruler is governing the world according to Order, *Ṛta*. Even Kant and Goethe succumbed to the religious attitude because of the Supernatural nature of the Divine Order. They could unsettle Nature, make it phenomenal, but God they never could dislodge. The Ontological argument of Anselm could never be divorced from the Cosmological. Des Cartes built up his entire doubting system on the basis of this axiom of Inner Ruler, *Deamon* who must exist to delude at least but who would never condescend to delude him.

The religious consciousness then is existent ; it is law-abiding rational, and never sensational. It is aware of the greatness and grandness of Creation, and aware also that the human individual can never be its creator. It seeks to know, to understand, to solve the mystery, the most central, of man's dependence and existence in the total order of things. To experience it is the one and only aspiration. The main features of such a consciousness so far the west is concerned is found in the lives of Spinoza and Leibniz who were pluralists and conscious of their dependence on the Divine. The Bhakti cult rests profoundly on the feeling of dependence and a seeking after the fullest exemplification of that dependent relation. Those schools are fundamentally religious systems which teach the practice of dependence on the One supreme Lord. Theism or the acceptance of God is the acceptance of the dependence of man and all creatures on Him, in whom they live and move and have their being. That the bhakti might be explosive and emotional or rational and resigned does not in the least take away from it the quality of utter dependence on God.

Man is met in the life of the bhakta as part of God, and only through God are others realized as brothers and participators in God's *Līlā*.

In mysticism then, life is an adventure, a progress made by the individual, a *puruṣakāra* towards the ideal of utter self-realization not different at earlier stages from the seeking of independence. This struggle for independence is quite different from the struggle for dependence. But on a profounder consideration, just like the doctrine of negation where all negation is determination, so also all struggle after independence (negation) is indeed the struggle after dependence (affirmation) on God. It is this significant fact that is evident from the Upaniṣadic teaching.

The history of the growth of Indian thought might well be said to illustrate the two tendencies. It is undoubted that the Idea of God is the first and foremost feature. In fact, the *Ṛg Veda* is said to represent the evolution of God through the gods who belong to several planes and represent the incarnation of the forces of various malefic and benefic kinds. The recognition of the two-fold nature of the forces itself is sufficient warrant for the impending struggle, religious as well as ethical. Gods of light and life are invoked against the forces of darkness and death. But it is clear that the hope and trust in the Divine alone can make life triumph. God must become the master of Māyā and indeed utilize it for manifesting his greatness. The dialectic works thus towards the distinct superiority and lordship of the Divine Lord. Knowledge of the Divine leads to transcendence and conquest over death and disintegration, defeat and disaster. Action that men do, must be action that is sanctified by knowledge. Ignorant action it is that leads to death, whereas action that is governed by knowledge is what leads to liberation and true creation. The Seer who sees far beyond the present, whose vision transcends the limits of ordinary perception, one who is *krānta-darśī*, executes his action from the transcendental standpoint, *sub specie eterni* it may be, for that is the meaning of the *krānta-darśī*; a free man thus is one who in almost every respect resembles his God.

The mystical consciousness also has this danger of being diverted to mere struggle after abstract freedom, *kevalatva*. The Sāmkhyan *Puruṣa* is the standing witness of mere freedom. Such a being who stands alone in his isolation is little comfort. Nor is the Buddhistic Buddha who has attained Nirvāṇa very different from such a lonely

figure. It is impossible for such lonely creatures to survive their loneliness. It is with characteristic brilliance that the Vedic passage intimates that God even feeling lonely sought out His Creation. Even the transcendent requires the phenomenal, the Divine the human. No wonder the fall (or at least the so-called fall) from the supreme Isolationism of Sāmkhya and Buddhism to the latter stages of the same doctrines is significant of the truth. Just as the intellectualized fictions of ritualism or representative symbolism cannot long sustain an atmosphere of non-empiricism or pseudo-empiricism and has to come to terms with *Yathārtha-jñāna*, real knowledge of the concrete human situation and knowledge and growth and struggle (as Platonism also fully was made to feel), so also mere struggle after liberty from all limitations and impediments has to come to terms with the realization of the Supreme on whom all are dependent, and indeed has to join its forces with such an effort.

Such then is the general thesis of the paper. The fact about our spiritual life consists in a four-fold activity. First and foremost the realization and deepening consciousness of the *living presence* which can be said to be synthetic knowledge. Such a knowledge far from being mere intellectualization of life is a dynamic source of all action. Knowledge becomes the bed-rock of synthetic action. Such action and such knowledge intermingle so fully that in the words of Bergson, knowledge and action (*ubhayor saha*) are indistinguishable.

To know is to be. Equally to know is to practise the destruction of barriers to understanding and progress of spiritual life. And to make all efforts are rebirth or birth into the Spiritual Illumination. It is this fourfold intermingling that constitutes an integral yoga. Body and mind and Spirit and Realization all participate in the Yoga.

The psychology of the Saint shows not merely the dynamic introvert struggle of the Mystic but also the extrovert adoration of the Deity whom he apprehends. The problem of relationship between religious and mystical consciousnesses is not to be studied either in isolation or in their initial expressions. The maturity of these ought to be considered. The saint is either a demented idealist, a self-hallucinating individual nor an insane dictator struggling to be All and Everything in himself. The Saint is a mature being and in a sense a realized soul, a mahātma, an integral Self. This being the case we

cannot entertain the views of Santayana or Leonard Woolfe or of those psychologists of Religion who consider religious (mystical) experiences to be regressions of personality into the primitive, or invasions of the primitive libido of the normal. The mystical consciousness, if it be studied in its normal evolution, gradually sheds away the barriers to fullest experience and realizes its place in the Ultimate scheme of things. The religious Consciousness when it is traced from its origins also reveals the final end to be the realization of the freedom from all barriers except the one and fundamental and inalienable realization of the Unity of the Individual in the All, an *apṛthaksiddha-sambandha* of the finite with the infinite including, however, in every other respect equality.

Thus the realization of the Unity is foundational in the mystic as well as the Religious effort. This realization is of the form of Vision and Experience rolled into one, and means the liberation from death as well as enjoyment of Immortality or bliss (*amṛtatva*). Intuition is the result of both; but this intuition is at once *Ātmānubhava* as well as *Brahmānubhava* in its final fullness. The mystic, if he merely pursues the path of destruction of barriers without the initial knowledge of the Omnipervasiveness of the All in All, will end in darkness and ignorance. Religious Consciousness, if it excludes the realization of the freedom from barriers and concentrates on the Brahmānubhava alone, will, it is affirmed, lead to greater darkness or rather ignorance. The point made out is that such crises might occur or rather have occurred. We can trace the danger of the former, but it appears at first sight difficult to affirm the latter. All the same, it is a fact that the two must go together, the freedom from barriers to true realization is part and parcel of the effort to realize Brahman-Experience.

S'rī Vedānta Des'ika points out that these two are essentially the Unity regarding the Experience of Brahman, and both must be practised together. Here he speaks as a Yogin, and not as a mere interpreter. He starts his commentary that the first and fundamental illusion of man is regarding his own freedom, but that does not permit the individual to surrender his activities which shall further or advance his realization of the Brahman. Actions, obligatory actions as prescribed by the *s'āstras*, have to be performed, and prescribed actions must be given up. To perform actions that tend

to realize mere darkness of the soul, ignorance, is to nullify oneself. It is prescribed action that has to be done, and all prescribed actions have as their test the Omnipervasiveness and Control of the Deity mentioned in the opening mantra of the *Īśāvāsyopaniṣad.* The descriptions of the Deity that follow are all intended to guide the action of man from the altitude of dharma, the real dharma of the individual being dependence on the supreme Lord. The divine sustains the actions of all individuals but it is the individual who has to do the actions in accordance with his own inner svadharma, which is the dependence on the Lord, (*parādhīnatva*). By such a supreme *parādhīnatva*, the individual realizes a state of being non-different from the Lord Himself as shown exquisitely by the first and second case-endings of the Mantra XI which could be interchanged without losing the meaning and import of the *mantra.* Then comes the instruction of unitary practice of Action and Knowledge intimated in the first and second verses as well as the unitary practice of *Asambhūti* and *Sambhūti*, destruction of barriers to Brahmānubhava and the effort to realize Brahmānubhava. That Brahmānubhava is called also Birth, *sambhūti*, is a well-established fact. That in the *Upaniṣads* also such a usuage is available is proved by the quotations from the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad.*

Sarvakarmā sarvakāmassarvagandhassarvarasas sarvamidam abhyatto 'vākyanadara eṣama ātma 'ntahṛdaya e t a d b r a h m a i t a h pretyābhisambhavatāsmi . . .

Again

Syāmācchabalam prapadye śabalācchayām prapadye' śva iva romāṇi vidhūya pāpam candra iva rāhormukhāt pramucya ahūtva śarīram akṛt kṛtātmā brahmalokam abhisambhavāmityabhisambhavāmi (Chānd. Up. VIII. xiii. 1.)

In both these places the ordinary translation is that of attaining the Brahmaloka. That is indeed the birth into reality which is everything. Therefore the *Īśāvāsyopaniṣad* usage of *sambhūti* has its connection and integration with the *Chāndogya* passage and has to be interpreted in the same manner.

The merit of this usage is clear when it is discovered from the context that the teaching here is regarding the practice of Brahmānubhava and nothing less. Once the meaning of *Sambhūti* is fixed, then, the meaning of its negative *Asambhūti* is easily discovered. The

asambhūti means the destruction of birth. But can we ever practise anything that is positively destruction pure and simple and can *asambhūti* or destruction mean destruction alone? Destruction is here defined as that destruction which leads to conquest over destruction or death. Thus the *asambhūti* here intimated is the destruction of death, and death means the surrender to forces that lead to ignorance. *Asambhūti* thus involves double negation, negation of negation. This construction is peculiar and yet this is valid because of the context wherein it is used. The phrase does not occur anywhere else in the *Upaniṣads*, and therein lies the *uniqueness* of this meaning. This is therefore another crucial passage in the explanation and interpretation of the Upaniṣadic philosophy.

The mystical consciousness being the dynamic "other" (*itara*) of the religious, and the destroyer of the barriers to birth or knowledge of the Divine, a negator or negation, is what is identified here as *Asambhūti*. S'ri S'ankara's view that *Asambhūti* must be taken to be *praḷaya*, is undoubtedly worthy of consideration taken independently out of the context, but is ruled out in this context. Nor could birth and death be practised together by any individual. One cannot practise either destruction or creation on a universal scale. The meaning that birth itself promotes dissolution[1] in undoubtedly a better rendering than that of S'ankara, but then these are two processes or turn-efforts aimed at realizing ends which are different. The use of the word *asambhūti* is not significant, so significant as to yield the meaning of the word in the earlier passage as that which leads to the darkness of ignorance (v. 12). Nor is S'ri Madhvācārya's rendering of the two words *asambhūti* as destroyer and *sambhūti* as creator acceptable though from a theist's standpoint it is by far the most acceptable. God has to be meditated upon not only as creator but also destroyer or rather as both. (cf. *Vedānta Sūtras* which speak of Brahman as creator, destroyer etc. *Janmādyasya yataḥ* I. i. 2). S'ri Vedānta Des'ika finds that the whole Upaniṣad is based on the foundation of an instruction of the Guru to his pupil, and the second half of the Upaniṣad is devoted to the instruction of practice.

Mokṣa and *Ānanda* are the two fruits of all practice, freedom from limitations as well as enjoyment of the Brahman are two *results*

[1] Sri Aurobindo in his *Is'āvāsyopaniṣad* com. translates it as "dissolution through birth." (p. 9.)

that Mysticism in conjunction with Religious consciousness achieves. Radical mysticism which is indistinguishable from emotional outburts which produces more heat than light, tends to realize the hallucinatory freedom. Radical fundamentalism erroneously called religious consciousness leads one to the contracted and perverted emotionalism of the opposite kind. To escape from both, without abandoning the crucial essence of these two thirsts or instincts is the method of synthesis. The synthesis must be organic and not merely a patched-up compromise. Emotion is the one thing that has to be canalized and made to perform the liberating-task as well as realizing-task of Man. Else Split-personalities will result. The corrective to the mystical consciousness is the intelligent understanding of the Universal Being taught in the opening *mantra.* The corrective to the religious is the acceptance of the mystical goal the realization on the plane of life the fullness of existence characteristic of the Divine. Life to be significant must embrace the richness, and the fullness of the Divine life here, and on this plane of human thought too. The organic fusion of the mystical and the religious under the aegis of the all-saving knowledge of the Omnipervasive Divine Lord, leads to the profound sense of the Organic which is the truth of existence; the *unitas multiplex* of all existence is thus realized in a wonderful manner, intimated by the most luminous statement of Unity expressed by the phrase *So'ham asmi.*

A close study of the commentary of S'rī Vedānta Des'ika will throw significant light on the Upaniṣadic philosophy. The approach towards the understanding of the basic concept of Unity in terms of the Organic Theism of Rāmānuja and S'rī Vaiṣṇavism is found to yield better results than any other approach, now that Absolutisms and Realisms, Personalisms and Holisms have been found to present unsynthetic studies of great problems.

BHĀVAVIVEKA AND HIS METHOD OF EXPOSITION

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When Ācārya Nāgārjuna put into a system the doctrine of *S'ūnyatā* in the early days of the Christian Era, there arose two schools of interpreters of that doctrine; one was headed by Buddhapālita and the other by Bhāvaviveka. The former school maintained that the Truth, *S'ūnyatā* could be established only by the method of *Prasaṅga, i.e., reductio ad absurdum* of all the theses of the opponents, and held that no thesis of its own was possible for the reason that the Absolute Truth could not be asserted by discursive thought but could be only realized inwardly. The latter school, on the other hand, criticizing Buddhapālita's method of interpretation, maintained that the Truth might also be established by means of an independent inference (*Svatantra anumāna*), in spite of the indescribable nature of the Truth, and hence the school went under the name of *Svātantrika.* However, this method of establishing Truth of Bhāvaviveka was vehemently attacked and Buddhapālita's method was victoriously upheld by the master Chandrakīrti at the beginning of the seventh century, A.D.

We do not know anything about the personal history of Bhāvaviveka except that in a great stone mountain not far to the south of the capital of the Dhanakaṭaka kingdom, he rests in the palace of the Asuras awaiting the time when Maitreya Bodhisattva shall reach perfect wisdom and shall then explain some difficulties in his way. (See, *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, p. 137.) It is, however, certain that he was a great logician and a contemporary of Dharmapāla (539-70 A.D.) who was the teacher of S'īlabadra, the teacher of Hiuen Tsang at

Nālandā. There are five works ascribed to him extant either in the original Sanskrit or in the translations :

1. *The Prajñāpradīpa* is an extensive commentary by him on the *Mādhyamika kārikas* of Nāgārjuna, available in Chinese (Nanjio No. 1185) and Tibetan translations and being studied by me and the result will be published in a separate paper.
2. His *Mādhyāmikahṛdayakārikā* with auto-commentary called *Tarkajvālā*, is an independent work, very valuable for historical studies of his contemporary philosophical thoughts and available in the Tibetan translation. The Sanskrit originals of this work have been recently discovered by Rev. Rāhula Saṅkṛtyayāna.
3. *The Nikāyabhedavibhaṅgavyākhyāna* is a description of the 18 earlier schools of Buddhism, translated into English from the Tibetan by Rockhill in his *Life of the Buddha*.
4. *The Madhyamakārthasangraha* is a short treatise on double Truth, translated into Sanskrit and English and edited with the Tibetan version by me in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. V, pp. 41 ff.
5. *The Mahāyānakaratalaratna* is a treatise on the validity of inference to establish the Truth independently.

Now I propose to study in this paper the last work, *Mahāyānakaratalaratna* which is available only in the Chinese translation of Hiuen Tsang, (Nanjio No. 1237) and present its main contents to the world of scholars. The work is considered to be very valuable for a clear exposition of the subject by Buddhists in China. It is divided into two chapters. In the first chapter the author proves voidness or non-substantiality of the Samskṛta elements and puts it in a formal logic as follows :

Thesis. The composite (*Samskṛta*) elements are void from the standpoint of Absolute Truth.

Reason. Because they are originated through causes and conditions.

Example. Just like things magically created (*Māyāvat*).

Now the following objection has been put against this statement by those who do not hold non-substantiality of things: If you

establish that all the composite elements are void (and non-existent), perceptive cognition of objects like matter and other will not arise in us, we, on the other hand, internally realize those things to be real entities. Therefore, your statement is quite the reverse of the actual fact. It also contradicts our experiences, which contradiction is considered to be a defect for all knowledges in general.

Bhāvaviveka answers this objection as follows: Please tell me whether my statement contradicts the experience felt in one's own stream of elements or it does so the experience felt in other's stream of elements.

The first alternative is not sustainable for the following argument. One's own experience is in reality devoid of its nature on account of its being brought about through causes and conditions just like the experience felt in dream. The second alternative cannot also be maintained for the reason that the experience felt by others are not endowed with its own nature. A man with eye-defect for example, sees many things like double moon and circle of hairs in the sky etc. These things can never be real. Because we never deny the experiences which are empirically true, my statement does not go against the experiences current amongst common people. This is the reason why we always employ the term "from the standpoint of Absolute truth" in formulating our propositions.

Somebody raises this objection. In your proposition the reason is also a composite element. Therefore its nature is unreal (*S'ūnya*). Thus the reason falls into the fallacy called "*Asiddhi*." The author replies that this is not a real defect but only apparent. This type of fallacy can be found with all philosophers. Sānkhyas, *e.g.*, establish that evolutes are endowed with three guṇās, sorrow, pleasure and delusion—Rajas, Sattva and Tamas, because they are different from the intelligent (person). This reason is included in the category of evolutes and also possesses the three guṇas. So it is only a part of Probandum and falls into the fallacy called '*Asiddhi*.' So also prove the Vais'eṣikas that the sound is non-eternal, because it is a product of efforts. This reason which consists in formulation of words, is also non-eternal. Hence it becomes a part of Probandum and open to the same fallacy. The objection as stated above, therefore, cannot disprove the validity of our statement. Then somebody objects that if your proposition means to say that all composite

elements are non-existent, then it denies that all things exist and you have fallen in the extremity of non-existence (*abhāva-anta*). To this objection the author answers that the term *S'ūnya* does not mean void (non-existent). But it simply denotes non-substantial (*Nisvabhāva*), some sort of appearance in a false form (*Abhūta-aṅga-pratibhāsa-vis'eṣa*). We do not deny that all things never exist in all aspects (*Na sarvaprakāreṇa nāste iti apodyate*). Somebody argues that though the term *S'ūnyatā* denotes simply non-substantiality, it can also connote indirectly non-existence. If so, it also conveys the idea of invisibility. This argument is not correct. My statement simply contradicts the aspect of the composite element in which it is spoken of in the world, and that apart, it has no other function of conveying the idea of invisibility. If anybody says that there does not exist here a piece of white cloth, it simply conveys the idea of the absence of white cloth, but it does not convey also the idea of the presence of a red cloth. Therefore one statement conveys only one idea and no more.

Then the author points out that in this system of thought we disprove the supposed real nature of all things in order to avoid the wrong belief in Eternalism (*S'ās'vatadṛṣṭi*); we also deny the unreal nature in order to avoid the wrong belief in Nihilism. Again both these natures real and unreal combined, are also disproved so that those two wrong beliefs combined may be avoided. In order to avoid other similar wrong beliefs, reality of all mental phenomena is denied. Thus my proposition is not at all intended to smell the wrong idea of non-existence even. (*Abhāva dṛṣṭi gandham api na spṛs'ati*).

Now Yogācāras pass the following remarks here. If your proposition is meant to express that all composite elements are void in as much as they are devoid of the nature of origination, we do not dispute it, and it falls in line with our opinion. So says our master too. That aspect of which a thing is devoid, is unreal (*Abhāva*): *Yena* (lit. *Tena*) *S'ūnyam, Tat Vastu Abhāvah.*

(*Yat*) *Ida Mas'ritam, S'ūnyamidam Vastu Bhāvah* (*Iti*) This aspect which serves as a receptacle of the false imputations, is real. The leader of gods and men has in conformity with Truth, declared that the doctrine of Non-substantiality is to be understood in this manner. Again he says in order to train up our mind in the doctrine as below. The imputed aspect (*Parikalpita*) abides in the dependent

aspect *(Paratantra)*, and is non-existent in its nature; because the imputed aspect is totally non-existent and non-perceivable. There is nothing speakable corresponding to our speeches and there is no speech corresponding to the speakable. Therefore, the imputed aspect that abides in the dependent aspect is originally unreal. That aspect of which this is devoid, is a false entity and not real one. This reality (dependent aspect) which serves as basis, void and dependently originated, is existent in its nature. If this reality is accepted as non-existent, that will be open to the objection of a wrong belief in Nihilism. And you will deserve to be excommunicated from the fold of co-religionists.

The author retorts on the above remarks thus: If you hold that "all the composite elements are void in as much as they are devoid of the nature of the origination" and if you take this phrase to mean that the imputed aspect of eye, etc. which abides in the dependent aspect, is not (in reality) originated through causes and therefore remains always unextinguished; and as that aspect of the eye, etc. is totally non-existent it is called void, then you will be trying to prove what is already proved (Siddhasādhana). For, Sāṅkhyas, Vais'eṣikas and others have accepted that things like eye, etc. are products (Text reads *Akṛtaka*). Thus we ought to say that because things are devoid of their own nature, they are unborn, void, but we ought not to say instead (as you said) that they are void in as much as they are devoid of the nature of origination. If they, while in the process of origination, have really the nature of origination, how can you say that they are devoid of the nature of origination? If they are really unborn, as they have no form of their own, you ought not to say that the real essence of all things is only mind (or consciousness). If you, however, adhere to this principle, you will be committing a contradiction of your proposition. In the dependent aspect which is devoid of the nature of origination is non-existent and therefore it is said to be void, then again you will try to prove what is already proved. Similarly what is originated by depending upon other factors will be deprived of the term '*S'ūnya*' as it is real in reality. As regards my contention, you cannot frame any such charge against me. Therefore your remark that my proposition falls in line with your Yogācāras' opinion is only a delusion.

As to the passage above quoted, *Yena S'ūnyam* etc., we say that if you accept as real entities the things like the eye, etc. which are

originated by virtue of causes and conditions and which all people know as such, even ordinary men will be in possession of the knowledge of Buddhas. Wordly things, which appear to us as if they are possessed of real nature, are unreal just like the persons and cities that are created magically, from the viewpoint of knowledge of Buddhas who have realized the Absolute truth. Therefore, it is declared that the aspect of which this dependent aspect is devoid, is unreal in order to guard against falling into an extremity of Eternalism. Similarly, this (dependent aspect) is said to be real in order to guard against falling into an extremity of Nihilism. Things like the eye etc. which are originated by virtue of causes and conditions, and which are included into the category of the empirical truth are real and not totally unreal like the flower in the sky. We, however, prove it as void only from the standpoint of the Absolute Truth. It is therefore, said that this aspect which serves as basis (of false imputation) is real. The leader of gods and men has, in conformity with Truth, declared that the doctrine of Non-substantiality is to be understood in this manner. Being granted that the dependent aspect is real in this sense, (our words) become a good doctrine. As I have accepted this kind of reality, as two kinds of accumulations of virtue and wisdom are brought under principle of *Lokānuvartana* following the world, and as the basic principle (upon which many things are imagined) is established to be empirically real, all things that talked of in the world *(Prajñapti-dharma)* are also empirically real in my view. Therefore, there is no room for the charge you made against me that I deserve to be excommunicated from the fold of co-regionists.

In this manner, the views of the Yogācāras are criticized in detail. Then it has been remarked that the *Pratītyasamutpannatva* is not only the reason to prove our proposition. There are also other reasons such as perishability *(vināśitva)*, to be the result *(Janyatva)* and giving rise to a false impression at times (*Kadā ci nmṛuṣā Jñānakṛtva*) and these are to be employed as the case may require. A Yogin should meditate and realize that all the elements of existence *(dharmas)* are devoid of their own nature. He should realize that even the meditator is devoid of his own nature. By virtue of taking a mental resolve in this manner, the meditator, though deficient in realization of Non-substantiality of all element, repeatedly practises the meditation and acquires the power of meditation. Having acquired it in a

short time, dispels all impure elements *(mala)* of the wrong notions about the Samkrit elements and also sheds off all doubts and ill-conveived ideas. While meditating upon the Truth and at the first appearance of the Truth before him, the meditator does not dwell upon the small pleasure and joy due to some other intermediate factors. Because he is far away from any attachment towards the characteristic marks of all the separate elements of existence, and because he also is aloof from conceiving any idea, during the performance of charity, of the object, donor and receiver and also of the donor, receiver and the result of charity, he becomes purified in respect of two-fold three circles *(Dvividhatri Maṇḍala-Pariśuddha)* and acquires immeasurable accumulations of virtues and wisdom. (Furthermore) not longing for two-fold heavy burden, cherishes no desire for the fruits of the world and of the next world, duly performing the worship which may give a good result in future being lovable for all by manifold supernatural powers and not having any wrong ideas regarding Guṇas' agency, or Ātman's agency, he performs charities on a grand scale by virtue of his divine attainments, *Aṇimā* and others. He, having discharged these duties, internally realizes that all elements of existence, composite and non-composite and all the disproving and disprovable elements are devoid of their own nature.

The author, after having thus fully refuted all the objections put forward by opponents and also having described the process how a Bodhisatto realizes the Truth, closes this first part of his treatise.

In the second part of the book, the author commences to establish the non-substantiality of the four non-composite elements *(Ākāśā, Pratisaṅkhyānirodha, Apratisaṅkhyānirodha, Tathatā)* by the method of syllogism as below.

Thesis : The non-composite elements are, from the view point of Absolute Truth, unreal.

Reason : Because they are devoid of act or function.

Example : Just like the flower in the sky.

Against this statement Vaibhāṣikas put this objection. If you establish that non-composite elements are unreal and non-existent, *Ākāśāyatanasamāpatti* will be without the object *(Ālambana)*. Ākāśa is being defined as *anāvṛti*, we maintain that it exists as a separate entity. Now the author replied that if you formulate out of this, that *Ākāśāyatanasamāpatti* has its real object, or a

real content, because of the essence of this Samāpatti, or because Samāpatti of this nature has an object as its content just like the other Samāpattis or its object, then the other Samāpatti and its object are composite elements. So, if the thing *(Ākāśa)* under discussion, is devoid of its nature, there will be no homogenous example in your proposition. The discussion of the characteristics of Ākāśa is from the standpoint of Absolute Truth. If you empirically establish Ākāśa as a separate real entity, I disprove its reality by a contradictory syllogistic statement thus: Ākāśa is not a separate real entity, because it is bereft of any act or function, just like the flower in the sky. In the presence of this reason thus I have adopted, your reason, *viz.* " Because Samāpatti has an object as a real content " incurs a fault called *Viruddhāvyabhicārin.* Therefore Unreality of Ākāśa has been proved.

With regard to the denial of the *Pratisaṅkhyānirodha* Vaibhāṣikas say the following. The Buddha has declared that there is *Pratisankhya-nirodha* which is considered to be an antidote against the Sankṛta and it is called separation. If you deny its reality, there will be a contradiction in Buddha's statement. This objection was met by the anthor by saying that the Buddha declared so empirically in order to introduce in the mind of the magically created person a contemptuous attitude towards Sankṛta elements. Just as the Buddha said that there exists the magically created person, so also he said there exists Nirvāṇa. We have accepted in this manner the existence of *pratis. nir.* So there is no contradiction in Buddha's statement. *Partis. nir.* is, however, denied reality from the standpoint of the Absolute Truth. So, Buddha said: All people search for Nirvāṇa which they believe to be endowed with its real nature. But I declare those sons of heretics to be ignorant, etc. Again he said: Worldly life. Tathāgata, does not end with Nirvāna, and the expression Nirvana O Tathāgata, has been in vogue only in common parlance of ordinary men. But the real essence of Nirvāṇa is bereft of all kinds of worldly existence in totality (*Kūṭabhāvah*) and so on.

Then Bhāvaviveka turns to criticize the views of Sautrāntikas who prove that Ākāśa and others are no real entities. He remarks that their syllogism involves a fault called *Siddhsādhana.* Tamrasatiyas say that we call Ākāśa while perceiving something material amongst the holes of the window. So it exists because of its

composite nature (*Saṃkṛtatva*). And your denial that a non-composite element is (etc.) involves the fault called *Siddhasādhana*. Our author replies that this is correct since we have already denied reality of the Sankṛta elements.

As Vātsīputrīyas agree in many points with Vaibhāṣikas, the views of the former are to be disposed off in the same manner as that of the latter.

Now Yogācāras say the following: Absolute nature of all elements is Tathatā. There are no two Absolute truths, one existing upon another. It is therefore, proper to say that the Tathatā is void from the standpoint of Absolute Truth. But it is not proper to say that Tathatā is not a real entity. How is it proper that the knowledge which is supermundane and devoid of descrimination, and its subsquent pure worldly knowledge have Asamskṛta as their objects? The following is the criticism of the above opinion made by the author. Tathatā is not real entity. Just as we say that the worldly knowledge has no Asamskṛta as its object so also this supermundane knowledge has no Asamskṛta as its object, and thus we do not take Tathatā to be real entity. It is very hard to prove Tathatā as a real entity. We may, on the other hand, prove its unreality thus: the knowledge having Tathatā as its object, is not a knowledge which is supermundane and devoid of discrimination because of its nature of a composite element, or because of its having something as object, just like a knowledge having a worldly thing as its object. Some passages from *Mañjus'rī* are quoted in order to show that supermundane knowledge does not contain Tathatā as its object.

If it is true as you said, that Tathatā is void because there is no other Absolute Truth existing upon an Absolute Truth, even men like cowherds, shepherds and others know that there is other cloth existing upon a cloth, and therefore they also would become sages and saints. Moreover, *S'ūnyatā* has been introduced as an antidote against ill-conceived opinion. There is no such ill-conceived opinion as one you expressed *viz.* there is no other Absolute Truth existing upon an Absolute Truth. So Tathatā cannot be denied on account of its being void in a manner above said. Tathatā is not a separate real entity, since we have proof which speaks quite against its real existence. It is said, Tathāgata does not view the worldly life as culminating in Nirvāṇa, and clearly perceives it to be devoid of all

defilements originated by reason of wrong ideas of real existence and its opposite (*i.e.*, real non-existence) and also to be of nature of absolute no origination in its own essence. This clear vision of the absolute essence is neither *prajñā* nor *aprajñā*. From this sacred passage we have to understand that the Tathatā is nothing but a complete suppression of all discriminative thoughts. So it is not a real entity, nor its co-related unreal entity, nor *Dharmakāya* that is constituted by *Ās'rayaparāvṛtti*. By repeated concentration upon the Truth, *S'unyatā* which is set up as an antidote against all wrong ideas, various discursive thoughts in the resultant consciousness, the basis of all seeds of imaginations and discriminations are totally suppressed. The absolutely never origination through the absence of causes and conditions, the absolute status of (or without origination) non-origination by nature, is called Tathāgata, Ās'ryayaparāvṛtti and Dharmakāya. It is said in the *Sūtra*. The word Tathāgata, Mañju S'rī, is a word for absolutely non-origination. The eternal non-origination, (dharma) is called Tathāgata, and so on.

If you say that Tathatā, though it is beyond our common speech, is still a separate real entity (*Sasvabhāva*), then you are speaking of the āt-man only by another name, Tathatā. Just as Tathatā, though a real entity, is in truth, beyond the discrimination like existence or non-existence etc. So also the Ātman. This Ātman, though he is a real entity, all pervading, agent, and enjoyer, is beyond all discriminations ; because he does not come within the province of our speeches and does not become the object of our discriminating thoughts. It is said in their Scriptures. Our speeches do not approach him and our minds do not comprehend him, so we call him Ātman. Somebody says that Deliverance is obtained only by the knowledge having Tathatā as its object, not by the knowledge of Ātman. How do you have this distinction ? We assert that there is not any sort of distinction between these two kinds of knowledge because both Tathatā and Ātman are, for you, separate real entities. But you are saying so only by partiality. We have no faith in your words. Thus Tathatā which we regard as a kind of Ātman does not exist, as separate real entity. Let me stop here this dispute with you.

In this manner, all objections of Sānkhyas, Vais'eṣikas and others are discussed and criticized in detail. At the end of the discussion

the author remarks that a meditator, having set at nought all the objections as said above by the method of sound syllogism, (*Samyaganumānabala*) should realize that all the non-composite elements postulated in the systems of oneself and of others are devoid of their own nature. Though the meditator, by virtue of knowledge acquired from spiritual learning enters into the principle, non-substantiality, still he is unable to remove the obscurating elements that are to be suppressed (*heyāvaraṇa*) as he is yet deficient in the power of supreme meditation (*viśiṣṭaprayogabala*). Therefore he must acquire that power by repeated practice.

Then the author instructs the Yogin how to get away from the obstacles that may stand in the way of progress towards goal and fully describes various stages in meditation with quotations from different Sūtras. It is also described how a Bodhisatva reaching the final stage behaves and meditates. Then this chapter ends with a brief explanation of eight constituents of the saintly path and of 6 highest perfections (Pārimitā).

THE TEXT OF THE NYĀYA-SŪTRAS ACCORDING TO VĀCASPATIMIS'RA

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1. THE PROBLEM

IT was not apparently the custom in very ancient times in India to differentiate the text from the commentary by means of the devices known to later times such as the use of the yellow orfinent or red earth, so that in the case of prose works the two parts became mixed up, and it required great ingenuity to separate them. The text of Kātyāyana's *Vārttika* on the *Mahābhāṣya* had thus become for a time indistinguishable from the latter and it appeared to the novice as though Patañjali was explaining his own aphorisms. It was probably due to this confusion that a popular notion grew in the early centuries of the Christian era that it was the appropriate style of a serious writer especially of a Bhāṣyakāra, to explain his own aphoristic sentences. Uddyotakarācārya has adopted this style of exposition in his *Nyāyavārttika* ; Saṁkarācārya occasionally writes what are styled by Ānandagiri as *Saṁgrahavākyas*, which are amplified in the subsequent portions of the *Bhāṣya*, and there is every reason to believe that Vātsyāyana, the author of the *Nyāybhāṣya*, is the author of at least some of the aphoristic sentences that appear scattered throughout his *Bhāṣya*, let us look at the first three *Saṁgrahavākyas* in the *Nyāyabhāsya*. If they are the work of somebody other than Vātsyāyana, Vātsyāyana might as well have not existed ; they are in fact as integral part of the *Nyāyabhāṣya*. Reading them apart, we do not see any logical sequence in them, which is not the impression given by Kātyāyana's *Vārttikas* ; and they do so much form a supplement or

criticism of the sūtras as a part of the exposition of the sūtras. Not many of the later Bhāṣyakāras or Vārttikakāras have adopted this style, described in a Paurāṇika verse in स्वपदानि च पर्यन्ते, appropriate to a Bhāṣya, that they often write *Kārikās*, which are explained by themselves. The old notions of the *Bhāṣya* style also explain the curious custom in Indian philosophical literature of the same author writing a text as well as a commentary on it.

There was a time when scholars believed that there was a Vārttika on the *Nyāyasūtras* which had become mixed up with the *Bhāṣya*. Kielhorn had already explained the principles by which he was guided in the separation of Kātyāyana's *Vārttika* from the *Mahābhāṣya* in his *Kātyāyana and Patañjali* (Bombay, 1876). Windisch, inspired by Kielhorn's example, tried to show, in his *Uber das Nyāyabhāṣya* (Leipzig, 1888) that there was a similar Vārttika imbedded in the *Nyāyabhāṣya*. Venis, Chief Editor of the Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series, under whose instruction MM. Gaṅgādharaśastrī Tailaṅga had to work, asked the latter to separate the so-called *Vārttika* from the *Bhāṣya*, which he did, but with a protest in his preface that in his opinion what appeared to others as *Vārttikas* were really portions of the *Bhāṣya* itself. MM. Gangānātha Jhā also supported the view of MM. Gangādarasāstrī. The very facts that no one has called the aphoristic sentences *Vārttikas* and that Uddyotakara, the earliest commentator on the *Nyāyabhāṣya*, calls his own work a Vārttika are proof that they were never regarded as Vārttikas in old times.

The problem today, then, is no longer whether there are any *Vārttikas* besides the original *Sūtras*, but whether the sūtras have been successfully separated from the body of the aphoristic sentences in the *Nyāyabhāṣya*. The problem indeed is not being tackled for the first time. Uddyotakara had surely to face it when he wrote his *Nyāyavārttika* and that is a reason why he goes out of his way to tell his readers that such and such words constituted a sūtra. In the text before him which consisted of aphoristic sentences and explanatory portions, he had necessarily to decide which was a sūtra and which merely a *Saṁgrahavākya* of Vātsyāyana himself; but he did not attempt to give a text of the sūtras apart; not all sūtras have been even referred by him expressly as sūtras; some of them figure as rubrics, some are repeated in the printed text after the rubrics with इति and the some without इति. Vācaspatimiśra thought

it necessary to tackle the whole problem anew and although he has commented on the *Nyāyavārttika* (*N.V.*) he has not apparently been guided by the authority of the *N.V.* in all places and has established what he regarded as an authertic Sūtrapāṭha in his *Nyāyasūcīnibandha* (*N.S.N*). Other commentators and editors that followed him have in the main ȧdopted his Sūtrapāṭha, but they have also differed from him to a certain extent below will be found a conspectus of the number of sūtras in each *Āhnika* according to the *N.S.N.* (which forms an appendix at the end of Chowkhamba Series Edn.), the text adopted by MM. Gangādharasastrī in the Viz. S.S., the Vṛtti of Vis'vanātha in the Āna. S.S., Dr. Jhā's text as contained in the Ch. S.S., the *N.V.* as edited by Vindhyes'varīprasāda in the same series and the text according to Dr. Satīscandra Vidyābhūṣana. The न्याय सूत्रोद्धार text printed as an appendix to the *Nyāyamañjarī* gives a text identical with that in the Viz. S.S., and the concluding stanza does not vouch for its authenticity and hence it has not been used. The काव्यचन्द्र is not unfortunately complete, but it has been quoted in the case of some crucial sūtras. It will be found that there has been a different of opinion among commentators and editors in the case of about 35 sūtras.

The tables that follow next give an idea of the distribution of these 'doubtful' sūtras in the different editions and will enable the reader to locate a sūtra for the reference to any of the editions. These sūtras are collected in the following list.

In investigating the problem other data may be found to be necessary. If we have to ascertain if all sūtras have been separated from the aphoristic part of the *Bhāṣya*, the aphoristic sentences must be exhaustively studied. MM. Gangādharasastrī has no doubt conscientiously done his part, but there remain still some sentences which he has not mentioned. A list of the sentences indicated by him and a complementary list of other sentences have been given in the next place.

NUMBER OF SŪTRAS IN THE TEN ĀHNIKAS ACCORDING TO THE N. S. N., V. S. S., CH. S. S., N. V., AND S. V.

	I. 1	I. 2	II. 1	II. 2	III. 1	III. 2	IV. 1	IV. 2	V. 1	V. 2	Total
N. S. N.	41	20	68	69	73	72	67	51	43	24	528
Viz. S. S.	41	20	68	66	73	77	68	51	43	24	531
Ān. S. S. (Vṛ.)	41	20	68	68	70	73	68	49	43	24	524
Ch. S. S.	41	20	69	71	73	72	68	51	43	24	532
N. V.	41	20	69	70	72	73	69	51	43	25	533
S. V.	41	20	69	71	75	78	68	50	43	25	540

TABLE OF CORRESPONDENCES

	N. S. N.	Viz. S. S.	Ān. S. S.	Ch. S. S.	N. V.	S. V.
II. 1						
	1-19	1-19	1-19	1-19	1 19	1-19
A.	20	—	—	20		—
	21-32	20-31	20-31	21-32	20-31	20-31
B.	—	32	32	33	32	32
	33-52	33-52	33-52	34-53	33-52	33-52
C.	—	—	—	—	53	53
	53-68	53-68	53-68	53-68	54-69	54-69
II. 2						
	1-12	1-12	1-12	1-12	1-12	1-12
D.	—	—	—	—	13	13
	13-27	13-27	13-27	13-27	14-28	14-28
E.	28	—	28	28	29	29
	29-42	28-41	29-42	29-42	30-43	30-43
F.	43	—	—	43	—	—
	44-48	42-46	43-47	44-48	44-48	44-48
G.	49	—	48	49	49	49
H. I.	—	—	—	50-51	50-51	50-51
J.*	50-69	47-66	49-68	52-71	52-70*	52-71

	N. S. N.	Viz. S. S.	Ān. S. S.	Ch. S. S.	N. V.	S. V.
III. 1						
	1-14	1-14	1-14	1-14	1-14	1-14
K.	—	15	15	—	15	15
	15-27	16-28	16-28	15-27	16-28	16-28
L.M.N.	28-30	—	29-31	28-30	—	—
	31-37	29-35	32-38	31-37	29-35	29-35
O.P.	38-39	36-37		38-39	36-37	36-37
Q.	—	38	—	-	38	38
	40-53	39-52	39-52	40-53	39-52	39-52
R.S.T.	-	-	—	—	—	53-55
U.	54-65	53-64	53-62	54-65	53-64	56-66
V.	—	65	- -	—	-	67
	66-73	66-73	63-70	66-73	65-72	68-75
III. 2						
	1-9	1-9	1-9	1-9	1-9	1-9
W.	—	-	10	- -	—	10
	10-33	10-33	11-34	10-33	10-33	11-34
X.	—	34	—	—	34	35
	34-36	35-37	35-37	34-36	35-37	36-38
Y.		38		-	—	39
	37-42	39-44	38-43	37-42	38-43	40-45
Z.				—	—	46
	43-44	45-46	44-45	43-44	44-45	47-48
Aa.	—	47	—	—	—	—
	45-67	48-70	46-48	45-67	46-68	49-71
Ab.	—	71	—	—	—	72
	68	72	69	68	69	73
Ac.	-	73	—	—	—	74
	69-72	74-77	70-73	69-73	70-73	75-78
IV. 1						
	1-44	1-44	1-44	1-44	1-44	1-44
Ad.	—	45	45	45	45	45
	45-59	46-60	46-60	46-60	46-60	46-60

N S. N.	Viz. S. S.	Ān. S. S.	Ch. S. S.	N. V.	S. V.
Ae. —		—	...	61	61
60-67	61-68	61-68	61-68	62-69	62-68"
IV. 2					
1-6	1-6	1-6	1-6	1-6	1-6
Af. Ag. 7-8	7-8	—	7-8	7-8	7-8
9-50	9-50	7-48	9-50	9-50	9-50
Ah. 51	51	49	51	51	—
V. 2					
1-14	1-14	1-14	1-14	1-14	1-14
Ai. ...	—	—	—	15	15
15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	16-25	16-25

LIST OF SŪTRAS ABOUT WHICH DIFFERENCES OF OPINION EXISTS AMONG N.S.N., VIZ., AN. S.S., CH. S.S., N.V., AND S.V.

A (II. 1. 20) क्वचित्तु निवृत्तिदर्शनादनिवृत्तिदर्शनाच्च क्वचिदनैकान्तः ॥

B (II. 1. 32 A) न चैकदेशोपलब्धिरवयविसद्भावात् ॥

C (II. 1. 52 A) प्रमाणतोऽनुपलब्धेः ॥

D (II. 2. 12 A) विमर्शहेत्वनुयोगे च विप्रतिपत्तेः संशयः ॥

E (II. 2. 28) उभयोः पक्षयोरन्यतरस्याध्यापनादप्रतिषेधः ॥

F (II. 2. 43) द्विविधस्यापि हेतोरभावादसाधनं दृष्टान्तः ॥

G (II. 2. 49) न तद्विकाराणां सुवर्णभावाव्यतिरेकात् ॥

H (II. 2. 49 A) वर्णत्वाव्यतिरेकाद्वर्णविकाराणामप्रतिषेधः ॥

I (II. 2. 49 B) सामान्यवतो धर्मयोगो न पुनः सामान्यस्य ॥

J (II. 2. 59) व्यक्त्याकृतिजातिसन्निधावुपचारात्संशयः ॥

K (III. 1. 14 A) अपरिसंख्यानाच्च स्मृतिविषयस्य ॥

L (III. 1. 28) पार्थिवाप्यतैजसं तद्गुणोपलब्धेः ॥

M (III. 1. 29) निःश्वासोच्छ्वासोपलब्धेश्चातुर्भौतिकम् ॥

N (III. 1. 30) गन्धक्लेदपाकव्यूहावकाशदानेभ्यः पाञ्चभौतिकम् ॥

O (III. 1. 38) अनेकद्रव्यसमवायाद्रूपविशेषाच्च रूपोपलब्धिः ॥

P (III. 1. 39) कर्मकारितश्चेन्द्रियाणां व्यूहः पुरुषार्थतन्त्रः ॥

Q (III. 1. 39 A) अव्यभिचाराच्च प्रतिघातो भौतिकधर्मः ॥

R (III. 1. 53 A) नेन्द्रियान्तरार्थानुपलब्धेः ॥

S (III. 1. 53 B) त्वगवयवविशेषेण धूमोपलब्धिवत्तदुपलब्धिः ॥

T (III. 1. 53 C) व्याहतत्वादहेतुः ॥

U (III. 1. 55) विप्रतिषेधाच्च न त्वगेका ॥

V (III. 1. 65 A) संसर्गाच्चानेकगुणग्रहणम् ॥

W (III. 2. 9 A) न हेत्वभावात् ॥

X (III. 2. 33 A) प्रातिभवत्तु प्रणिधानाधनपेक्षे स्मार्ते यौगपद्यप्रसङ्गः ॥

Y (III. 2. 36 A) कुम्भादिष्वनुपलब्धेरहेतुः ॥

Z (III. 2. 42 A) हेत्वाभावादयुक्तमिति चेद् बुध्यवस्थानात्प्रत्यक्षत्वे स्मृत्यभावः ॥

A*a* (III. 2. 44 A) ग्रहणे हेतुविकल्पाद् ग्रहणविकल्पो न बुद्धिविकल्पात् ॥

A*b* (III. 2. 67 A) उपपन्नश्च तद्वियोगः कर्मक्षयोपपत्तेः ॥

A*c* (III. 2. 68 A) न करणाकरणयोरारम्भदर्शनात् ॥

A*d* (IV. 1. 44 A) न सद्यः कालान्तरोपभोगत्वात् ॥

A*e* (IV 1. 59 A) अधिकाराच्च विधानं विद्यान्तरवत् ॥

A*f* (IV. 2. 7) कृत्स्नैकदेशावृत्तित्वादवयवानामवयव्यभावः ॥

A*g* (IV. 2. 8) तेषु चावृत्तेरवयव्यभावः ॥

A*h* (IV. 2. 51) ताभ्यां विगृह्य कथनम् ॥

A*i* (V. 2. 14 A) अनुवादे त्वपुनरुक्तमर्थविशेषोपपत्तेः ॥

APHORISTIC SENTENCES IN VIZ. S. S. EDN.

No. under each sū. noted in brackets

Nos.	Adhyāya	Pāda	Sūtra
1-19	I	1	Intro. to 1 (3) ; 22 (16) ;
20-43	II	1	6 (1) ; 11 (3) ; 19 (7) ; 31 (1) ; 32 (11) ; 36 (11) ;
44-57	II	2	13 (4) ; 39 (6) ; 41 (1) ; 46 (3) ;

Nos.	Adhyāya	Pāda	Sūtra
58-61	III	1	2 (1) ; 52 (3) ;
62-74	III	2	3 (3) ; 9 (1) ; 17 (2) ; 32 (1) : 34 (2) ; 39 (1) ; 44 (1) ; 47 (1) ; 50 (1) ;
75-85	IV	1	32 (2) ; 36 (1) ; 37 (1) ; 40 (1) ; 60 (4) ; 62 (1) ; 64 (1) ;
86-99	IV	2	12 (1) ; 14 (1) ; 22 (1) ; 33 (2) ; 34 (1) ;
92	V	1	26 (1) ;
—1			That under IV 1.36 is not in aphoristic form and must be excluded.

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II. 1. 6 विशेषापेक्ष इति वचनात्सिद्धेः ।

विषयशब्देन वा विषयिणः प्रत्ययस्याभिधानम् ।

II. 1. 1 अकारणभावेऽपि ज्ञानोत्पत्तिर्दिगादिसंनिधेरवर्जनीयत्वात् ।

तत्र कारणभावे हेतुवचनम् ।

52 प्रमाणतोऽनुपलब्धेः ।

II. 2. 12 विमर्शहेत्वनुयोगे च विप्रतिपत्तेः संशयः ।

19 प्रत्यात्मनियतत्वात्समानम् ।

20 हेत्वभावाद्युक्तम् ।

दृष्टान्ताच्च हर्षादिनिमित्तस्यानिवृत्तिः ।

41 द्विविधस्यापि हेतोरभावादसाधनं दृष्टान्तः ।

46 व्यभिचारादननुमानम् ।

III. 1. 17 प्रत्याख्याने वा सर्वेन्द्रियविलोपप्रसङ्गः ।

52 संदिग्धश्चाव्यतिरेकः ।

54 सामिकारित्वमिति चेदावरणानुपपत्तेर्विषयमात्रस्य ग्रहणम् ।

दूरान्तिकानुविधानं च रूपोपलब्ध्यनुपलब्ध्योर्नस्यात् ।

III. 2. 9 समानो हेत्वभाव इति चेन्न ज्ञानानां क्रमेणोपजनापायदर्शनात् ।

III. 2. 19 विभुत्वे वा मनसो ज्ञानस्य नात्मगुणत्वप्रतिषेधः ।

34 व्यवस्थितशरीरस्य चानेकज्ञानसमवायादेकप्रदेशे युगपदनेकार्थ स्मरणं स्यात् ।

39 एकशरीरे च ज्ञातृबहुत्वं निरनुमानम् ।

44 अवास्थितग्रहणे च व्यवधीयमानस्य प्रत्यक्षनिवृत्तेः ।

स्मृतिश्चालिङ्गं बुद्ध्यवस्थाने संस्कारस्य बुद्धिजस्य स्मृतिहेतुत्वात् ।

47 विषयान्तरे बुद्ध्यन्तरानुपपत्तिर्निमित्ताभावात् ।

50 नियमहेत्वभावात् ।

73 चरितार्थताविशेष इति चेत् ।

74 अदृष्टादेवापसर्पणमिति चेन्न, एकस्य जीवनप्रायणहेतुत्वानुपपत्तेः ।

IV. I. 32 शब्दकर्मबुद्ध्यादीनां चाव्याप्तिः ।

38 अव्यतिरेकप्रतिषेधे च भावेन असत्प्रत्ययसामानाधिकरण्यम्, यथा न सन्ति कुण्डे बदराणि ।

60 जायमान इति गुणशब्दो विपर्ययेऽनधिकारात् ।

IV. 1. 60 शक्तस्य च प्रवृत्तिसंभवात् ।

उपदिष्टार्थविज्ञानं चोपदेशविषयः ।

गार्हस्थ्यलिङ्गं च मन्त्रब्राह्मणं कर्माभिवदति ।

62 चातुराश्रम्यविधानाच्चेतिहासपुराणधर्मशास्त्रे एवैकाश्रम्यानुपपत्तिः ।

तदप्रमाणमिति चेन्न प्रमाणेन प्रामाण्याभ्यनुज्ञानात् ।

द्रष्टृप्रवक्तृसामान्याच्चाप्रामाण्यानुपपत्तिः ।

विषयव्यवस्थानाच्च यथाविषयं प्रामाण्यम् ।

IV. 2. 20 कारणविभागाच्च कार्यस्यानित्यत्वं नाकाशव्यतिभेदात् ।

31 विपर्यये हि हेतुसामर्थ्यम् ।

33 उपादानवच्च ।

32 तत्र जाग्रद्बुद्धिः ।

V. 1. 17 तत्त्वानवधारणाच्च प्रक्रियासिद्धिः ।

26 व्याघातात्प्रतिषेध इति चेत्समानो व्याघातः ।

36 उत्पन्नस्य निरोधादभावः शब्दस्यानित्यत्वं तत्र परिप्रश्नानुपपत्तिः ।

11 नित्यानित्यत्वविरोधाच्च ।

V. 2. 14 अनुवादे विपुनरुक्तमर्थविशेषोपपत्तेः ।

2. CRITERIA

The main problem having been stated together some of the available data, let us turn to the *criteria* which may be helpful in the solution of it.

Criterion 1. The *N.V.*, it would appear, is likely to give us valuable clues. The relative dates of Vātsyāyana (Vā.), Uddyotakara (U.) and Vācaspatimis'ra (Vāc.) are relevant to our purpose. Dr. S. C. Vidyābhūṣana has tried to show (*JRAS*, 1904, pp. 601 ff.) that U. was a contemporary of Dharmakīrti, but his argument is based on an identity of works bearing different titles, which is admissible. Bāṇa (640 A.C.) refers to Subandhu (6th century) and this latter refers to U., who therefore belongs to the six century, if not earlier. Vā. is criticized by Diṅnāga (end of 4th century) and explains *sūtras* ostensibly criticizing the S'ūnyavāda of Nāgārjuna (end of 1st century) and is therefore to be placed somewhere in the 3rd or the beginning of the 4th century. Vāc. wrote his *N.S.N.* in 842 A.C. U. being nearer to Vā. by nearly 300 years than Vāc., his views on the authorship of the aphoristic sentences are entitled to great weight. Although his views have not been explicitly stated, luckily there appears to be a clue to them forthcoming from his *N.V.*

It is to be noted that in the case of a very large number of aphorisms traceable to Vā., U. does not repeat the words of Vā., but gives a substance of his argument, sometimes using the words of Vā., but never repeating the aphorism in full. In the case of sūtras, on the other hand, he either expressly alludes to it, whether in an extended or abridged form, or merely by implication as a sūtra (*e.g.*, अप्रतिपादनार्थं चेदं सूत्रम् of I. 1.2; अविशेषाभिहितेऽर्थे इति सूत्रम् of I. 2.12) or repeats it as the rubric or after the rubric (as would appear from the printed text, but it is a matter very difficult to verify on account of the difficulty of procuring MSS. of the *N.V.*) always in full with or without इति. It is further to be noted that if in the foregoing tables a *sūtra* is mentioned as non-existent in *N.V.*, it is to be understood by this that it has not been printed as a sūtra, *i.e.*, with the rubric of a sūtra by the editor. It is to be pointed out, however, that may of the sentences which, if the view expressed here is correct, were recognized by U. as *sūtras* have not been understood as sūtras by the editor and

apparently in a few a cases by Vāc.; *e.g.*, Sūtras II. 1. 20 ; II. 2. 59 ; III. 1. 28-30, which are shown as absent in the *N.V.* have been integrally quoted there with comments and in the case of the last three the editor himself acknowledges in a note that they must be regarded as sūtras. On the other hand, of the aphoristic sentences in the *Nyāyabhāṣyas* which are fully reproduced in the *N.V.*, very few, if any at all, will be found to be *bhāṣya* aphorisms and not *sūtras*. One has to read the *N.V.* on the 100 and odd aphorisms not amounting to Sūtras to be convinced how U. has scrupulously varied the expressions of Vā. by adding or suppressing expressions. In most cases he condenses Vā.'s arguments and adds his own to them. He has therefore been at pains to indicate to the reader what he regards as a *sūtra* by quoting it in full.

Criterion 2. If we go over the aphoristic sentences separated by MM. Gangādharaśāstrī from the *Bhāṣya*, we shall see that, broadly speaking, these aphoristic sentences are different in style and conception from the bulk of the *sūtras*. In respect of style verbal nouns to be वचनम् are used in the former in the sense of वक्तव्यम् in imitation of the style of the vārttikas of Kātyāyana [1]; while in the *sūtras* nowhere does a verbal noun stand for potential participle. Secondly, there is a far greater preponderance of arguments embodying an objection with चेत् in the aphoristic sentences than in the case of the *sūtras* proper. In respect of conception, the aphoristic sentences form more or less isolated arguments in connection with a *sūtra* without any logical connection amongst themselves except in-so-far as it arises it arises from the nature of the topics dealt with. The *sūtras* have a logical connection and a continuity of their own. Each *sūtra* is collateral with another in the same prakaraṇa, while the aphoristic sentence is subservient to another *sūtra*. The *sūtras* after go into the details of an argument and then *sūtras* bearing on those details have a collateral and not a subservient significance. This distinction between a *sūtra* and an aphoristic sentence is apparently list of by Vāc. in cases like II. 2. 13 (45, 46) ; III. 2. 17 (61, 67) ; IV. 1. 60 (81, 83), where the *sūtras* have themselves give into detail, so that matters apparently

[1] Vātsyāyana has shown himself to be a close student of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* ; *cf.* the use of the term समवेशा in the *Nyāyabhāṣya* on II. 1, 15-16 and *Mbh.* II. 157; also *Nyāyabhāṣya* on II. 1. 16 and *Mbh.* I. 323-326 ; *Nyāyabhāṣya* on II. 1, 26 and *Mbh.* II. 120 ; *Nyāyabhāṣya* on II. 1, 42 and *Mbh.* I. 324.

of a subordinate nature have an independent significance. It is possible to say that Vā. could have brought in independent topics in his *Bhāṣya* and then the aphoristic sentences relating to them would very well pass, as *sūtras*. The answer to this objection can only be that we cannot expect Vā. to play the interpolator's part, for this would be nothing else. In the case of the *Nyāyasūtras*, with the existing material at our disposal we cannot go beyond the kind of text on which Vā. is presumably writing his *Bhāṣya* to the original work.[1] Leaving such hypothetical aphoristic sentences, in the ordinary *Samgrahavākyas* of Vātsyayana the criterion mentioned above based on style and contents, with certainly be of great use.

3. THE APPLICATION

With the help of the two criteria, which must naturally be used jointly, an attempt is made below to pronounce an opinion on (i) the doubtful' *sūtra*, (ii *a*) on the aphoristic sentences in the Vīz. S. S. edn. and (ii *b*) on the supplementary list of aphoristic sentences. Considerations of space forbid an extended examination of all the cases that arise. It would be enough here to state tentative conclusions with the briefest explanation that will serve the purpose. It need not be said that there cannot be a claim to finality in judgments like these, which are beset with difficulties, and the only purpose served by these will be to invite the sympathetic criticism of scholars.

(i) Out of the 35 'doubtful' *sūtras* the following are to be found in the *N. V.* and will be found to satisfy Criterion 2 :

A, B, D, E, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, U, V, X, Ab, Ad, Ae, Af, Ag, Ah, Ai, (25 in all).

F, S, T, W, Y, *Z*, Aa, and Ac are not quoted in full in *N. V.* and also Criterion 2 is against their inclusion in the Sūtrapāṭha.

There is a difficulty about R. It is quoted in full in *N. V.*, but the aphoristic sentence that comes next after it is quoted with a small change. Both must be included or both rejected so far as Criterion 2 goes. See discussion of 59 and 60 in the next section.

[1] The present writer has stated it as his view in his thesis "*Le Vārtika de Kātyāyana* etc." that the original *Nyāyasūtras*, which would include the book of Chapters II—V go back to same time as the *Vārttika* of Kātyāyana with which they show remarkable resemblance of style, vocabulary and topics of living interest.

As regards D, H, I, K, Q, V, X, Ab, Ad, Ae and Ai (12 in all) we have the authority of *N. V.* and some of the commentators and editors and also Criterion *2* in favour of adopting them as *sūtras* as against that of the *N. S. N.*, while F has to be denied *sūtra*-hood although *N. S. N.*, Ch. S. S. and *Bhāṣyacandra* take it as a *sūtra* in view of *N. V.* omitting mention of it and for reason of relevancy.

In regard to the 'doubtful' *sūtras N. V.* agrees with *N. S. N.* in rejecting R, S, T, W, Y, Z, Aa and Ac and accepting A, B, E, G, J, L, M, N, O, P, U, Af, Ag and Ah.

C appears to have been deliberately rejected by Vāc. Against the authority of the *N. V.* If it is combined with the following *sūtra* into one *sūtra* (as प्रमाणतोऽनुपलब्धेः पूरणदाहपाटनानुपलब्धेश्च संबन्धभावः) it yields a good sense, but as it stands Vāc. appears to be right. Had U. authority to back him in regarding it as a *sūtra* ? We do not know.

(ii*a*) Of the aphoristic sentences pointed out by MM. Gaṅgādharas'āstrī nos. 26, 27, 29, 30, 45, 46, 58, 66, 67, 74, 75 (latter half appears to be a v.l.), and 85 (?) appear to be Sūtras in the light of Criterion *1*. Criterion *2* is favourable to all except 85, where the interpretation offers some difficulty.

Nos. 28, 55-57 and 83 have been already accented as Sūtras in (1) above.

There is a difficulty about 59 and 60. The latter is repeated twice in *N. V.* but not in an identical form with that of the *Bhāṣya*, *i.e.*, instead of तदुपलब्धिः, रूपोपलब्धि occurs in the *N. V.* Here probably the *N. V.* has changed the word तद् to रूप because he is repeating the Sūtra in the course of an argument where तद् by itself would not have conveyed sense. In the context they must be both *sūtras* or both *Saṃgrahavākyas*, because 59 is answer to the pūrvapakṣasūtra and the Siddhāntasūtra is answer to 60.

(ii*b*) In the supplementary list of aphoristic sentences, besides प्रमाणतोऽनुपलब्धेः (II. 1-52), विभुरहित्व० (II. 2-12) and द्विविधस्या० (II. 2-41) discussed under list (i), three apparently deserve the place of honour as *sūtras* if the validity of Criterion *1* is accepted, Criterion *2* being entirely in favour of their being *sūtras*. They are : एकांसिरे etc. (III. 2. 39), अव्यतिरेषुप्रतिषेधे etc. (IV. 1. 38) and अर्थिनःशक्तस्य etc. (IV. 1. 60).

4. Conclusion

Thus, if importance is to be attached to what has been said above, *viz.* that the *N. V.* has repeated in full only what were *sūtras* in his opinion and not mere *Saṃgrahavākyas* of the *Bhāṣya* and if further we accept the logical relevancy of these *sūtras* in the plan of the *Nyāyasūtras* it would appear under Category (i) above 12 *sūtras* would have to be added and 1 cancelled and under Category ii*a* 12 additions and under ii*b* 3 additions, besides one or two that are doubtful, will have to be made to the Sūtrapāṭha as embodied in the *N. S. N.*

KOS'AS, KĀYAS AND SKANDHAS

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POSSIBLY the oldest, and certainly the paramount argument used by the scholarly assertors of the exclusiveness of Buddhist doctrine, of its utterly un- or anti- "brahmanical" sources of inspiration, is founded on references to the *skandha-* theory. While the teachings evolved in "orthodox" ascetic circles—thus they invariably argue—operated with categories of brahman and ātman, Buddhist thought at its outset uncompromisingly discarded from the foundations of its structure any such transcendent premises of cosmological and anthropological speculation and conceived instead the ruling category of the five *skandhas*, whose very notion runs counter to any ideologies concerned with ātman or brahman.

The ideological genesis of the skandha- theory has been one of the main yet unsolved problems of Buddhistic studies. I believe to be able to place before you its solution, corroborated by text evidence of the successive stages of development of the canonical five-skandha series. Such evidence, extant in older portions of the *Pāli Nikāyas* and not quite consequentially or successfully suppressed in the later systematization, shows clearly that this tenet, in its traditional dogmatic shape and purport, can by no means claim a constitutive role in primitive Buddhist doctrine; and so disposes of the above arguments based on this pentad of items as an exhaustive definition of the anātmic entity or rather non-entity called "man." As regards the sources of inspiration and the operative criteria of early Buddhist thought in their relation to Upaniṣadic "orthodoxy," this classical and fairly far-reaching instance shows them to be anything but extraneous or fundamentally opposed to that main line of ancient Indian psycho-cosmological speculation. The skandha-doctrine was evolved,

by stages and proceedings closely parallel to those which marked the development of an Upaniṣadic theory occupying a similarly dominant position, from an initial datum common to both, and (as I have pointed out in an ampler study of the subject) traceable as far back as the *Ṛgveda*.

The *Abhidharmakos'a*, representing a fully developed *s'astra*-standpoint of Hīnayāna dogmatics, still brings together the five-skandha-series with the ancient Buddhistic binomium *nāmarūpa*. In accordance with Upaniṣadic terminology, the twin category *nāma-rūpa* was applied in Buddhistic literature to denote microcosmic as well as macrocosmic differentiated existence (in fact the texts speak also of a *bahiddhā nāmarūpa, e.g. SN*[1] II, p. 24). *Rūpa* represents sensuous differentiation, whereas *nāma* represents differentiated consciousness. Nāma can also exist apart from rūpa (or rather with an unsensuous consciousness-framed body), as appears from the conception of the *pratisandhi-vijñāna* and from the representation of the inhabitants of the highest cosmic sphere as beings framed of mere consciousness. But this sheer nāma does not, structurally, belong to our nether sphere. In the *AK*[1] it is classified under the term *dharma*: according to Vasubandhu's definition the *dharma-āyatana* and the *dharmadhātu* contain *vedanā, saṃjñā, saṃskāras, avijñapti* and *asaṃskṛtas*, and according to the Dhammasangaṇi the same items without the two last-mentioned. The classification of the Pāli treatise is obviously the older of the two: avijñapti and asaṃskṛtas have been added later on. In this classification three of the four arūpa-skandhas are enumerated, the fourth, *vijñāna*, is omitted. The criterion of this omission results from a comparison with another classification of the skandhas, according to the *dhātus*, as found in the *AK* (I, 22d): It appears to be the notion that vijñāna is inherent to the other items of psychic life as their whole[2]. We see that for Vasubandhu nāma-rūpa, dharma-rūpa and vijñāna-rūpa are three synonymous formulations of the same binomium as seen from different angles. If we turn to the Nikāya evidence, we see that in a number of passages the binomial entity *saviñānako kāyo* is analytically rendered in terms of the five skandhas (*e.g. SN*, III, p. 72, 80f.,

[1] *SN* = *Saṃyutta-Nikāya, DN* = *Dīgha-Nikāya, MN* = *Majjhima-Nikāya*, etc. *AK* = *Abhidharmakos'a*.

[2] A notion familiar to ancient Indian methods of computation, enumerating the whole in addition to its parts.

136). We are faced with the conclusion that, in the underlying conception, the dyad *nāma-rūpa* and the five-*skandha*-series were not independent from each other, as the first part of the binomium, vijñāna, contains the other three psychic skandhas, which thus appear to have been originally only three aspects of the vijñāna-element. There are still traces in the Pāli Canon of such a primitive binomial stage of the skandha theory, as *e.g.*, the subdivision of the nāmarūpa into a *nāmakāya* and a *rūpakāya* in the *Mahā-Nidāna-Suttanta* (*DN*, II, p. 62), and the ancient conception of the *manomayakāya* as recorded in the texts about *iddhi*: the manomayakāya is a subtle body hidden within the gross rūpa "like a blade of grass in its sheath (*kos'a*) or a sword in its scabbard or a snake in its slough" and can be extracted from it by means of dhyānic training. There is no doubt this *manomayakāya* is the *nāmakāya* of the *Mahā-Nidāna-Suttanta*.

Are we justified in assuming that the four psychic skandhas developed out of a unique nāma- or vijñāna-skandha? In this connection, it is possible to point out a perfectly analogous phenomenon in the evolution of Upaniṣadic thought. The oldest Upaniṣads distinguish two aspects of the immanent brahman: the shaped and the shapeless; the former comprises the elements of sensuous consistency in the macro and microcosmic structures, the latter the unsensuous constituents, whose exponent is *ākās'a* equated with the *antarhṛdaya ākās'a* (cf. *CHU*, VIII, 1, etc.) (Let us note by the way that, according to *CHU*, VIII, 14 ākās'a is nāma). As many passages testify we may for brevity's sake confine ourselves to *BĀU*, IV, 4, 22—the antarhṛdaya ākās'a is vijñāna. Now in the famous S'āṇḍilyavidyā (*CHU*, III, 14) the antarhṛdaya ātmā, the arūpa—or *bhārūpa*—aspect of brahman, is called *manomaya*, *prāṇas'arīra* and *ākās'ātmā*, the last term being, as we have seen, an equivalent of *vijñānātmā*. In the *Taittirīya-U.* these three characteristics have become three concentric bodies hidden within, and successively revealed out of, the sensuous (*annamaya*) body, and ultimately containing the transcendent *ānandamaya* body, which is revealed when the last but one, the *vijñānamaya*, is stripped off or penetrated. Such is the structural shape the pentadic series takes in the Ānandavallī; according to the Bhṛguvallī, those three psychic items are three progressively superior forms of brahman-knowledge, following upon the lowest one of brahman as gross sensuous reality, styled *anna*. On the axiomatic

assumption that brahman-knowledge is always tantamount to identification with brahman, Bhṛgu's progressive ascension in five degrees of brahman-knowledge implies his being gradually invested with the five forms of brahman-existence (as is explicitly stated in the 10th *anuvāka* of this Vallī. The items of the pentadic climax form the landmarks of an inward progression according to Ānandavallī, of an upward progression—realized by means of a progressive sublimation in *jñāna*—according to Bhṛguvallī. The kos'a-doctrine of the former is but a parallel and complementary formulation of the karmayoga-doctrine of the latter; they are exact *pendants*. Thus the microcosmical penetration through the concentric kos'as—or bodies (*s'arīra*, *kāya*), as they could be called in terms of the Ānandavallī—is equivalent to the macrocosmic ascension through the successive spheres of the cosmic brahman-reality, and the innermost body, the person of the *ānandamaya ātman* hidden within the vijñānamaya *i.e.*, the ākās'a = hṛdākās'a body, is identical with the uppermost, hypercosmic sphere of the transcendent brahman.

At the outset of the Ānandavallī a curious attempt is made at co-ordinating the microcosmic scheme of the five concentric ātmā-bodies with the pentadic elementary scheme, constituted independently from this complex of speculation. This attempt is due to the habit of representing the soteriologic process as an inversion of the cosmogonic evolution. Since the scheme of the former was extended to a series of five items, the triadic cosmogonic scheme based on the nāma-rūpa conception had to be put aside as well as the tetradic scheme based on the trailokya conception: therefore the author of the paragraph tries to adapt for his purpose the pentadic scheme of the elementary layers. But in the juxtaposition the pentad is inevitably increased to a hexad, the hypercosmic reality of ātman being considered as the starting-point of the evolution. The difficulty is tackled by the queer expedient of inserting the additional items *oṣadhayaḥ* and *annam* between the elementary series and the kos'a-series.

The pentad of concentric ātman-bodies has developed out of an original triad, represented by the categories of the *corporeal* (*sas'ārīram CHU*, VIII, 12=*mūrtam rūpam BĀU*, II, 3), the *uncorporeal* (*as'arīram CHU*, *ib.*, *amūrtam rūpam BĀU*, *ib.*), and the Supernal Light (*paraṃ jyotis CHU*, *ib.*, *rūpam yathā sakṛd vidyut BĀU* ; *ib.*), the "own Form" (*svarūpa*) of the highest Puruṣa (*CHU*, *ib.*), of the

very Ātman (*CHU*, VIII, 3, 4, parallel version). Who is nameless, unutterable (*neti nety ātmā BĀU, ib.*), as he transcends the sphere of contingent nāma. This primitive triadic form of the series reappears at the outset of the Ānandavallī under the terms *satya-jñāna-ānanda.*[1] In the S'īkṣāvallī the series is extended to a tetrad through a connection with the scheme of the vyāhṛtis, which is already closely linked with the tetradic trailokya-scheme (opposing the three contingent lokas to the transcendent brahmaloka). In this text, brahman= *mahas* is the transcendent unity of the three vyāhṛtis or lokas (5; in 6 the theory of the yogic ascension through the vyāhṛtis, the macrocosmic spheres and the microcosmic centres is explicitly connected with the scheme satyam-jñānam-ānandam, slightly varied in the formulation: *prāṇārāmaṃ manas* is clearly the brahman's *amūrtam jñānarūpam*, the *ākās'as'arīraṃ brahma* as it is called in the same place). This is the earliest instance of such a superposition of the trailokya scheme—in which the first three items are opposed to the fourth as their transcendent whole to the scheme derived from the nāma-rūpa conception and consisting of three items only.

The ancient Buddhist notion of two contingent kāyas, rūpakāya and nāmakāya, is connected with a primitive three-*dhātu*-scheme, which corresponds to the ancient Upaniṣadic scheme testified by the above quoted passages of the *CHU* and *BĀU*, (where we see a stratification of three spheres of existence: sensuous cosmic reality, unsensuous cosmic reality, and the hypercosmic reality of brahman-ātman, in correlation with three concentric spheres of experience: psycho-physiological life, sheer psychic life, and the latent potentiality of ecstatic ātman-consciousness). Several ancient Pāli texts (*Itiv.* 51, 73; *Suttanip.* 755-6; *DN*, Saṅgīti-Suttanta 10. XIV) bear witness to the existence of a primitive scheme in which *two* contingent dhātus, *rūpadhātu*, and *arūpadhātu*, were opposed to a third, transcendent, *nirodha-dhātu*. Rūpadhātu was the sphere of sensuous life, the material sphere of *kāma* (a view to which some schools still held on at the time of the *Kathāvatthu*: see VIII, 7, XIV, 7, VIII, 5, 6), whereas the arūpadhātu, comprising the two upper strata of the ṣaḍdhātu list, the realms of ākas'a and vijñāna—the subtle and "unlimited" elements which in the conglomerate nāmarūpa constitute the component nāma was the sphere of life of purely psychic beings.

[1] Deussen's undisputably correct emendation of the text-reading *ananta*.

The rūpakāya mentioned in the *Mahā-Nidāna-Suttanta* obviously belongs to the ancient rūpadhātu, the world of sense. The extraction or derivation (*abhi-nir-mā*) of the unsensuous mind-body from the sensuous one is at the same time an elevation to the intermediary arūpa-sphere. Those who do not linger on this plane but proceed upwards to the transcendent nirodhadhātu, thereby relinquishing mortality, must needs give up also the second body. Now two of the texts relative to the three-dhātu scheme (*Itiv.*, st. 51, p. 45f.; st. 73, p. 62) mention yet another body, in connection with the transcendent *amṛta-dhātu.* This is the body by which the Truly Awakened One has experienced (lit.: touched) the Immortal Sphere, the Nirvāna free from upādhis, which is the object of his preaching (p. 46) and to which he shows the way. The disciple who follows him on this way becomes a *kāyasakkhi* as soon as he crosses the threshold of nirodha. Inspite of the effort displayed in adapting it to the frame of the later system, the original conception of the Kāya-sakkhi is still quite evident: characterized by the dominant faculty of *samādhi,* (*AN* I, p. 119), he "abides" in the successive *vimokkha*-stages by "touching them bodily" (*MN*, I, p. 478), *i.e.* he experiences them by means of successive bodies conformable to their spheres. The fundamental text, *AN*, IV, p. 451*ff.*, specifies the technical meaning of the term by stating that throughout the stages of the dhyānas the term *kāyasakkhi* is applied only *pariyāyena*, whereas the bhikkhu is called *nippariyāyena* a kāyasakkhi only upon reaching the limitary stage of *saññavedayitanirodha.* This agrees with the explicit information that can be drawn from the AK: the condition of *kāyasākṣin* is attained by realizing the *nirodhasamāpatti* (VI, 63 a-c, 43c). The formulation is very explicit: *nirodhalābhy anāgāmi kāyasākṣī.* As reaching the nirodha was originally tantamount to arhatship, the *AN* congruously presents the perfect kāyasakkhi as an arhat (*paññāya c'assa disvā āsavā parikkhinā honti*). On the ground of the above evidence on "bodily experiencing" the *nirodha* or *amṛta-dhātu* the origin of the conception of the kāyasākṣin appears pretty clear: a kāyasākṣin was a saint who had realized and witnessed the Nirvāṇa bodily, *i.e.* by means of a body conformable to the transcendent nirodha-dhātu. The *AK-Vyākhyā* (ad VI, 43c) explicitly mentions the "acquisition of a body conformable to nirodha" (*tadanakūlās'rayaprāpti*; *kāyena sākṣatkaroti . . . kāyās'rayotpatteḥ*).

As this dhātu is reached by transcending the arūpa-sphere, the body of the kāyasākṣin must have been conceived as a third body, different from the rūpa and nāma (=arūpa) bodies and consubstantial with the Buddha's amṛta-body. This conclusion is anything but surprising if we consider that in the ancient texts the title *buddha* and even *sammasambuddha* was frequently bestowed upon the Buddha's followers having reached perfection, as the primitive career of the disciple was a career of Imitation, a yogic, dhyānic career like that of Gotama. As the Hīnayānic development of Buddhism went the "negativistic" way, reducing the ideal of perfection to a goal of mere elimination of contingency, it is obvious why no direct mention of the saint's *amṛtakāya* is left in the Canon and in the exegetic scriptures the kāyasākṣin is artificially distinguished from the arhat.

That the modality of the attainment of Nirvāṇa was once represented as the realization of a nirvāṇic body, can still be read between the lines of the controversy reported *AK*, II, 55d, where the Sautrāntika opposes the Sarvāstivādin's view of Nirvāṇa. The Nirvāṇa being no "thing," but mere cessation, it cannot be "attained." But how are then the Sūtra-passages about winning Nirvāṇa to be explained? According to the Sautrāntika's explanation, they only mean that "by the possession of the Way the bhikṣu has won a new āśraya contrary to the *kleśas* and to rebirth." That is to say: he has not won any actual Nirvāṇa, but only the condition and potentiality of utter cessation at death, this potentiality consisting in the *mārga*-body. Such a way of arguing (which may be an old piece of the Sautrāntikas' traditional Sūtra-interpretation) implicitly presupposes the opponent's assertion that the attainment of Nirvāṇa as concrete reality means winning a body conform able to it. Why else should one expressly state that only the mārga-body can be won, there being no "real" Nirvāṇa (and consequently no nirvāṇa-body)?

Can the the nirvāṇa-body be "extracted" from the arūpa (=manomaya)-body in the same way as the latter is "extracted" from the rūpakāya—in other terms, is it already somehow inherent in the contingent consciousness-body? Such a position would contrast with the fundamental tenet of *anātman*: of the non-immanence of amṛta-reality in contingency. Still, the doctrine of the *prabhāsvara citta* (cf. *AN*, I, p. 10)—which seems to be a remnant from the archaic period, and sounds almost heretical in view of the established dogma

in a way points to this issue. But only the Mahāsaṃghika's version renders it decidedly heretical, by considering the *prabhāsvara citta* as *ādis'uddha.* As expounded in the *AN*, the doctrine does not directly imply the actual presence of the radiant nirvāṇa-consciousness in the contingent defiled one, but its potential inherence in the *sammā paṇihita citta* bent on the realization of Nibbāṇa. Even so, the manomayakāya, though inherent as nāmakāya in contingent personality, must be " produced " in dhyāna in order to step forth in its proper nature : it is nothing else but the *sammā paṇhita citta*, the consciousness inverted by dhyānic revulsion from its contingent " downward " direction (as *micchā paṇihita citta*) and bent on the upward course. This manomayakāya is doubtlessly the " body " by which the meditator experiences *sukha* in the first three dhyānas (explicitly mentioned in the formula relative to the third dhyāna). In the fourth dhyāna this *sukha* ceases along with all the other possible functions of manas : the manomayakāya is transcended. As I have shown elsewhere, from an attentive survey of the archaic strata of Buddhist doctrine in the Nīkāyas it results that according to the primitive conception the passage to Nirvāṇa was realized in the fourth dhyāna. Here the manomayakāya is stripped off, and, on crossing the threshold of *nirodha*' the *amata*-kāya is obtained. According to the dominant orthodox point of view there is nobody to cross this threshold ; according to the point of view conveyed by the ancient gāthās in that instant the dynamic viññāna " ceases " and is thereby transubstantiated into the radiant nirvāṇic viññāna which transcends both the spheres of rūpa and of nāma (*DN*, I, p. 223). Thus the manomayakāya, the personality consubstantial with the intermediary dhyānic (arūpa) sphere, is realized at the outset of the dhyānic path by transcending the rūpakāya, and at the culminating point of this path, at the limit of contingent reality, it gives way to the amata-kāya.

To these three kāyas there correspond three *cakkhus* (cf. *Itiv.* 61) by which they are respectively " seen." While the rūpa-personality is seen by the *māṃsacakkhu*, the manomayakāya, invisible to the latter, is perceived only by the *dibbacakkhu*, which is produced by dhyānic *iddhi.* Above the dibbacakkhu our Itivuttaka-text classes the " highest " (*anuttara*) *paññacakkhu.* While the maṃsacakkhu is consubstantial with (the sphere of the Truth of) the Origin (*i.e.*, with the contingent avijjā=taṅhā sphere), the sphere of the dibbacakkhu

is the Way'; but when the paññacakkhu is obtained, all grief is left behind—*i.e.*, Nibbāna is reached. This " eye " conformable to the perception of Nirvāṇa is represented in dogmatics by the *ajñātāvīndriya* (see *AK*, II, 4) coincident with arhatship, and realizing the " fruition " of Nirvāṇa (II, 6).

The three stages of the upward Way to Nirvāṇa, originally identical with the Way to Enlightenment, were thus marked by the three kāyas and the three cakkhus, of which the first corresponds to the contingent nāma-rūpa-sphere, the second corresponds to the intermediate sphere of sheer nāma and is an exponent of samādhi, the third corresponds to the transcendent amṛta-sphere and is an exponent of prajñā. These three stages of the ascension realized by virtue of the Dharma were also represented as three *dhammakkhandhas* (or *ariyakkhandhas*) : *sīla*, *samādhi* and *paññā* (*DN*, I, p. 206ff.), by means of which the bhikkhu transcends the realm of Māra (*Itiv.* 59).

When the *samāpattis*, interpreted as a higher form of dhyāna or samādhi, were collocated on top of the ancient four-dhyāna sphere, a third cosmic dhātu was added to the original two (the dhātu scheme thus being made to correspond to the tetratic trailokya-scheme), and an additional class of bodies was required to represent the form of existence in the new *ārūpyadhātu* ; it was designed as *arūpi saññamayo atta-paṭilabho*, and opposed to the first two, *olāriko attapatilabho*, and *manomayo attapatilabho*. In consequence the manomayakāya was characterized as *rūpi*, not however in the sense of its being built up of gross elements—as opposed to the *audārika*, it is evidently *sūkṣma*—but in the sense of its pertinence to the new rūpa-sphere. Now, *saṃjñā* is the name of the third skandha. The comparison of the Poṭṭhapāda-Sutta (DN I, p. 48-49) shows that this third body was imagined to be concealed in the manomaya-body in the same way as the latter was concealed in the olārika body.[1] At the same time it pertains to the highest cosmic sphere. Thus we may observe in Buddhist thought the same typical correlation between inward progression and upward progression we noted in Upaniṣadic thought.

The saṃjñā-kāya is obtained by passing from the rūpa-sphere to the ārūpya-sphere in the third *vimokṣa* which coincides with the

[1] Butter is " hidden " in milk and is only manifested by buttering, cf., *Śvetaśvataroḥ*. I, 15, 16.

fourth dhyāna. In the formula of this vimokṣa we meet again with the phrase kāyena *sākṣātkṛtvā*. As an explanation of this phrase the *ĀKV* points out that these two vimokṣas are on the limit of two dhātus. This implies a definite statement of the fact that the passage from each dhātu to the superior one coincides with the acquisition of another kāya. In fact the second vimokṣa is described as a condition in which the preception of rūpa is coupled with the absence of rūpa in the perceiver: this immaterial essence perceiving sensuous impressions is doubtlessly the essence of vedanā or sensation: the body of the second vimokṣa is the vedanākāya corresponding to the new rūpadhātu; it is identified with the manomayakāya, of the old arūpadhātu transformed into the new rūpadhātu, second of the four. The passage from the manomayakāya=vedanākāya to the saṃjñākāya is evidently conceived as an elimination even of the sensation-vestige of rūpa. The nirodha-body, as we have already seen, is attained by the kāyasakkhi in *saññavedayitanirodha*, that is in the eighth vimokṣa, by the elimination of saṃjñā too. The proceeding of sublimation being analogous to that on each of the lower stages, the relation between the last two bodies is fairly obvious: being the uppermost one in realization, the nirodha-body is the innermost one in potentiality.

The evolution from the triad to the tetrad could not be carried out without difficulties and patchwork. The nirodhakāya is left at its old place, and so is the saṃjñākāya (ancient citta- or manomayakāya), formally mentioned with the third dhyāna, now appearing in the third *satipaṭṭhāna* and in the third *vimokkha*, which, however, is equated in dogmatics with the fourth dhyāna; the second (=vedanā) kāya, half sensuous half unsensuous, corresponds in its characteristics to the newly introduced *rūpa-dhātu*, and constitutes the newly introduced item.

Along with this extension of the series of kāyas to a tetrad we may observe, in the early dogmatic systematization evidenced in the Nikāyas, the extension of the triadic climax *sīla-samādhi-paññā* to a tetradic one by the superaddition of a fourth item, *vimutti*. The method of this extension is merely verbal and formal, vimukti being effectively and essentially inherent to prajña. Finally this climax of originally three items, which came to be interpreted as the series of *skandhas* constituting the personality of the arhat or the Tathāgata, was amplified to a pentad by the superaddition of *vimuktijñānadars'ana*.

This second amplification is due to the tendency of contrasting the personality of the holy man with the contingent personality, now conceived as consisting of five skandhas. The proceeding by which the third and final stage of the holy career was differentiated into three separate items can be easily found out by comparing the latter with the classical formula of deliverance recurrent in the Nikāyas: the pañña consisting in the realization of the Truths (and being a result of the dhyānic ascension) directly implies, rather than brings about, the *cittavimutti=paññavimutti*, stated in the *vimuttiññāna (tassa evaṃ janato evaṃ passato ... cittaṃ vimuccittha, vimuttasmiṃ vimuttam [iti]* [1] *ñānam ahosi).* The pentadic scheme formally disjoins three strictly connected items.

Originally prajñā was tantamount to vimukti or bodhi, and therewith to the transcendent *buddha*-personality; the above mentioned tendency, early manifesting itself, of opposing this personality to the contingent one, led to a subdivision of the former, *i.e.*, of prajñā, into three items or elements of wisdom, *kṣayajñāna*, *anutpādajñāna* and *samyagdṛṣṭi* (also arranged in a sequel, see *AK*, VII, 4-5, and VI, 50), which could thus be contrasted with the three contingent skandhas. In fact, even in later dogmatics these three pure (*anāsrava*) dharmas are considered as constituting the *dharmakāya* of the Buddha (*AK*, IV, 32 and VII, 34). When the series of five pure skandhas was devised by an amplification of the three items constituting the way, to be contrasted with the later series of five contingent skandhas, it was not simply substituted to the former triadic series of tathāgata-dharmas, but formally connected with it: the entity of a Buddha is now said to consist of these three dharmas plus the five dharmas defined as their *parivāra*. But the elaboration of this new theory does not succeed in eleminating the traces of the common nucleus from which both the triad and the pentad evolved: suffice it to point out that the identity of the *prajñāskandha* (contained in the second climax) and the *samyagdṛṣṭi* (contained in the first) is admitted by the *AK* (II, 25), which elsewhere (IV, 32) ranges both climaxes together.

Besides the co-ordination of the concentric kāyas with the dhātus of the four-dhātu-scheme, we also meet with the attempt to coordinating the five skandhas with the three cosmic dhātus of that scheme (as already mentioned before). The task is anything but

[1] *iti* is an interpolation in the formula, as I pointed out elsewhere.

easy any evident, and could be tackled only by subdividing the dhātus. In its first three points the co-ordination of the dhātus with the skandhas is analogous to their co-ordination with the kāyas: rūpa corresponds to kāmadhātu, vedanā to rūpadhātu, saṃjña to ārūpyadhātu; but the fourth storey of the ārūpyadhātu is spared for the saṃskāraskandha, and vijñāna is assigned to the whole cosmic dhātu-sytem. The secondary character of this co-ordination is patent. The parallel co-ordinations of the kāyas and of the skandhas with the dhātus set off the correlation of the former two categories, and suggest that the speculative origin of the skandhas, (arranged in in a climax according to the degree of their subtleness) is to be looked for in the same ideologies which gave rise also to the kāya-scheme. Further evidence points out to this fact: according to the *AK* (I, 20ab), *skandha* is a synonym of *rās'ī*. Now Nāgārjuna uses the term *rās'ī* in the sense of *kāya*—and so does Cāraka, in contrasting this " conglomerate with the cetanā=puruṣa counted as a sixth dhātu—and so does the *Gītā* (II, 17). And the fact that the skandha climax implies and inward-upward progression makes it appear more than probable that the background, if not the admitted basis, of the Buddhist skandha-doctrine was the ancient Indian theory of progressive derivation of contingency from the transcendent amṛta-sphere, the upward progression being understood in all Indian soteriologies as a " return." The term *vokāra*, " almost synonymous with vikāra " (*PTS Dict.*), still currently used in the Abhidhamma as a designation of the skandhas, shows that down to a comparatively late date they were felt to be " differentiations " rather than downright different entities; and, curiously enough, the *AK Vyākhyā* and the Vibhāṣā relate that *vyavakāra* was the term used by the ancient Tathāgatas.

The original two skandhas, rūpa and citta, were nothing else but the two contingent kāyas, rūpakāya and nāma (=manomayakāya, citta =vijñāna), of the archaic Pāli doctrine. The system of the kāyas and that of the skandhas underwent initially a common evolution: the number of the dhātus being increased to four, a part of the original nāma-kāya or citta-skandha was assigned to the new rūpadhātu. But the classical skandha-series arises out of a separate evolution. We may now venture to explain why the skandha series was extended to five items, while the number of the kāyas was left

at three, to which the fourth or amṛta-kāya was opposed, in other terms, why the skandha-system gave up the direct relation with the four-dhātu-system, a relation which had to be restored later on in so highly artificial a way. The reason of this divergence is to be found in the fact that the *skandhavāda*, dogmatically evaluated as a *skandhamātravāda*, was made use of as a basis for the dogmatic form of the anātman-doctrine. The sense of the arrangement of the kāyas and the ancient skandhas=vyāvakāras was closely linked with the conception of the fourth amṛta (=ātmā) dhātu and kāya, from which they descend—if not through an evolution (as such a direct continuity seems not to have been admitted even by pre-Canonical Buddhism, which in its way was also an anātmavāda), at least through reciprocal exclusion, which is a sort of negative derivation: in the wording of the Udāna, contingency is entirely devoid of attan, but as far as there is Tathatta=attan there is neither this world nor yonder world nor the middle one (p. 9). The Canonic anātmavāda on the contrary is bent on the construction of an autonomous scheme of contingency, quite independent from the premises concerning the transcendent reality. For this purpose a system based on the four dhātu-scheme was inadequate. But there was another scheme of dhātus, not directly connected with the conception of the amṛta-dhātu, on which the new skandha-system could be based: it was the ancient elementary system of five dhātus, with the upward sequence of which the inward sequence of the skandhas or concentric bodies could be put into a parallel; thus the skandhas were extended to five; by the current method of amplification, vijñāna as the "whole" of the psychic skandhas was added to their number: it was evidently meant, in accordance with the ancient conception, to correspond to ākāśa. The blank left between the innermost vijñāna-body and the first two psychic skandhas, which were originally nothing else but two aspects of psychic activity, sensation and awareness—now counted apart from consciousness as the whole—, was filled in by a further subdivision of psychic activity, namely by the insertion of the *saṃskāra*-skandha representing the psychic preconscious activity building up the organism by the force of karma, and represented in conscious life by impulse (*cetanā*). In the Abhidharma, the *caittas* being far more differentiated still, the saṃskāraskandha is defined as containing all the caittas except vedanā and saṃjñā (*AK*, I, 20cd, cf. 15ab).

On the ground of this (purely schematic and speculative) co-ordination of the skandhas with the five elementary spheres we come to a simple solution of the problem, how the anomaly constituted by the Buddhistic *saḍḍhātu-list*, if compared with the normal and contemporary lists of five elements, could have come about. When the notion of the consubstantiality of ākās'a and vijñāna (based on the ancient conception of the hṛdākās'a co-extensive with universal space) was lost, the evidence was lacking for the correspondence between the centrifugal progression (implying evolution through progressive prossening) of the skandhas from the innermost one, vijñāna, and the downward progression of the cosmic layers: therefore vijñāna was superadded as a topmost and subtlest layer.

It thus appears that the genesis of the Buddhist's doctrine of the skandhas was analogous to that of the Upaniṣadic doctrine of the kos'as. The kos'a-climax was definitely extended to five items—the three intermediary ones having been developed out of the qualities inherent to the shapeless brahman-body of the ancient Upaniṣads—and only indirectly and not very successfully brought together with the element-series; whereas the skandha series seems to have definitely developed to five items as a result of its coordination with the ancient elementary series.

But the four Upaniṣadic kos'as contain the ātman and unveil him or give way to him when gradually stripped off or transcended in the process of yogic superlation: whereas the five Buddhistic skandhas, when gradually stripped off or transcended in the process of dhyānic superlation,[1] do not unveil anything at all, and only give way to utter *nirodha*, thus betraying the nairātmya of the apparent personality. Such, however, was not, even at the canonic age, the opinion of all the Buddhists: some Pudgalavādins seem to have maintained—according to the Mādhyamika s'āstra polemizing against them—that " the pudgala is *arūpin* and his contained within the fifth *kos'a* as inexpressible (*avācya*) ", *i.e.*, evidently within the fifth skandha, vijñāna. But in how far can the latter be considered as inexpressible? A comparison with Upaniṣadic ideologies, whose affinity with the last mentioned doctrines is obvious enough, may help us in the interpretation

[1] This notion is borne out by the co-ordination of the vimokkhas and satpaṭṭhānas with the dhātus on one hand, with the dhyānas on the other.

of the passage: the vijñānamaya śarīra is the formless body of the contingent, "uttered" and utterable brahman; but through the inversion of its activity and the "cessation" ensuing thereon it is able to realize the infinite luminous consciousness, the unutterred and unutterable brahman, the personality of the ānandamaya ātman. This potential presence of the highest brahman in its lower forms is what is meant by its "concealment" in, and revelation out of, the latter. In this sense the *BĀU* says that the unborn Ātman lies within the vijñānamaya, the antarhṛdaya ākāśa. In this same sense the Pudgalavādins appear to have maintained that the Pudgala-neither cognate with nor different from the skandhas (*i.e.*, the potential, but not actual reality of the transcendent ātman as latent in its opposite)—is to be found in the fifth kośa insofar as it becomes unspeakable, *i.e.*, in the vijñāna transformable into the unutterable radiant vijñāna. We know from Vasumitra's treatise on the sects that the ancient Sautrāntikas postulated an *ekarasaskandha*, a "subtle consciousness" as root-essence of the contingent skandhas. Why was it called *ekarasa* ? I have tried to bring out the purport of the term by a comparison of the passages where it occurs in the ancient speculation. It appears to convey the sense of the mysterious, irrational unity of the exclusive opposites, Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa, as realized in the two alternative orientations of vijñāna. The ancient Sautrāntikas also asserted the existence of *paramārthapudgalas ;* finally, their fourth tenet: "apṛthagjana also possesses the potentiality of becoming a Buddha," has to be considered in connexion with the two points concerning the ekarasaskandha and the paramārthapudgala, between which it is collocated: the *āryadharma*, the potential Buddhahood dormant within the pṛthagjana, is nothing else than the ekarasaskandha, the subtle vijñāna liable to being transformed into the transcendent radiant vijñāna, the *sarvajñatva* which is the essence of bodhi.

These few records and their implications point to the fact that in ancient Buddhism the skandhavāda was not always tantamount to the *skandhamātravāda* of the orthodox Hīnayānic exclusivism; quite on the contrary, the primitive stage of the skandha-doctrine we get hold of in the ancient conception of the concentric bodies pertaining to the progressively superposed cosmic layers and potentially containing as their innermost core the body of transcendent

infinite consciousness which is the nirodha of rūpa and nāma—these traces of the primitive skandha-doctrine are more like a foreshadowing of the Yogācāra theory of the potential immanence of Nirvāṇa in Saṃsāra, also reflected in a trikāya-doctrine.

PRATIBHĀ AS THE MEANING OF A SENTENCE

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PRATIBHĀ is a fairly well-known word in Indian thought and occurs frequently in the literature of the Darśanas. It does not always mean the same thing. The different things for which the word stands in the different systems of philosophy are dealt with by MM. Pt. Gopinath Kaviraj, in his articles on "The Doctrine of Pratibhā in Indian Philosophy" published in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, 1924, p. 1ff and p. 113ff. Here I am mainly concerned with the Vaiyyākaraṇa of Pratibhā.

Vākyapadīya II deals with the question of the sentence. Hence its name Vākyakāṇḍa. The chief problems discussed in this Kāṇḍa are: What is a sentence? What is the nature of the meaning of a sentence? What is the relation between a sentence and its meaning? Eight views are given on the nature of a sentence and six views as to what the meaning of a sentence is, several views on the relation between the two are also explained. In all this, it is the Mīmāṃsaka who is the chief opponent of the Grammarian, though sometimes the views of others also come in for criticism. The Mīmāṃsaka believes in the absolute reality of the individual word and its meaning, a doctrine which is so necessary for the establishment of the authority of Vedic injunctions in all their detail. The Vaiyyākaraṇa attributes to the individual word and its meaning only a relative reality, *i.e.*, in the 'avidyā' stage. After examining the views of others on the nature of the sentence and its meaning, the Grammarians came to the conclusion that the real sentence is the indivisible 'sphoṭa,' that its

meaning is *pratibhā* and that the relation between the two is *adhyāsa*. As Puṇyarāya puts it :

प्रभात्रानवयव एव एकस्मिन् स्फोटात्मके वाक्ये प्रतिभालक्षणे च वाक्यार्थे वाक्य-वाक्यार्थयोरध्यासरूपः संबन्धः ।[1]

What do the Vaiyyākaraṇas mean by 'pratibhā'? The word is not found in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali whose statements on the nature of the meaning of the sentence are very few and very brief and liable to different interpretations. The earliest grammatical work in which it is found is the *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari. Here it comes in connection with the discussion on the nature of the meaning of a sentence. 'Pratibhā' may be considered from two points of views: (1) that of the speaker, *i.e.*, as an experience of the speaker before he speaks (2) that of the listener, *i.e.*, as his experience after he has heard the speaker's words. When studied from the former point of view, its connection with words is not so very important, because it precedes words. A study of it from that point of view is found in many s'āstras and the main ideas of the different s'āstrās are explained by MM. Pt. Gopinath Kaviraj in the articles referred to above. A study of Pratibhā from the listener's point of view brings it into relation with words, because it is occasioned by words. This point of view seems to have been kept in mind by the author of the *Vākyapadīya* in Kāṇda II. It is not that Bhartṛhari does not speak about 'pratibhā' from the other point of view. The 'prātibhā'[2] which is mentioned in his commentary on *Vāk.* I, 14 is that of the speaker and the commentator Vṛṣabhadeva also takes it in the same light. The latter identifies it with *Pas'yanti*, the second stage in the evolution of speech.[3] But when Bhartṛhari speaks about 'pratibhā' as वाक्यार्थ, it is the listener's point of view which he especially keeps in mind. We have now to see what the points are to which he draws our attention.

[1] *Vāk.*, I, pp. 66-67.

[2] सोऽव्यतिकीर्णवर्णो वागवस्थामधिगम्य वाग्विकाराणां प्रकृतिं प्रतिभामुपैति । तस्माच्चसत्तानुगुण्यमात्रात् प्रतिभारत्मकात् शब्दपूर्वाद्योगभावनाभ्यासापेक्षात् प्रत्यस्तमितसर्वविकारो लेखमात्रां परां प्रकृतिं प्रतिपद्यते । *Vāk.* I. 14., ed. by Prof Charu Deva Shastri.

[3] प्रतिभाम् इति । येमं समस्तशब्दार्थकारणभूता बुद्धिः, यां पश्यन्तीत्याहुः । यतः शब्दाः प्राणवृत्तिमनुपतन्ति, तामनुपरैति, प्रनुगच्छति ।
Vṛṣabhadeva on *Vāk* I. 14, ed. by Prof. Chāru Deva Shastri.

First of all he refers to the opinion of some thinkers, obviously with approval, that all words are the cause of प्रतिभा in the listener. It is clear that even individual words are included in this statement.[1] The verse in which this idea is expressed by Bhartṛhari, as indeed so many verses from this section, is quoted by S'āntarakṣita in his *Tattvasaṅgraha.*[2] Kamalas'īla, the commentator of *Tattvasaṅgraha,* makes it clear that through constant employment to denote the same thing, words just produce a ' pratibhā ' ' in the listeners ' mind and do not denote any external object.[3] Words like ' vṛkṣa ' which are admitted by everybody to have a meaning do nothing more than just produce a ' pratibhā ' in the mind of the listener and do not directly denote any object. They are somewhat like the goading of an elephant with a hook (aṅkus'a) which just produces a ' pratibhā ' in the elephant. What exactly this ' pratibhā ' is made clear by Kamalas'īla. For him it is essentially a kind of insight or intuition leading to an action, having its own fixed accessories.[4] The goading of an elephant with a hook makes it act in a practicular way, an urge to do something and not necessarily the image of any external object. This instruct is infinite in its variety. It varies with every individual and with every sentence.[5] Commenting on the verse in question, Puṇyarāja explains that words cause ' pratibhā ' even in the case of beings who have not learnt or who cannot learn their conventional meaning.[6] They do so just through long usage and the period of usage is not confined to this life.[7] It extends to previous lives also.

[1] अभ्यासात् प्रतिभाहेतुः सर्वः शब्दो ऽपरैः स्मृतः । *Vāk.* I, p. 131.
अपरैराचार्यैः । सर्वः यः कश्चिच्छब्दः स प्रतिभाहेतुः । *Vāk.* I, p. 131. Puṇyarāja's comm.

[2] *Tattvasaṅgraha*, I, p. 286.

[3] अन्ये त्वाहुरभ्यासात् प्रतिभाहेतुः शब्दो न तु बाह्यार्थप्रत्यायक इति ।
तथा सर्वेऽर्थवत्वसम्मता वृक्षादयः शब्दा यथाभ्यासं प्रतिभामात्रोपसंहारहेतवो भवन्ति, न त्वर्थं साक्षात प्रतिपादमन्ति । *Tattvasaṅgraha*, I, p. 286.

[4] नियतसाधनावच्छिन्नक्रियाप्रतिपत्त्यनुकूला प्रज्ञा प्रतिभा । *Tattvasaṅgraha* I, p. 286.

[5] प्रतिवाक्यं प्रतिपुरुषं च सा भिद्यते । *Tattvasaṅgraha* I, 286.

[6] येऽप्यविदितसंकेता अमी बाला जडप्राया वा तिर्यंचः तेषामप्यनादिवासनावशात्तदर्थः प्रतीयमानो दृश्यते शब्दः ! तथा च जडानामपि प्राणिनां नियतपदः शब्दः संबोधनायोदीर्यते ।
Vāk. I, p. 131-132.

[7] स चाभ्यासो ऽनागम इदानींतनो न भवति । नहि बालस्य तदेवोपदिष्टं केनचिदिति जन्मान्तरभाव्येव । *Vak.* I, p. 132.

Even where words have not the power of bringing the image of any external object to the consciousness they are not entirely devoid of meaning. They still cause a vague instinct or intuition which consists essentially in an urge to do something.[1] In this vague inner urge, there is no consciousness of any object. It is something indivisible.

All this has been said in connection with word in general, including the individual word. It is, however, in connection with the sentence that the word 'pratibhā' is most frequently used. Not only do the grammarians hold the view that the meaning of a sentence is 'pratibhā,[2] but the Buddhist view of the meaning of a sentence approximates it to 'pratibhā.' While the Buddhists hold that the meaning of the individual word is '*apoha*,' they maintain that the meaning of the sentence is 'pratibhā'[3]. 'Apoha' means "the exclusion of what is not that." Thus the word 'cow' would denote the exclusion of what is 'non-cow,' *i.e.*, it would stand for something negative. But 'pratibhā' would stand for something positive.

One of the main problems in connection with the meaning of a sentence is: Is it just the cognition with no basis outside the mind or is there anything corresponding to it outside the mind?

The former view is briefly set forth by Jayantabhaṭṭa, though, of course, as a good Naiyyāyika realist, he rejects it. According to it there is nothing corresponding to the meaning of a sentence outside the mind. The meaning of a sentence is just a cognition in which figures the connection between the meanings of the individual words.[4] Objects, being insentient, cannot be really connected with

[1] स चानन्तरमिदं कार्यमित्युपदर्शनस्वभावः । *Vak.* I, p. 132.

[2] तत्तदनादिवाक्यार्थविकल्पाहितवासनाप्रबोधजन्मा क्रमवद्भिरिवाक्रमैर्बहीरूपतयाध्यस्तैः पदार्थैश्चित्रीकृत इव विकल्पविशेषोल्लिख्यमान आकारो बदीरूपतयाध्यस्तो निर्विभाग एव शाक्यानां वाक्यार्थ इति प्रायशः प्रतिभासोदर एवासौ मन्तव्यः । *Vak.* I, p. 66.

[3] यथा बाह्येऽर्थे शब्दवाच्यत्वेनासत्यपि वाक्यार्थो भवद्भिः (बौद्धैः) प्रतिभालक्षण एव वर्ण्यते नापोहलक्षणस्तथा पदार्थोऽपि वाक्यार्थवत् प्रतिभालक्षण एव स्यादित्यपोहः पदार्थतया किमिति कल्प्यते । *Tattvasaṅgraha*, I, p. 294.

[4] तस्माद्बाह्यस्य वाक्यार्थस्य सर्वप्रकारमसंभात् पदार्थसंसर्गनिभासं ज्ञानं वाक्यार्थो भवितुमर्हति, तेनैव च लोके व्यवहार इति । Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, *Nyāyamañjarī*, p. 301. (Kashi Sanskrit Series No. 106).

one another.[1] Nor can their cognitions be really connected with one another, because they are momentary.[2] Therefore a connection between objects or their cognitions cannot be the meaning of a sentence. It is nothing more than a cognition in which the connection between the meanings of individual words figures.

In refuting the above view, Jayanta points out that something corresponding to the sentence-meaning does exist outside.[3] Otherwise we cannot account for the difference between our cognitions of the two following groups of words गौरश्वः पुरुषो हस्ती । गौः शुक्ला समानीयताम्[4] । Not only is there something corresponding to the sentence-meaning outside the mind. It is also something positive.[5]

Jayanta points out later on that this refutation of the above view carries within itself a refutation of the view that प्रतिभा is the meaning of a sentence.[6] The above view, after all, just amounts to this that the meaning of a sentence is just a cognition and प्रतिभा is also just cognition. Jayanta does not tell us who exactly held these two views, but it is possible that he had the Bauddhas and the Vaiyyākaraṇas in mind. In refuting the view that 'prātibhā' is the meaning of a sentence, he gives some additional arguments which might be stated as follows: What is called प्रतिभा is just cognition or experience. A sentence can produce cognition, but the latter cannot be the object of the sentence. The sense of sight produces the cognition of a jar, but this cognition is not the object of the sense of sight.[7] It is the jar which is the object. When somebody utters the sentence: " Here is a tiger," people feel various emotions according to their nature. The cognition produced by the sentence is not the only cause of these emotions. The

[1] मंसर्गस्तु दुरुपपादः । स ह्यपोहगर्भो भवति, न त्वार्थोऽर्थान्तरमाकांक्षति, अश्वेतनत्वात । *ibid*. p. 301.

[2] बुद्धीनामपि क्षणिकत्वादन्योन्यं नाकांक्षा, न च तत्कृतः संबन्धः । *ibid*. p. 301.

[3] तस्माद् बाह्य एव वाक्यार्थः । *ibid*. p. 302.

[4] संसर्गोऽपि पदार्थानां न न प्रतीयते, न हि गौरश्वः पुरुषो हस्तीत्यसंस्कृष्टपदार्थप्रतीतिवद् गौः शुक्ल आनीयताम् इति प्रतीतिः । *ibid*. p. 302.

[5] बाह्योऽपि भवन्न व्यवच्छेदो वाक्यार्थः, विधिरूपत्वेनावगमात् । *ibid*. p. 302.

[6] अन्यैस्तु प्रतिभा वाक्यार्थ इष्यते । तत्पक्षस्तु संसर्गनिभसिज्ञाननिराकरणेन प्रागेव प्रतिक्षिप्तः । *Nyāyamañjari*, p. 335. (Kashi Sanskrit Series).

[7] प्रतिभा खलु विज्ञानं तच्च शब्देन जन्यते ।
न तु शब्दस्य विषयो रूपधीरिव चक्षुषः । *ibld*. p. 335.

object which figures in it is also the cause.[1] Just as different people react differently to the same object of perception, in the same way they react differently to the cognitions produced by sentences, they feel different emotions when they hear these sentences. But these emotions do not constitute the meanings of the sentences in question. It is the objects forming the centre of these emotions which must be looked upon as the meanings of these sentences and not the emotions themselves.[2]

From this criticism by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, of the view that 'pratibhā' is the meaning of a sentence, we can gather the chief point in this view. It is that 'pratibhā' is just a cognition or experience produced in us by words, especially sentences, apart from the object which may or may not figure in this cognition. This point is emphasized by the Grammarians also. Nāgeśa points out that a cognition takes place from the sentence: शशशृङ्गमस्ति, even through no object corresponding to this cognition can exist outside.[3]

Another point to which attention is drawn is that this 'pratibhā' is something indivisible. In it there is no consciousness of parts. This is a natural corollary of the preceding point. An intuition in which images of external objects may or may not figure will naturally tend to be indivisible. It is compared to the totally distinct and indivisible flavour of a drink made up of many ingredients.[4] It arises as a separate intuition after the meanings of the individual words have been understood.[5] It is a kind of unification of these meanings, though these meanings of individual words have only a relative reality and not an absolute reality.[6] They are only a means to an end.

[1] योऽपि व्याघ्र, प्रामात इत्युक्ते शूरकातरनराधिकरणनानाप्रकारकार्योत्पादः स बाह्येऽर्थे व्याघ्रागमनादौ प्रतिपन्ने वासनानुसारेण भवन्न प्रतिभामात्रहेतुको भवति। तस्य हि ज्ञायमानोऽर्थः करणं, न तज्ज्ञानमात्रम्। *ibid*. p. 335.

[2] तथा शब्दार्थोऽपि व्याघ्रागमनेऽवगते शूराणामुत्साहः कातराणां भयमित्यादि कार्यं भवति, न त्वेतावता प्रतिभा शब्दार्थो भवितुमर्हति। *ibid*. p. 335.

[3] वाक्यार्थश्च प्रतिभामात्रविषयः। . . . . . अत एव शशशृङ्गमस्तीत्यादितोऽपि सः। *Laghumañjūsā* I. p. 417 (Chowkambha Sanskrit Series).

[4] परस्पराभिसंबन्धरूपः पानकरसादिवदनिर्विभागोऽनंश एव यो वाक्यार्थस्तस्य क्व चित् पृथग्रूपतयात्मा स्थितोऽवधारयितुं न शक्यते इति यावत्। *Vāk*. I. p. 267.

[5] विच्छेदग्रहणेऽर्थानां प्रतिभान्यैव जायते।
वाक्यार्थ इति तामाहुः पदार्थैरुपशोभिताम्॥ *Vāk*. I, p. 142.

[6] पदार्थैरुपपादितामिति, पदार्थैरसत्यैरेवोपाधिभूतैरुपपादितामभिव्यक्तामिति। Puṇyaraja on above.

It is just because of the indivisibility of this pratibhā or the meaning of the sentence that grammarians cannot be declared to belong to *Abhihitānvayavāda* or *Anvitābhidhānavāda*. In both these doctrines, the meanings of individual words have an absolute reality. In the former, what is called sentence-meaning is nothing more than the meanings of individual words under certain conditions. In the latter view also, the difference between word-meaning and sentence-meaning has been greatly minimized. In neither is वाक्यार्थ an indivisible cognition, एकरसा प्रतिपत्तिः, whereas प्रतिभा is.[1] Bhartṛhari, declares that this 'pratibā' is not only indivisible; it is also indefinable. It is just a matter of experience.[2] Even at the time of experience, it is indefinable.

Another interesting point found in the *Vākyapadīya* is the identification of this प्रतिभा experienced by all of us in everyday life through the agency of words with the instinct of animals and birds. It is clear that the indefinability mentioned above is the connecting link. An instinct is just an inner urge to do something, like the instinct of a bird to build nets or of animals to seek food.[3] But Bhartṛhari goes further and declares that even the instinct of animals is caused by words,[4] All 'pratibhā' is caused by words, whether it be the 'pratibhā' which is experienced by us through words, or the instinct of animals. Bhartṛhari assumes that words are operating in animals in the form of Saṃskāras inherited from previous lives.

Bhartṛhari divides Pratibhā into six kinds according as its *nimitta* is स्वभाव, चरण, अभ्यास, योग, अदृष्ट or विशिष्ट. The instinct of a monkey, says Puṇyarāja, is due to its स्वभाव. But he does not pursue the matter any further. The division deserves more elaborate treatment, but it must be reserved for another occasion.

[1] प्रतिभायां त्वेकरसैव प्रतिपत्तिरिति न तत्र काचिदभिहितान्वयचिताभिधानचर्चा ।
Vāk. I. p. 66.

[2] इदं तदिति सान्येषामनाख्येया कथं चन ।
प्रत्यात्मवृत्तिसिद्धा सा कर्त्रापि न निरूप्यते ॥ *Vāk*. I, p. 141.

[3] प्रतिप्राण्याहारादिक्रिया नियताऽनादिप्रतिभावशादेवेति प्रसिद्धम् । *Vāk*. I, p. 143.

[4] भावनानुगतादेतदागमादेव जायते ।
आसत्तिविप्रकर्षाभ्यामागस्तु विशिष्यते ।
स चागमः कदाचिदासन्नोऽस्मिन्नेव जन्मन्यवगतः कदाचिज्जन्मान्तर इत्यासत्तिविप्रकर्षाभ्यां शब्द एव प्रतिभाहेतुः । *Vāk*. I, p. 143.

NAROPA'S SEKODDES'AṬĪKĀ

By Dr. Mario Carelli,
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In 1931 Dr. Giuseppe Tucci, whom I am representing at this meeting, coming back from one of his several expeditions to Tibet, brought a palm leaf manuscript that he had borrowed from the Maharaja's Library in Kathmandu. This manuscript, that he trusted to me for transcription, and which is going to be shortly published at Baroda in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, with an introduction in English, consists of 97 leaves written in old Nevari characters. Its name is *Sekoddes'aṭīkā*, meaning "A short commentary on the treatise of Seka." Seka, the tantric baptism or initiation, is the main topic dealt with in this book.

Sekoddes'aṭīkā, as its name itself reveals, is not a main treatise. but just a ṭīkā of another book, the *Sekoddes'a*. All these tantric texts, written originally in Sanskrit, are lost; but the Tibetan translations of all of them have been carefully preserved in *Tangyur*. Dr. Tucci has been able to recover many of these lost books on tantric matters, and he and his pupils are attending to the publication of these unedited texts, and working to make this part of tantric literature known to the scholars.

Tantric texts of this kind go under the general name of Vajrayāna. Vajrayāna is a subdivision of Mahāyāna, of which it shares the fundamental ideas. But these mahāyānic ideas are developed in a different way and supply the background for certain ritual ceremonies which are purely tantric in their frame. Vajrayāna could be defined a Buddhist kind of tantra, or a mahāyānic yoga; since as everybody knows yoga, and even more tantra do not essentially cling to any religious view, and do not essentially imply the worship of any kind of gods.

Yoga, and ever more so tantra, is something one has to live, not to think about; once it has been found that to get some results you have to follow a certain way, set your mind to work in a certain direction, bring your mind to bear on certain inner forces of your being and tie these forces with other forces working outside yourself, it does not matter much whether to help your concentration you like to take to one form or religion more than to another. It is just like an idea, which you can make clear to others in any language you like, but which is never necessarily bound to English, or Sanskrit, or Tamil words. Vajrayāna is the Buddhist expression of tantra, and as such is much less known than the S'aiva or Vaiṣṇava tantras. But it is none the less important for the history of tantric thought.

Now I will try to outline as shortly as possible the system underlying the rituals spoken of in *Sekoddes'aṭīkā.*

In spite of being Buddhist, this tantra, as all the other tantras of this line, has taken the form of a revelation which completes and annuls all the previous ones. I say in spite of being Buddhist, because S'ākyamuni himself laid no claim to any revelation and em phasized the need for every human being of working out the one truth by himself.

But tantric literature assumes all the historic Buddhistic councils, and much more so the legendary ones which followed in later times, to be a chain of revelations in which each one of the *Pañcatathāgatas* took human form in turn, or spoke through the mouth of some very religious king, to bring about a new shape of dharma, a new kind of religion better suited to a particular period of of human history. So each revelation, as I told you before, completes and annuls the previous ones, yet does not contradict them in the least. Buddha, the eternal Buddha, appearing on earth from time to time in the body of historical prophets, knows all languages and therefore must speak to all in a different way according to ages and to places. He appeared on earth before S'ākyamuni, who is but one of his manifestations, and after him. He had given birth in one of his incarnations to the system of Prajñāpāramitā. Now he has inspired King Sucandra, in his last revelation, and instructed him about Vajrayāna, which is, so to speak, the last edition of truth. The revelation of Prajñāpāramita took place in Vṛdhrakuṭa. This one finds its scene in Ṣambala, a mythical city on the river Sītā or Ṣītā. In that town the heavenly council is held, the Bodhisattvas and all other kinds of superhuman

beings are summoned, and the new revelation is staged with all its customary details. Instead of the traditional words *evam mayā s'rutam*, uttered by the saint upon whom the Lord has entrusted his truth, the eternal Buddha himself speaks to king Sucandra and says: *S'ṛṇu Sucandra*: Listen, Sucandra.

This is a summary of the first chapter, the traditional background of the system.

All this might seem very much like the rest of the legendary prefaces to other books. But a closer study reveals many interesting features. First of all, this idea of a Lord who speaks many languages and adapts his doctrine to many kinds of people suggests, if we try to put our feet on the solid ground of history, that Buddhism, and to be exact that division of Buddhism, had actually been taught to various races, living in different places and speaking more than one tongue. To be clearer, Vajrayāna was taught in an age when great migrations took place in Central Asia, and Buddhism was accepted in a more or less pure way by people who had been in touch with other great religious movements in Western Asia: Gnostic and Nestorian Christianity, Manicheism and Mithraism. The very name of Ṣambala seems to refer to some town outside India: and Ṣīta or Sītā is the name of Amu Darya, a river of Western Central Asia. To strengthen this guess I must anticipate that some of the rituals, described in the book, and seeming quite foreign to India at first sight, bear strange similarity to practices of the religions mentioned above. In another work of the same family, *Vimalaprabhā*, a sound is quoted among the alphabetics sounds assumed in mystical meaning, which is quite foreign to alphabets and phonetics of this country: the sound styled *yṣa*, or at least written as a combination of य and ष. The great French scholar Sylvain Lévi has written a very learned pamphlet about *yṣa*, and I wont dwell upon it any longer. Anyhow, this is a further evidence that Vajrayāna as a system is not a purely Indian doctrine.

Sekoddes'aṭikā, as I said before, is a commentary and not a main text. That is why it is written in the style of commentaries and it apparently lacks continuity. Next to the history of King Sucandra's council we find the theory of the four vajrayogas.

On his way towards release, the disciple must go through four successive stages. In each of them he becomes more and more free

from the ties binding him to this life. These stages, or vajrayogas, are: vis'uddha-, dharma-, mantra- and saṃsthāna-yoga. In order to reach them one must have attained the four "deliverances" (vimokṣa) which enable one to escape, by means of meditation, from the limits and restrictions of normal life. These vimokṣas are: s'ūnyatā-, animitta,- apraṇihita- and anabhisaṃskāra-vimokṣa. They put human souls in full possession of the faculties interest in each of the corresponding vajrayogas. These faculties are also four, and four are the methods of purification (brahmavihāra) with which the yogas are associated. Every vajrayoga leads the initiate to the perfection of one of the aforementioned faculties, and these perfections are styled *vajra*. So in the first vajrayoga we have kāyavajra, that is to say " that diamond which is the body ", or the yogi's perfection in the material stage. Ultimately, it means the absoluteness of the physic-sphere, to which we participate with our own body. In the second yoga the perfection of the verbal sphere (vāgvajra) is attained. Cittavajra (mental perfection) and jñānavajra (gnostic perfection) correspond to the third and fourth vajrayoga.

Thus we see that the classification of the steps of vajrayānic asceticism is fourfold. Later on, we shall go deeper in this classification. Now a word must be said in order to point out the novelties this system introduces, and to make clear what we feel inclined to call its polemical attitude.

Scholars acquainted with mahāyāna know that it, and in particular the vajrayānic and tantric works posit four *kāyas*, as four successive stages of mystic realization, in contrast with the other Buddhist schools, which assume only three kāyas, Early Buddhist tradition speaks of a trikāya. Maitreya, the great vajrayānic teacher, whose historic existence has been almost beyond any doubt demonstrated by my master Dr. Tucci, gave the logical ground to the existence of another kāya, the fourth, which was styled svabhāvikāya or sahajakāya. This means *the inborn body*—and is the peak of tantric asceticism. As sahajakāya completes the series of kāyas, so in the other series with which the book deals further we shall find a *sahaja* element to complete the old threefold groups.

So this tantric doctrine is declared to be superior to all the previous teachings. It claims to take the disciples a step further, a stage beyond the one reached by all other traditions.

Another source of this polemical attitude is comparison to the Upaniṣads. We all remember that upaniṣadic tradition also speaks of four steps of perfection. Waking, dreaming, sleeping and catalepsy were assumed—beyond their literal meaning—to symbolize four stages of mystic realization to be reached by means of meditation. This is a problem to tackle for the advocates of Vajrayāna. If the Upaniṣads too speak of four stages, where is the superiority of Vajrayāna ?

The text gives the reply :

Catalepsy (*turya*) is still spoiled by the stains of passions which you cannot uproot ; sleep (*suṣupta*) is still darkened by *tamas* ; in dream (*svapna*) being and not being are bound to the ebb and flow of breathing ; in waking (*jāgrat*) there is discriminative consciousness.

All this points to the fact that upaniṣadic mysticism does not lead men to the ultimate release. That is why another path is needed, a path in which every stage is called vajra, and the goal is styled *s'ūnyatā.*

I will explain these two words, to close my lecture on which the whole doctrine of Vajrayāna depends.

Vajra itself (taken in the sense of diamond, not of thunderbolt) is the keystone of the system. As in many other mystic traditions, a very high stage of perfection is meant by this word. In the Hebraic-Greek mysticism we find that the adept who had reached the last step was styled *Adamas,* both to mean his spiritual rebirth in the *new Adam,* and to show that now he was *adamant,* a diamond, hard and bright like a carbon crystal obtained through the burning of the former individual. The whole of this tantra revolves upon the idea of vajra, which is the supreme ideal, but at the same time environs the initiate from his very first step, since everything connected with his mystic training bears this name. The water for purification, the pot containing it, the formulae, the tooth pick with which a peculiar ceremony is performed, all is vajra (vajrodakam, vajraghaṇta, vajra-dantakāṣṭha). In the end, the disciple himself will be given a new name, also beginning by *vajra.*

I also mentioned *s'unyatā* before. *Sekoddes'aṭīkā* says*:* " All existent things, since they do not exist as an independent reality, and lack self-consistency, are void, and their condition is *unsubstantiality* (*s'ūnyatā*)." The disciple must meditate upon this and realize that

things cannot claim a self-contained reality, since each of them needs another, which is in its turn dependent. But *s'ūnyatā* does not only mean the unsubstantiality of this. It also represents the condition of the soul to which the unsubstantiality of things has been revealed.

So *s'ūnyatā* means what in other Hindu books would be called māyā, and in the same time becomes an attribution of the Absolute, Ādi-buddha, the Supreme Being of this tradition. From what I have said you can gather a fairly accurate idea of the Vajrayānic system. Each of the points I have dealt with would perhaps require a longer discussion to be made perfectly clear. Those who are interested in it will be soon able to read the text itself, of which I am presently correcting the proofs. Vajrayāna as a whole is a very interesting and sometimes puzzling system, and as such I think I ʼan say it deserves the attention of all those interested in tantra.

7. ARCHAEOLOGY

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D.,
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FELLOW DELEGATES,

I must first of all thank the authorities of the Conference for the great honour they have done me by electing me as the President of this Section. But while appreciating this high distinction conferred upon me I am not unaware of the heavy responsibilities attaching to the position, and I wish the choice would have fallen on a worthier person, and one directly connected with the archæological work in India.

Before proceeding further, I consider it to be my melancholy duty to refer to the great loss that Indian Archæology has suffered by the death of Paṇḍit Dayaram Sahni and the tragic murder of Mr. Naṅigopal Majumdar. Both of them were widely known for their profound scholarship and the eminent services they rendered to Indian Archæology. On behalf of you all I pay a tribute of respect to the illustrious dead and pray to God that their souls may rest in peace.

It is unnecessary for me either to stress the great importance of Archæology or to impress upon the attention of the delegates assembled here the leading role it plays in the study of Indian History. As workers in the same field you all know that the study of the history of ancient India is almost entirely based on Archæology. Ancient literature has no doubt a great value from the cultural point of view, but for our knowledge of political history, development of art and the evolution of social, religious and economic conditions associated with definite periods of time, we are solely indebted to Archæology. Indeed it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that ancient Indian history

so far known to us consists mostly of an orderly presentation of archæological data rather than a narration of events with sufficient details to explain the causes and consequences of broad movements by a critical study of the various forces and factors underlying them such as is properly implied in the term history. It is the archæological discoveries of the last hundred years that have rendered possible the reconstruction of ancient Indian history such as it is to-day, and its progress in the future depends almost entirely upon further archæological explorations and discoveries.

Such explorations and discoveries, apart from the chance finds of coins and inscriptions by private individuals, are directly dependent on the activities of the Archæological departments of the Government of India and the Indian States. Students of Indian history and all those who are interested in its further progress must therefore feel naturally concerned about the efficient and successful working of these departments.

No apology is therefore needed if I take this opportunity of making a brief review of the work of the Archæological Department of the Government of India. Apart from general considerations mentioned above, there are two special reasons which impel me to do this. In the first place, the axe of retrenchment dealt such a heavy blow upon the Department in 1931 that most of its useful activities have been seriously crippled ever since. Secondly the internal management of the Department during the last two decades has not been such as to inspire public confidence in its efficient working. The gravity of the situation disturbed even the equanimity of the Government of India, and they took recourse to what they have now come to regard as almost a universal remedy for all the evils of India, *viz.* the importation of a foreign expert for advice and guidance.

The name of Sir Leonard Woolley was thus added to a long list of foreign experts who have recently visited India, made a rapid tour all over the country and left valuable advice in the shape of handy reports. As Sir Leonard's report is likely to form the basis for the future reorganization of the Archæological Department, it is high time that Indian scholars should unequivocally state their own views not only on the various suggestions made by him, but also on the general working of the Archæological Department. It is all the more necessary because Sir Leonard did not evidently think it worth

his while to make himself acquainted with the views of men, outside the Archæological Department, whose scholarship, experience and judgment entitled them to be consulted before a foreign scholar, eminent in his own line of study, but without any known credentials for any deep knowledge of Indian archæology or scholarship in Indian antiquities, should have formulated far-reaching proposals about the future planning of Indian archæological work. Presumably the Government of India also share the same views in this respect, for this valuable report has not yet been widely circulated and no steps have been taken, to my knowledge, for eliciting opinion of Indian scholars. But whatever may be the attitude of Sir Leonard Woolley or of the Government of India, we cannot afford to treat this report with indifference and must give expression to our views, at least on the salient features of the scheme adumbrated in it. But in order to present it in its true perspective it is necessary to begin with a general review of the archæological work in British India.

Fortunately or unfortunately this all-important work has been almost a monopoly of a Government Department. From one point of view this has been a great advantage, for without the energy, resources and initative of the Government, and a unified direction and policy inherent in Government control, the archæological explorations in India would not have made the remarkable progress which we all witness today. The Department can justly be proud of its notable pioneer, Sir Alexander Cunnigham, and a noble band of workers, both Europeans and Indians, who worthily carried on the work initiated by him. India must ever remain grateful to them and to Lord Curzon who reorganized the Department and placed it on a stable and secure basis.

Unfortunately this Government Department suffered from the defects and shortcomings which seem to be almost inherent in all bureaucratic systems of administration. Chief among these are want of elasticity, a lack of adaptability and a rigid adherence to a general system of official routine permanently fixed without reference to the peculiar needs and requirements of any particular department. At a time when the study of ancient Indian history was yet in its infancy in India and few outside the official circles took interest it it, it was only natural that the Archæological Department should rely mainly on its own officials for carrying on their work in all its aspects. But

the bureaucratic Department seemed to be oblivious of or impervious to the great changes that were taking place in India in this respect. The introduction of the study of Indian antiquities in Universities and the growing popularity of the subject produced a gradually increasing number of able and competent scholars. But far from pooling the resources which were thus easily available and without making the slightest effort to profit by their knowledge and experience and enlist their support and co-operation in any way, the Department carried on its monopoly business from 1920 to 1940 in exactly the same way as it had been carrying on its work since the very beginning. The evils of this bureaucratic tenacity would have been much less if the Department were really manned by able and efficient scholars as before. Unfortunately here the rigid official system came into full play and thanks to the rules of promotion according to official seniority or exigency of departmental needs important positions in the Department were not unoften filled by men whose claims were based solely on long service in the Department (in any capacity) rather than on scholarship or knowledge of Archæology. As I am anxious to avoid personalities, I would not pursue this topic to its logical end but would ask everybody to compare the names of stalwarts like Marshall, Vogel, D. R. Bhandarkar, Dayaram Sahni, R. D. Banerji, Sten Konow, Venkayya and Krishna Sastri among others, who filled responsible positions in the Archæological Department in the early part of this century, with those who followed them. Scholarship and technical knowledge were discounted not merely in the filling up of responsible posts, but also in regard to selection of field workers. Things came indeed to such a pass that even important excavation work had to be entrusted to most incompetent persons who had no background of scholarship or any technical experience. One can form an idea of the disastrous result of this mistaken policy, pursued over a long period, from the following lurid picture given by Sir Leonard :

"I have visited sites in which digging was in progress under the direction in one case of an Excavation Assistant, in another of a Draftsman, in another of a Museum Custodian and in a fourth of a working foreman who in the absence of all members of the establishment had no one to supervise him at all. One of these men had been specially instructed to carry out a piece of research requiring the

greatest care and judgement; he had not got even the tools which were indispensable to work of the sort, most of the evidence was destroyed in the course of the digging, and what survived the workmen's pickaxe he could not understand. Another of them who was working with laudable care and considerable skill was misinterpreting nearly all that he found in a way which would have been seriously misleading to scholars; the third, who also worked carefully, did not even attempt to interpret things and had no scientific results to show. It would be manifestly unfair to criticize these men for not doing well something which they should never have been asked to do; but that they should have been thought fit to do the work is a grave symptom of the low standard and inexperience of the Department. But where excavations have been conducted by the regular officers of the Department the effects of inexperience are not less marked. I do not propose to multiply illustrations *ad nauseam*, but I can say that on almost every site which I visited there was evidence of the work having been done in an amateur fashion by men anxious indeed to do well but not sufficiently trained and experienced to know what good work is."

Things were not better in other spheres and the Department had to seek outside help even for carrying its normal routine work. Before the second decade of this century was over an eminent English scholar had to edit the *Epigraphia Indica*, and in 1935 a Hungarian gentleman was appointed officer on special duty to edit a consolidated report of the Annual Reports of Archæological Survey which were in arrears by four *i.e.* from the year 1930—31 to 1933—4. The publication of the *Epigraphia Indica* was also heavily in arrears. This is all the more surprising as the normal work of the Department was reduced to a minimum during this period owing to the policy of retrenchment pursued by the Government of India.

It is difficult for an outsider like me to find out all the causes that might adequately account for this sad spectacle and I do not therefore attach the blame to any person or persons. Nor can I say if the reason is to be found in the system followed over a long period for which the person later in power cannot be held primarily responsible. In any case there is no gainsaying the fact that the Department suffered in efficiency not only from the policy of retrenchment but also from the grave defects in the internal administration.

It is, however, gratifying to find that the Department is slowly reverting to its better traditions in respect of recruitments for responsible posts, and several junior appointments made in recent years raise the hope that the Department will ere long recover some of its old efficiency. A more liberal policy is also being followed for utilizing the services of scholars outside the Department. If these policies are steadily pursued it would not be long before their effect could be seen in the increased usefulness of the Department.

The report of Sir Leonard Woolley at this critical juncture must be regarded as of unusual interest and his recommendations must be very carefully scrutinized before they are given effect to. Some of the principles laid down by him, though not altogether novel, may be readily accepted. It would, for example, be generally agreed that there should be a systematic planning of archæological activities with reference to the gaps or deficiencies in our knowledge, and a special attempt should be made to explore those sites which are likely to yield data for the reconstruction of the history between 2500 B.C., and 250 B.C. But one may not so readily agree to Sir Leonard's suggestion about the selection of sites, at least before it is carefully considered by persons who can claim greater knowledge of Indian history and richer and longer experience of Indian conditions about excavation than Sir Leonard Woolley.

Sir Leonard's emphasis on the study of Stone Age and the co-operation between the Archæological Department and the Museums and Universities, most of his suggestions about local Museums and his proposed change in the budgetary arrangement would unreservedly commend themselves to everybody, and we hope full effects should be given to them without any delay.

But while we whole-heartedly appreciate all these suggestions we may not see eye to eye with him in respect of several others which are calculated to affect profoundly the character of the Archæological Department.

It is difficult to endorse fully either Sir Leonard's sweeping condemnation of the Departmental staff in respect of museum work, excavation and conservation, or his suggested remedy for the same. We have noted above how a number of responsible posts came to be filled by persons who had neither the knowledge nor the training requisite for them and we unreservedly condemn the system of official

procedure which renders possible such a state of things. But one can hardly accept the statement that the Department is altogether lacking in men trained for the work which they have to do. If this criticism were well-founded it would furnish the most unanswerable objection to his suggested remedy, namely, the appointment of a European advisor for five years in order to train the staff. For is it not a fact that the Department was under an eminent European archæologist in the person of Sir John Marshall for nearly four times the period suggested by Sir Leonard, and did not the Government import others expert European advisors like Mackay? If the net results of their training have been such as to evoke and justify the criticism of Sir Leonard noted above, what guarantee is there that better results would follow another experiment on the same line?

The belief is generally wide-spread that Indian officers, if they are rightly selected, and given reasonable opportunities, can prove very efficient, but neither of these two conditions are guaranteed under the present official system or procedure. Indians do not possess much faith in the system of European advisors, and examples of several big institutions like the Institute of Science, Bangalore, have rudely shattered the implicit belief in the willingness or capacity of the European advisors to train up their successors. Besides, if an European expert recently imported as a special officer in the Department, be a foretaste of what it likely to happen in future, we should do without it. We should rather suggest that highly qualified young Indians should be recruited as officers in the Archæological Department and facilities should be provided, not only for their special training in suitable centres at the early part of their career, but for periodical visits to these centres throughout their term of office. Besides, promotion to responsible posts should depend upon proved ability and scholarship and not mere seniority of service. If these two things can be ensured by a suitable change in the administrative policy and system we may legitimately except a steady growth in the efficiency of the Archæological Department.

Sir Leonard's other suggestions about the recruitment of staff particularly those based on specialization within the Department according to the nature of work, also do not carry immediate conviction. While there are undoubtedly advantages, the inherent defects in the scheme also cannot be overlooked. It is difficult to conceive of a responsible

Superintendent in the Archæological Department, who should either be a good excavator but quite ignorant of epigraphy, or a good epigraphist without any knowledge of scientific excavation. But these proposals should be subjected to minute examination before any final judgment can be pronounced. The same remark applies to many other suggestions made by Sir Leonard, not the least important of which is the proposal to render greater inducement to the foreign exploration expeditions to India.

The question naturally arises who would be most competent to examine these proposals in detail. This brings into prominence one of the most vital defects in the general system of bureaucratic administration. As the matter stands the ultimate decision on Sir Leonard's report is to be taken by an official probably belonging to the great service which has come to be regarded not only as all-powerful but also as omniscient. He may consult the views of the Departmental Head who nearly stands in the position of the accused so far at least as the major part of this report is concerned. There is no channel through which responsible non-official views may be formed and considered by the Government before they take the momentous decisions which would affect the destiny of the Archæological Department and therefore also of the study of Indian history for many years to come.

Such a stage of things calls for immediate remedy, and the one suggestion that occurs to me is the permanent appointment of a Central Advisory Board for Archæology. It is not a little strange that there are similar Boards for Education and Agriculture which are not subjects of administration by the Central Government and for which they are not primarily responsible. Yet for such a technical subject like Archæology, which is directly administered by the Government of India, no necessity has ever been felt for an advisory body of this type. There is now no paucity of Indian scholars who would gladly serve on the Board and whose scholarship and experience would be of immense value in properly guiding the departmental work on road issues and helping the Government to formulate right policy in respect of the Department. I would therefore, strongly urge upon the Government to take advantage of Sir Leonard Woolley's report for instituting a Central Advisory Board of Archæology, and ask this body to examine the various suggestions of Sir Leodard Woolley. It

would be extremely unwise to launch new schemes of a far-reaching character solely on the advice of one person, however, eminent he may be, and the association of outside experts with the archæological work would be beneficial from many points of view.

Brother-delegates, I hope you would pardon me for dwelling almost exclusively on a single topic and I can only hope that the Archæological Department would not take amiss the observations I have made. My excuse lies in the very great importance which I attach to the work of the Department in furthering Indological studies. I may also assure the authorities that my remarks were prompted, neither by any personal likes or dislikes, nor by the vain spirit of criticism for its own sake. Nothing but a genuine and ardent desire for reform and improvement of the Department has urged me to discuss the defects and shortcomings which have considerably reduced its utility and given a semblance of justice to the unmerited condemnations by a foreign expert.

I should not like to detain you long. But before I conclude I would stress the great importance of training young Indian scholars for the archæological work in general and excavation in particular. The discoveries at Harappa, Mohen-jo-Daro and other sites in the neighbourhood have also brought into prominence the necessity of training of a new kind for which there is not much scope in India. Unfortunately the Government, while always eager to import foreign experts, have not hitherto paid sufficient attention to a regular system of training though it can be provided without much difficulty or expense by the Government with the co-operation of the Universities and the foreign exploration societies. If India has not to remain in perpetual tutelage to foreign experts, adequate arrangements must be made for giving proper training to suitable Indian Graduates, so that all responsible works in the various branches of the Indian Archæology might be entrusted to them. Unless this end is steadily kept in view the problems of Indian archæological researches will never be solved. Repeated representations have been made to the Government for India for providing facilities to graduates of Indian Universities for training in archæological work. But these have not borne much fruit. The defects pointed out in Woolley's report are largely due to the indifference on the part of Government to train future recruits to the Department. To ensure that right

types of persons are attracted for training it is necessary as noted above to alter the rules of appointment to higher posts in the Archæological Department. As in the case of appointments to Professorships in Universities and many Government colleges, the higher and more responsible posts in the Departments may be filled by direct recruitment on the basis of proved ability and merit rather than promotion on time-scale.

Archæological work is now being carried on in various parts of India and in order to properly co-ordinate and successfully carry out the activities it is essential to have a Central Advisory Board of experts and a band of scholars with the best training for the archæological work. This is the steel frame on which all other suggestions for reform must be superimposed. Without it all schemes of reform must ultimately prove to be of little worth.

In spite of all the handicaps under which the archæological work has to be carried on in this country, the results are sufficiently encouraging. The important finds from old sites and the discoveries of coins and inscriptions by individual efforts are enriching our knowledge. It is a gratifying sign of the times that non-officials institutions and at least one University. *viz.* that of Calcutta—are making earnest efforts to explore, collect and preserve the antiquities. We may legitimately hope that as years pass by, more and more reliable data would be available for the study of Indian history, and it will be possible to construct a complete skeleton of Indian history from at least 3000 B.C. That would be a fitting end and the crowning achievement of the triumphant career of Indian archæology.

MORE ABOUT THE AIÑÑŪṞṞUVAR

BY K. R. VENKATARAMAN,
Pudukottah

IN his annual report on Epigraphy for 1912-13, Mr. Krishna Sastri has given us a brief account of the Mercantile Guilds. The credit for collecting all the epigraphic evidence and clarifying our knowledge of the South Indian Mercantile Guilds goes to Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Head of the department of Indian History and Archæology in the Madras University. His article in *Tijdschrift Voor Ind, Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde*—Vol. LXXII (1932) and the account on pages 417-424 of his inimitable work *Cōḷas* (Vol. II) are easily the most authoritative exposition on the subject. Mr. S. R. Balasubramanian of Chidambaram has drawn the attention of students of Indian History to two records [1] at Munaśandai in the Pudukkoṭṭai State the earliest known so far of the most prominent merchant guild of South India.

Since the Pudukkoṭṭai State has furnished the earliest records relating to this merchant guild, it will be worth our while to examine a few more inscriptions in the State and in the adjoining British Districts.

P. S. I., 61 [2] at Munaśandai is believed to be dated in the reign of Parakesari Vijayāḷaya, and *P. S. I.* 71, in the reign of Parakesari Parāntaka I. They refer to the *Nānādeśa Tisaiyāyirattu Aiññuṟṟuvar*, which was prosperous even in the 9th Century when the Vijayālaya line of Imperial Cōḷas rose to power. The best rendering into English of the name of this guild is that of Prof. Sastri—'The Five Hundred of the Thousand directions in all

[1] *Tijdschrift Voor Ind, Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde* Vol. LXXIV (1934).

[2] *P. S. I.* stands for *Pudukkoṭṭai State Inscriptions*.

countries.' *A. R. E.* 154 of 1903[1] at Pirānmalai, just beyond the State frontier, gives us a detailed account of the *Aiññūṟṟuvar*. They claim to be the children of the gods Vāsudeva and Mūlabhadra or Vīrabhadra, and worshipped the goddess Bhagavatī, called in this inscription Aimpoḷil Parames'varī or Aiyāppoḷil Nācciyār. They had many subdivisions coming from the '1000 districts of the four quarters (*nānādes'a tis'aiyāyirattu*), the 18 districts (*padineṇbhūmi or padineṇviṣayam*), the 32 prosperous cities (*Vaḷarpurams*), the 64 trade-assemblies *ghaṭikaitavaḷam*) etc. They visited all the 'countries' in India from Cera, Coḷa and Pāṇḍya in the South to Nepāḷa in the North, and by land and sea penetrated into the 'six continents.'[2] They were praised according to the Pirānmalai record in *Citramelīs'a S'āsanas*[3] or edicts issued by them as the 'excellent lords of agriculture' and 500 *Vīra S'āsanas*[4] or edicts describing their valour. This inscription records a grant to the temple at Pirānmalai of the right to collect a cess on the articles in which they traded-salt, paddy and rice, beans, red-gram, green-dram, castor-seed, areca-nut, pepper, turmeric, dried ginger, onions, cumin, Indian mustard, myrobylan, gingelly, iron, raw-cotton, cotton-yarn, cloth, wax, honey, gunny-bags, silk-goods and yarn, yak-tails, camphor-oil, perfumes, catttle, horses and elephants.

The Pudukkoṭṭai inscriptions which record their charities are of interest. The earliest record, that at Munas'andai[5], mentioned above (*P. S.* 1.61), is an endowment for the maintenance of an irrigation tank. The *Paḷiyili Aiññūṟṟuvar* (the "Flawless 500") battalion undertook to protect an endowment at Kuḍumiyāmalai (*P. S. I.*, 125 —A.D. 1106). The conversion of the Jain cave on the Melamalai at Nārttāmalai into a Viṣṇu temple may be attributed to the 'Five Hundred,' since it was given the name of *Padineṇbhūmi Viṇṇagaram*, after the eighteen districts of the *Aiññūṟṟuvar* (*P.S.I.* 281—A.D. 1228). *Citrameḷi Viṇṇagara Emberumānār* is the name of the god in the

[1] cf. *A. R. E.*, 254 of 1912. The Pirānmalai hill the eastern slope of which belongs to the State, is the southwestern boundary of the State. The western slope belongs to the Ramnad district.

[2] *Tamil inscriptions at Takuapa in Siam*, at Lobae Toewa in Sumatra, at Pagan in Burma and in Ceylon.

[3] *Sarvalokahitārthāya Citramelīs'a s'āsanam* (*Meli* = agriculture).

[4] *Tṛibhuvanās'raya pañcas'ata Vīra s'āsanam.*

[5] The village probably took its name from the *Munaiviras*—a section of their arm d followers.

temple of Sendamaṅgaḷam not far from Nārttāmalai (*P.S.I.*, 171—A.D. 1215). *Citrameḷīs'a* seems to be one of the attributes of the *Aiññūṛṛuvar.* A tank at Pillamaṅgaḷam is called after them (*P.S.I.*, 363—A.D. 1260). Kuḍalur in the southwestern corner of the State is named *Aiññūṛṛuvamaṅgaḷam* (*P.S.I.*, 393—A.D. 1283 and *A.R.E.*, 150 of 1903) and Vāḷaramāṇikkam in the south-eastern corner, *Aiññūṛṛuvanallūr* (*P.S.I.*, 1022 undated). *P.S.I.*, 576, dated in the 24th year of an unidentified Kulas'ekhara-deva, records the gift by this corporation of pillars to the temple maṇṭapam at Temmavūr. A ragmentary inscription at Tiruveṇṇāyil now called Ceṭṭipaṭṭi (*P.S.I.*, 1083) is of special interest. It gives to the Jain temple and monastery there, which according to another inscription belongs to the reign of Rājayaga the Great, the name of *Aiññūṛṛuvaperumpaḷḷi*; it was either built or endowed by the 'Five Hundred.'

The signatories in some of the State inscriptions bear the name of this guild. We read of *Aiññūṛṛuva Peraraiyar*, *Aiññūṛṛuva Bhaṭṭan* and *Aiññūṛṛuva Devan* [1].

We here of other guilds—for example, the *Maṇigrāmam* of Koḍumbāḷūr, the *Vaḷañjīyar* and the *Añjuvaṇṇam.* Were they all different organisations? *P.S.I.*, 61 mentions that the *Vaḷañjīyar Aiññūṛṛuvar* made a gift in the name of the *Nānādēs'i Tis'aiyāyirattu Aiññūṛṛuvar.* *A.R.E.*, 256 of 1912 records that the *Nānādes'i Aiññūṛṛuvar* were the protectors of the *Vaḷañjīyar Aiññūṛṛuvar*, and that they laid down certain rules of conduct to be followed by the latter. *A.R.E.*, 131 of 1926 mentions the two together. It is clear that the *Vaḷañjīyar Aiññūṛṛuvar* were under the influence and authority of the *Nānādēs'i Aiññūṛṛuvar.* May we not conclude that the *Vaḷuñjīyar*, though originally perhaps, a separate guild, later became affiliated to the 'Five Hundred of the thousand directions'? *Cittirameḷi periya nāṭṭār* and the *tis'aiyāyirattu aiññūṛṛuvar* mentioned in an Anbil record (*A.R.E.*, 601 of 1902) appear not to be different bodies, since the Pirānmalai record mentioned above calls the '*Five Hundred*' themselves *Citrameḷis'a.* The *muṇai-vīra-koḍiyār* of this Anbil record are only a division of the mercenary army of the 'Five Hundred' The Pirānmalai inscription mentions a number of merchant guilds from different cities including the *Maṇigrāmam* of Koḍumbāḷūr, all of which met together and made a grant to the temple of

[1] *P.S.I.*, 393, 421, 534 and 621.

Tirukkoḍuṅkunṟam or Pirānmalai which, along with the temple tank and the maṭham, was under the protection of the Aiññūṟṟuvar [1]. If all these corporations were separate bodies competing with one another we would not hear of them as coming together as they have done to make a grant to an institution which was under the special protection of one of them.

May we not therefore hazard the conclusion, to which a volume of evidence seems to point, that all the merchant guilds mentioned in this record, and in others, either were sections or were under the protection of the 'Five Hundred of the thousand directions' and that the 'Five Hundred' were a sort of a federal corporation protecting a number of component guilds [2] and towns on which they conferred special privileges [3]? Here is a suggestion worthy of further consideration by research scholars.

This 'powerful and autonomous corporation of merchants whose activities apparently took little or no account of political boundaries,' enjoyed a 'respected and privileged position' in all the countries they visited. They established warehouses wherever they traded which they guarded with their own army and played no small part in the administration of the places in which they were settled. Wherever they went, they benefited the people with their charities; 'they had no idea of the possibilities of economic imperialism' and 'trade to them was an end in itself;' [4] it never occurred to them that other lands might be forced into trade relations at the point of the sword. In short they formed an *imperium in imperio* in the countries they visited.

Enough has been said to prove that the Pudukkoṭṭai State was actively connected with the fortunes of this corporation. The *Ceṭṭis* and *Ceṭṭiputras* (*Ceṭṭipiḷḷais*, as they are now called) mentioned in inscriptions as constituents of this corporation have their homes in Pudukkoṭṭai. *Siḷaya Ceṭṭi* is another designation of the members of this corporation. State inscriptions refer to them as the chief mercantile class in the Nārttāmalai-nagaram. The patron goddess Aimpoḷil Parames'varī or Aiyāpoḷil Nācciyār was consecrated in the

[1] *Padineṇviṣaiyattār rakṣai.*

[2] *64 Ghaṭikaittavalam.*

[3] *Vīrapaṭṭinams.*

[4] The quotations are from Prof. Sastri's *Cōlas* (Vol. II).

temple at Kaḷḷampaṭṭi in the State about A.D. 1157 by a Niṣadarāja [1] Chief. *Aiññūṟṟuvarāsvarar* is the significant name of the god at Māttūr, a village near Kāraikkuḍi, a few miles beyond the State frontier. He is the patron deity of some Ceṭṭiyār families in the State who to this day make votive offerings to this God whenever they conduct an auspicious ceremony or start a new business. The ancestors of the present Ceṭṭiyār community who carry on Banking business in Burma, Malaya, Siam and French Indo-China seem to have been engaged in active trade through the corporation of the 'Five Hundred' with the countries in the Far East during a long period of five centuries.

[1] A line of local chieftains at Pirānmalai and Ponnamarāvati.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF CHEBROLU

BY M. RAMA RAO, M.A., PH. D.,

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CHEBROLU is a village situated in the Tenali taluk of the Guntur district. It contains numerous antiquities of a very important nature which have not so far received the attention of students of antiquities. There is a cluster of tiny temples to the north-east of the village and there are 18 inscriptions scatterred widely all over the area. The temples, however small, are useful for a study of the evolution of Āndhra architecture. The site on which these temples stand is of the greatest importance because, as will be shown later, there is reason to believe that it is a mound containing buried underneath it, an ancient Buddhist monument. This paper is devoted to a study of these antiquities.

Inscriptions and tradition, as preserved in the *Local Records*, afford us glimpses into the history of Chebrolu. The Kaifīyat of the village mentions that a number of Jaina temples were flourishing here even before the time of the western Cāḷukyan emperor Vikramāditya VI.[1] No Jaina antiquities have so far been found in this place. There are, on the other hand, numerous Buddhist remains to be found in the vicinity of the local temples. Very often, the village kaifīyats make a confusion between the Jainas and the Bauddhas. Probably, it is the existence of the Buddhists that is referred in the Kaifīyat. The earliest of the records found in this village is dated S.S. 927 and registers a gift to the temple of Kumārasvāmin.[2] Obviously, Chebrolu was a place of considerable importance at the time. The village seems to have grown to be very important

[1] *Local Records*, XIX, p. 454

[2] For the inscriptions of Chebrolu see *S.I.I.*, VI. Nos. 101-117 and *Loc. Rec* XXXVIII. p. 27.

in the subsequent centuries. In the 12th century, a number of chieftains of Velnāḍu and Koṇḍapaḍamati families visited it and made numerous gifts to the Kumārasvāmi temple. Early in the 13th century, Gaṇapatideva, the illustrious ruler of the Kākatīya dynasty, granted this village to his brother-in-law Jāyasenāni. Thereafter, it became the headquarters of this commander. In the next century, the village became one of the important townships in the viceroyalty of Kolani Rudradeva, the subordinate of the Kākatīya king Pratāparudradeva.[1] Nothing is known about Chebrolu during the period of the rule of the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu. The next glimpse that we have of the place is in the middle of the 16th century when a certain Koṇḍanna is said to have re-instituted the idol of Kumārasvāmin. It is likely that during the days that followed the fall of the Reḍḍis, this part of the country was overrun by the Muhummadans and that the temple sufferred damage at the hands of these invaders. Subsequently, the French seem to have obtained this village from Nazir Jung and destroyed the pagodas and compounds of the local temples, as mentioned in the village kaifīyat.

The area containing the temples lies to the north-eastern part of the village and covers an area of about two furlongs. All the temples of this group face the east. The area containing the temples may be divided into two parts—one containing the small shrine dedicated to Coḍīsvara and a arger shrine built in a tank and dedicated to Brahma. The latter is surrounded by a number of smaller shrines at the cardinal points dedicated to minor deities. Standing by the side of the Coḍīsvara temple is a beautiful idol of Bhairava sculptured in the Cāḷukyan style. The temple in the tank is dedicated to Brahma which is rather peculiar. The main shrine is of red sand-stone but on the outer side as well as in the verandah running round the structure are to be found pillars of black granite placed in juxta-position to pillars of red sand-stone. This temple, according to the Kaifīyat and local tradition, was built in Fasli 1222 by Rājā Venkatādri Nāyaḍu, the zemindar of Amarāvati. Evidently, material belonging to older structures was used in the construction of this temple.

The second part of the temple area consists of a mound about 15 feet high from the ground level, containing on its top three main

[1] See the Appendix of my *Kākatiya Saṁchika*, p. 15, verse 54.

temples dedicated to Nāges'vara, Bhīmes'vara and Viṣṇu. This section seems to have been enclosed by a high compound wall with two gates opening to the east. The following points are noteworthy about these temples:

The Nāges'vara temple. This is a simple shrine with a closed mukhamaṇṭapa and the sanctum behind it. Scattered in the court-yard of this temple are to be found numerous inscriptions and a few sculptured slabs.

The Bhīmes'vara temple. This is a remarkable structure. Like the celebrated S'aivite temples of Amarāvati and Drākṣārāma, this is a storied building with the ground floor walled up on all sides and the sanctum built on the first floor. The walls of this temple are built after the cyclopean style. The niches in the walls contain overflowing from the top the ornate creeper design usually found in Pallava temples and caves. Leaning against the steps leading to the first floor of this temple is a beautiful statue of S'iva and Pārvati sculptured in the Pallava style.

The Viṣṇu temple. This is a beautiful though tiny structure. It consists of an open portico, a mukhamaṇṭapa with an additional opening to the north and the sanctum behind it. The portico in the front is supported by two tall pillars which themselves rest on two life-size lions. These resemble similar pillars that support the long verandahs in the Kailāsanātha temple of Kāñci. The inner side of the ceiling of this temple is divided into several sections each containing the lotus with ornamented borders.

The Kumārasvāmi temple. Most of the inscriptions of Chebrolu register gifts to the Kumārasvāmi temple which seems to be the main structure of the entire group. The earliest of these is dated S.S. 927, as mentioned already. The kaifīyat of the village mentions that Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI built a temple here for Kumāra-svāmin. This does not seem to be entirely true, for, his predecessor Āhavamalla is known to have made a gift to this temple previously. Obviously, Vikramāditya added many portions to the temple which must already have been in existence. This shrine was further im-proved by Kākatīya Gaṇapatideva. This consistent evidence proves that the temple was in a flourishing condition till the end of the 13th century. One of the local inscriptions states, however, that a certain Koṇḍanna re-instituted the idol of Kumārasvāmin in S.S. 1475.

Obviously, this temple was ravaged by one Muhammadan arn y or other during the 15th century. Rāja Venkatādri Nāyuḍu is known to have renovated or rebuilt most of the local temples but the temple of Kumārasvāmin does not appear to have received his attention. This temple does not exist today. Probably, it was razed to the ground and nothing could be done to reconstruct it. There are several evidences in the temple area to support this view. Numerous black granite blocks, a yoni, and parts of a Vedi, made of the same material, are found scattered widely in the courtyards of the existing temples. The granite pillars placed in the verandah of the Brahmes'-vara temple must have belonged to this group and all these seem to be parts of the lost structure. There is a granite idol, partly broken but beautifully ornamented, lying in the debris on the northern slope of the mound. I identify this idol with that of Kumārasvāmin. It is also possible to identify the place where this temple must have stood. In the open yard situated between the Bhīmes'vara and Viṣṇu temples there is a high maṇṭapa containing a large size Nandi facing the east. Obviously, there was a shrine big and grand enough to suit the size of this bull facing it. I believe that this must be the Kumārasvāmi temple.

Buddhist antiquities. Apart from the antiquities described so far, numerous relics of a more ancient past have come to light at Chebrolu. Of these, the following deserve special mention :

(1) *Marble slabs containing the lotus design*—Three such slabs were discovered, two before the Nāges'vara temple and one before the Viṣṇu temple. These contain inscriptions of the 12th and 13th centuries subsequently engraved.

(2) *Railing pillars* Leaning against the Dhvajasthaṁbha of the Bhīmes'vara temple are two broken marble pillars containing the Buddhist flower and vase (Kalas'a) symbol at the top. On one side of these pillars there is a wide indenture through which obviously a cross-beam was passed. These pillars undoubtedly are parts of a railing.

(3) *A marble āmalaka.* The Dhvajasthaṁbha mentioned above passes through a big āmalaka shaped marble which itself rests on a raised platform. It contains the lotus design all round. I belive that this is the top portion of Caitya, possibly of the votive type.

(4) *The ancient village site.* To the east of the temple area is a wide depression now being used mostly for cultivation and partly for

digging earth. Originally this area seems to have been as high as the foot of the mound as indicated by sections of the digging in several places. The present level is about 10 feet below the level of the neighbourhood. Buried in the ground in this region are old bricks measuring 20.5″ x 10.5″ x 3″. I have also found here numerous pieces of old pottery coloured red and black on either side and with both sides glazed. A few pieces of old shell bangles were also obtained from this spot. Recently, while a trench was being dug here, the villagers unearthed at a depth of four feet, a broken marble piece containing the semi-circular lotus design and a lion.

Taking all these antiquities into consideration I believe that this is the site of the ancient village and that it is as old as the *S'āta-vāhana* period. It is also my opinion that the Buddhist antiquities found here belong to a caitya which must have existed in this area. Probably, it lies buried in the mound over which the Bhīmes'vara and Nāges'vara temples stand today. This site deserves careful examination and excavation.

THREE SPURIOUS WESTERN CĀLUKYA GRANTS

By Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu, B.A.,
Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras

These grants have come to notice during the last thirty-two years. In the year 1906 was discovered among the copper plates of the Madras Museum a grant apparently assigned to Vinayāditya Satyās'raya and this was examined by the late Rai Bahadur Venkayya, at the request of the then Superintendent of the Museum, Mr. E. Thurston. This is included in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for that year as number 12 of App. A. Regarding the grant itself Mr. Venkayya remarks (*ibid.*, p. 79) that the "genuineness of this record is open to grave suspicion."

The second grant of the series belonging to the same king came to notice in the year 1917. Mr. Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu, Retired Deputy Collector, Madras Presidency, who is an ardent scholar of South Indian Epigraphy brought this to the notice of the late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri. This is reviewed in the latter's *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, for the year 1917-18, as No. 3 of App. A, and its contents are discussed in the same *Report*, on p. 134 (Part II). As will be seen from the sequel it is important to note here the fact that Mr. Pantulu had secured the plates while he was the Deputy Collector of Rayadrug in the Bellary district.

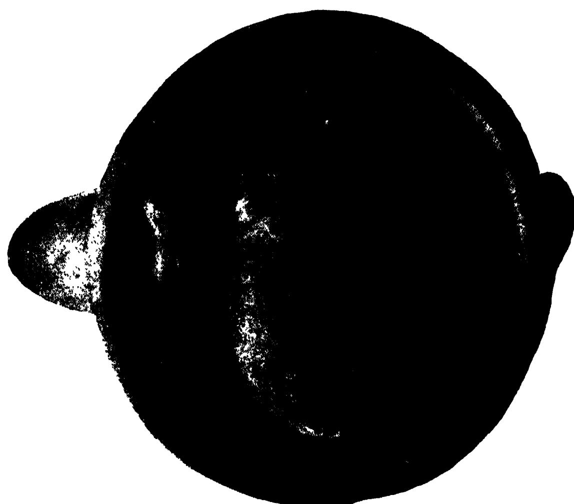
Regarding the genuineness of this record Mr. Krishna Sastri remarks thus: "The date of the record is S'aka 512, Sādhāraṇa, Māgha, s'u. 13, Monday and is far too early for this king. The erasures in the grant portion, the numerous mistakes in the language and the differences in the geneology of kings taken together, must lead one to the belief that the plates are spurious."

The third of this series of grants came to my notice in the year 1933. The plates belong to the Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar and were secured for my examination by my assistant Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi, M.A. I have thoroughly examined the contents of the record and reviewed them in my *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1933-34 (Vide, No. 2 of App. A. and p. 30). I have stated therein that the characters of the present grant as of the other two grants noticed above are too late for the period of Vinayāditya and also the date given in it is too carly for him. The language is corrupt and the orthography full of errors. Since the contents also are similar to those given in the Bellary grant, this may be said to be one of a series of spurious grants forged in the name of the king in the same tract of country. With the prefatory remarks above made regarding these grants I must observe here that even as forgeries they have an interest for the student of South Indian Epigraphy which will be elucidated in the sequel.

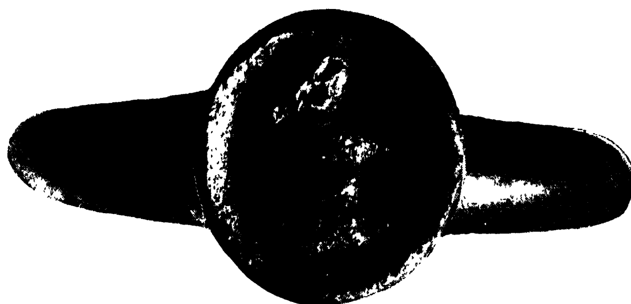
The format of these sister forgeries is curiously enough almost the same. In all cases the sets consist of three slightly round-cornered plates each, with oblong shape. They measure roughly ten inches in length and about five inches in width. Every set carries a seal soldered on to a thick ring which carries the plates and bears a figure of the Boar, the family emblem of the Western Cāḷukyas.

The characters employed in all these sets are medieval Nāgarī and the language is Sanskrit, though as already remarked, the style and the orthography are corrupt and indifferent. Two of these which are dated in the same year *i.e.* S'aka 520, Kālayukta are engraved in what would appear to be an identical hand. The third which is dated in S'aka 512 is in a slightly different hand.

There is not much material difference in the phraseology of these documents, so far as the introductory and descriptive portions relating to the kings are concerned, though quite naturally the business portions of the documents vary from one another. They also mention consistently enough king Vinayāditya's capital as Raktapura on the northern bank of the river Malahārī or Malāpahārī and the occasion of the gift as the king's sojourn at Kurunda. Raktapura finds mention in a spurious stone inscription at Lakṣmes'var in the Miraj State, belonging to the time of the Western Cāḷukya king Vinyāditya Satyās'raya and dated in the S'aka year 608 which was the fifth year of his



SEAL OF COPPER-PLATE GRANT No. 3 OF 1933-34.



SEAL OF THE SPURIOUS GRANT OF WESTERN CĀLUKYA VINAYĀDITYA.

reign (See Bombay-Karnatak No. 37 of 1935-36 and Kielhorn's *List of Southern Inscriptions* No. 26). The same city figures also in another spurious record which purports to belong to king Vijayāditya Satyāśraya of this dynasty coming from the same place and dated in the Śaka year 645 which corresponded to the 28th year of the king's reign (See Bombay-Karnatak No. 36 of 1935-36). Still another epigraph of this king from the same place and similarly spurious presumably dated in the Śaka year 651 corresponding to the 34th year of the king's reign is noticed in Kielhorn's *List* No. 37. It is also interesting to note that an inscription of Vikramāditya II of this dynasty apparently spurious, and coming from the same place and dated in Śaka 656 corresponding to the second year of the king's reign was also issued from Raktapura. Though Raktapura is claimed to be the king's capital in all all these records, there, is no reference to his sojourn at or visit to Kurunda which finds mention in the three copper plate grants under review. In view of what I am going to say later it is necessary to remember that Professor Kielhorn opines that all the above-noted Lakṣmeśvar records were put on stone in about the second half of the eleventh century A. D.

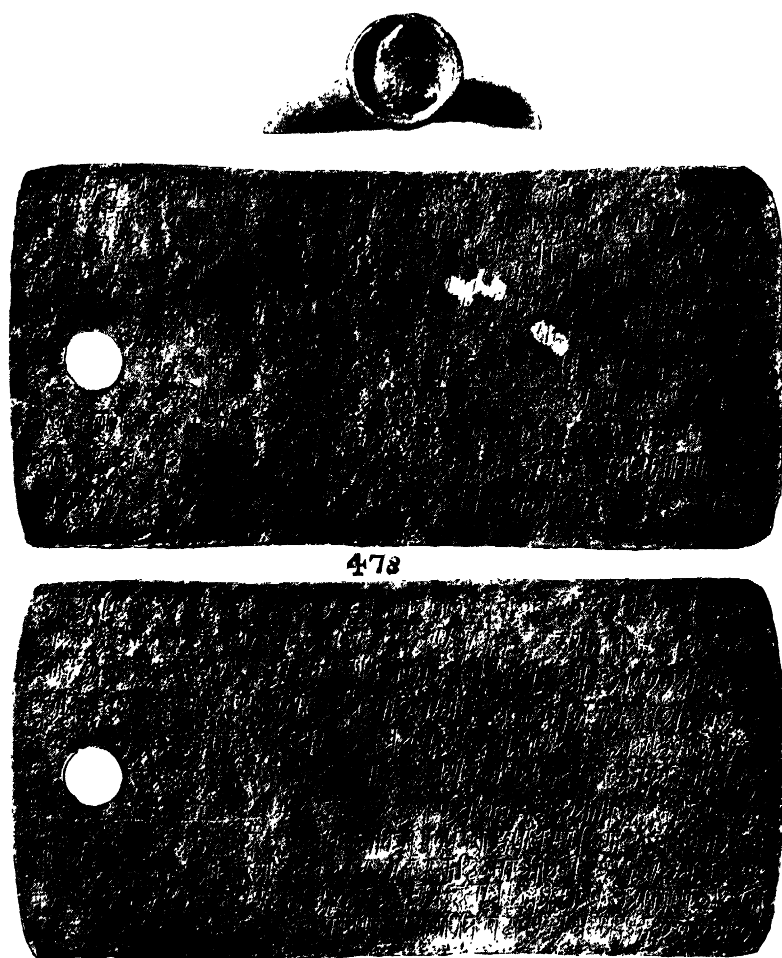
Coming down to the object of these grants it appears that the Bellary set (No. 12 of 1905-6) registers the gift of the village Mittere in the territorial division of Draupadi-Seventy belonging to the *Viṣaya* of Ballakuṇḍe, to the Brahmin Kēśava-Trivedi-Bhaṭṭa of the Vājiya family and the Bhāradvaja-gotra on the occasion of the birth of a son (*putrotpatti-nimittam*). The second records a grant of land in the village Pāpārenūru. The name of the donee and the territorial division to which the village belonged are not clear. At the end, however, this grant gives the name of the composer as *Mahāsandhi-vigrahin* Mādhava while the third was composed by the king's officer Ṣrīrāma-Bhaṭṭa. The object of the last (No. 2 of 1933-34) is to register the gift of the village Hodalūru attached to the Vāgaḍage Seventy division in the *viṣaya* of Kūṇḍica Thousand. Whether all or some of these localities are indentifiable or not there is not the least doubt that the grants relate to, and so the forgeries emanated in, the country near about the modern Bellary and Dharwar districts. I understand that Hodalūru and Vāgaḍage are in the Bijapur district.

Having said thus much about the contents of these grants we shall now proceed to discuss *their dates* which offer the most interesting

points for study. The earliest of these (*viz.* No. 3 of 1917-18) is dated in the S'aka year 512, Sādhāraṇa, Māgha. s'u. 13, Monday. The next in point of time is No. 2 of 1933-34 which is dated in the S'aka year 520, Kālayukta, Vais'ākha, Amāvāsyā, Thursday. The latest (No. 12 of 1905-06) is dated in the same year but a few months later, *i.e*, S'aka 520, Kālayukta, Pauṣa, s'u. 13 Monday. As it has already been pointed out, the grants are engraved in characters far too late for the dates given therein. So any attempt to determine the possible period of the forgeries should be welcome and informing.

The study of these forgeries recalls to our mind *another set of forgeries* which may be assigned to about a century prior to our grants. In my *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1935-36 (p. 58 f.) I have discussed the nature and probable origin of the former which purport to claim to a Western Cāḷukya (?) chief Vīra-Noṇamba-Cakravarti (No. 1 of App. A. to the same *Report*) which also curiously enough came to light in the Dharwar district. This is a sister forgery to the Bangalore plates of the same king (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII, p. 89.) The characters of the two documents are almost alike though the wording varies slightly. They are dated respectively in S'aka (!) 327, Parābhava, Vais'ākha, *ba* (mistake for s'u), Paurṇamāsī, Monday, and in S'aka (!) 369, Tāraṇa, Phālguṇa, ba, amāvāsya, Thursday. By verification it has been found by me that the details of dates quoted in these respectively correspond very regulary to S'aka 927-28 and to S'aka 966-67 yielding the English equivalents Monday, April 15, A. D. 1006 and Thursday, March 21, A. D. 1045. The characters employed in both these grants of Vīra-Noṇamba fully agree with the period *i.e.*, the 11th century A. D. to which I have assigned them. We see thus that the S'aka years cited in these records must be increased by exactly 600 years as in the case of the Vinayāditya grants under review.

In connection with the discussion of the period of these grants I have surmised that the year S'aka 600 must have been adopted in the local historical tradition at least, as the starting point of an era. This must have been in celebration or commemoration of some epoch-making or very important political event or achievement connected with the Western Cālukya king Vinayāditya Satyās'raya : either his conquest over some northern king or his subjugation of the Trairājya-Pallava forces in the south. That such an era, though not widely



A SPURIOUS GRANT OF THE WESTERN CĀLUKYA VINAYADITYA,





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A SPURIOUS GRANT OF THE WESTERN CĀLUKYA VINAYĀDITYA.

adopted and recognized, was kept before the eyes of the then tradition is borne out by the dates of the three spurious grants now discussed and clearly purporting to belong to this very king. The earliest of our grants is dated in S'aka 512, Sādhāraṇa, Māgha, s'u 13, Monday. Surprisingly enough the S'aka year 512 increased by 600, *i.e.* S'aka 1112 corresponds to the cyclic year Sādhāraṇa. Māgha, s'u. 13 fell, in this year on a Thursday but it had begun the previous day, *i.e.* Wednesday. And if Monday (*Somavāra*) cited in the inscription could be taken to be a mistake for Saumyavāra—which is not unlikely—the corresponding English equivalent date would be Wednesday, January 12. A.D. 1191. The next in order is No. 2 of 1933-34 dated in S'aka 520, Kāḷayukta, Vais'ākha, Amāvāsya, Thursday. Increasing S'aka year by 600 again we find that S'aka 1120, corresponds to the cyclic year Kāḷayukta. The details quoted in the inscription regularly correspond to the English date Thursday, May 7, A.D. 1198. Coming then to the third and the latest of these grants (No. 12 of 1905-06) we find that the date cited therein S'aka 520, Kāḷayukta, Pauṣya, s'u. 13, Monday, would roughly correspond to A.D. 1198, December 13, Sunday (not Monday).

Thus we clearly see that these three copper-plate documents forged in the nineties of the twelfth century A.D., adopted like the two Vīra-Noṇamba-Cakravarti copperplate forgeries an unspecified era which commenced in S'aka 600. In trying to find some possible cause for starting, though tacitly and suggestively, an era in this particular year I have surmised in the said *Annual Report* that some outstanding achievement of king Vinayāditya must have occurred in the north or south. From Kielhorn's *List of Northern Inscriptions* (No. 401) we find that the Gujerat Cāḷukya king Yuvarāja S'ryās'raya S'īlāditya issued his Surat plates from Kusumes'vara in the reign of, and evidently as a vassal of, his cousin Vinayāditya Satyās'raya, of the main Cālukya line, in the Kaḷacūri year 443=A.D. 693. It is not likely that there would have been any trouble in the north and no special expedition needed to establish or restore the suzerainty of the main line over the Gujerat branch of the family. There could not have been any attempt to shake off the yoke of the Bādāmi line during the last days of Vinayāditya's father Vikramāditya. On the other hand the year S'aka 600 might have to be associated with the achievement of an epoch-making success of Vinayāditya over the

southern enemy kings, like the Trairājya-Pallava forces and their allies.

POSTSCRIPT

Since writing the above note I have come across the notice of another copper-plate document of a suspicious nature like the three inscriptions dealt with above. The late Mr. N. B. Sastri, of Koppal in the H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions had supplied a note on "Kopaṇa-Koppa" to Mr. G. Yazdani, the Director of Archæology in the Dominions. The note was forwarded to me by Mr. Yazdani in connection with my monograph on 'the Kannaḍa Inscriptions of Koppal.' It refers to a copper-plate inscription of the Cālukya emperor 'Sri-Vinayāditya Satyās'raya-Vallabha.' The wording of the document is rather indifferent as in the other three cases. The original plates are not available and so we cannot say anything about the script of the record. But two points of great interest to us are to be noticed here. It refers to the Raktapura-rājadhānī as situated on the northern bank of the river Malāpahārī and the king's visit to Kurunda in connection with his coronation-festival (*paṭṭabandhotsava*) and is dated in apparently the S'aka year 516 (expressed in words), Ānanda, Vais'ākha, paurṇamāsī, Thursday, vyatīpāta. According to Swamikannu Pillay's *Indian Ephemeris* these details work out correctly for S'aka 1116=A.D. 1194, May 5, Thursday. The *tithi* on this day was, however, s'u. 14 which lasted up to 94 when paurṇamāsī followed. This small disparity between the *tithi* and the week-day is very commonly noticed in epigraphs. The main interest of this date is that the S'aka year 516 quoted increased by 600 yields us, as in the previous instances, the actual S'aka year (*i.e.*, 1116) in which the document was composed or rather forged. Raktapura stated to be situated on the northern bank of the Malāpahārī is identified by Mr. Sastri with Kisuvoḷalu (Red city) which is sanskritized as Raktapura. This identification is confirmed by the fact that Paṭṭadakallu definitely made out to be the Kisuvoḷalu of the inscriptions is situated on the northern bank of the river Mālprabhā (Malāppahārī) of our records. We have therefore, definite evidence here for giving up Dr. Fleet's identification of Raktapura with Lakṣmes'vara in the Miraj State (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 304, note 6.)

The other point worth nothing in this document is that the king granted the village of Niḍugundi in the Kis'ukāḍu-Seventy division to the brahman Bhāskara-Cauvera-Bhaṭṭa of the Kammeya family and the Kās'yapa-gōtra on the occasion of his (sacred) bath in the *divyamahātīrtha* (divine holy waters) at Mahākūṭa. The occasion and circumstances of the grant and the name of the recipient clearly bring into relief the family resemblance of this inscription to the three spurious sister-grants dealt with above to which the present stands in the relation of a fourth sister. Chronologically, being dated in S'aka 516, it takes the place of the second of the four sister-forgeries. As we have not yet got possession of the original plates it is very desirable that the Archæological Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions should spare no effort in securing the set for further scrutiny and study.

A NOTE ON JAMI MASJID AT THATTA (SIND)

By Gope Gur-Bax, B.A.,
Hyderabad (Sind)

Of all the places that gave Sind a proud position in the history of India, the chief was Thatta—the eye of Sind and the emporium of the East (Captain Payton) which is 60 miles east of Karachi.

Most unfortunately, this place at present is lying in a ruinous condition : the old charm and glamour no longer exists. But there are certain historical monuments which give testimony to the lost splendour of this place.

Of the buildings of interest in Thatta one finds a mosque known as Jami Masjid Shah Jehani, which is still in use. The superstructure is of bricks and the foundation has been laid of stone. The dome has been constructed of tiles. " The great feature of the building is its coloured tile work. The patterns and soft harmonious combination of colour are exquisite.[1] " Arabic and Persian couplets are found inscribed on the walls at various places.

The following couplet is to be found on the western wall, as we enter the southern side of the open yard of the masjid which translated runs as follows :

" Even the eye of the sky, *i.e.*, the Sun, had not seen a mosque with such splendour that angels came for seeing the bounties of God." The year when it was constructed can be found from the words " Hasat Mādan-e-Faiz " (that really it is mine of bounties) which in Abjud system corresponds to A.H. 1054.

Another couplet which ascribes the building of the mosque to the great Mogul Emperor Shah Jahan is found on the inner side of the Eastern open yard wing.

[1] *Archæological Survey of India*, XVI, p. 213.

" When the lofty mosque was constructed, by the Lord of Compunction, Shah Jahan, the invisible voice told me that the year of the construction of the building can be found in the words ' Gashut Ziba Chun Masjid-e-Akazi ' (as beautiful as the mosque of Jerusalem) which in Abjud system corresponds to A.H. 1057."

Other couplets which mention Jebel Razvi who is styled as *the chosen minister*, as having constructed the flooring which was laid in A.H. 1068, during the time of Shah Jahan :

" The king of the time, Shah Jahan constructed such an elevated cathedral mosque, that its copula threw shadow on the heavenly dome."

" The representative of God (Shah Jahan) constructed the House of Mercy of God, especially for God. The chosen minister Jalal Razvi, got its flooring built in such an artistic manner, that on account of its clearness (reflection) it became the envy of the world reflecting Cup of Jamshed)."

" The date of its construction of the flowing can be found in the words " Farush Mataā-e-Dilkusha " which in the Abjud system corresponds to A.H. 1068.

From these inscriptions it is clear that " the construction of the mosque was commenced in A.H. 1054 and completed in A.H. 1057 (A.D. 1644-1647). But the flooring was not laid till 1068 A.H. when it was completed by the noble work of Jalal Razvi.[1] "

It is the duty of the State and public to see that these historical monuments are kept in proper condition. It was in the year 1311 A.H. (A.D. 1894) that Mr. Chames got it repaired through Khan Sahib Rasul Bux Maktiarkan, Thatta, from the public funds raised for the prupose. The southern gate of the mosque mentions this fact. But from that date to the present day, nobody has thought it worthwhile to touch it though it is one of the ancient places of worship of the aristocratic Mussalmans of Sind.

[1] cf. *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. XVI (New Imperial Series), where the information regarding the date of the construction of the mosque is evidently utilized from these inscriptions.

8. HISTORY

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A.,

Annamalainagar

I am very grateful to the Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference for honouring me with the Presidentship of the History Section at this, the Tenth Session of the Conference; and I am very grateful for this honour as one done to an humble worker in the field of historical studies, and also as marking a growing recognition on the part of scholars, of the value of pure historical work, as differentiated from archæological and other kindred branches of learning. The constitution, in the division of the branches of the Conference, of a separate section for History, distinct altogether from Geography and Archæology, is a feature which should hearten those devotees of pure historical studies who make use of the fruits of the efforts of the labourers in these other fields. In the Baroda Session of the Conference, History was linked on to Archæology. In the next gathering at Mysore, it contrived to develop an individuality of its own; and it has been since confirmed in its separate and individual status. This is not, however, to mean that historical studies should ignore or make insufficient use of the material that may be gathered by labourers in the allied fields of Archæology, Anthropology, Chronology and Geography.

One of my predecessors in this office has drawn attention to the fact that History has had to work under hard conditions and with tough and intractable material which has neither the living interest inherent in current events, nor the idealism which is the essence of reforms planned for the future, and that it must perforce allow the

records of the past, in whatever manner these may be available, to serve as the bases of its construction in the strictest and most realistic sense. The term *Itihāsa* has been interpreted by the learned Mahāmahopādhyāya Rai Bahadur Gauri Sankar Ojha as being indentical in its scope and meaning with all that happened in the past, though it has been generally understood to bear a special reference to political events. The student of history has therefore got the right and the duty to delve into and, in a varying degree, to make use of the material culled from literature of all variety and from every kind of evidence that can throw any light upon political events; and for this purpose, these other branches of study become ancillary to it.

Archæological and other material, as understood in the broadest sense of the term, can at best furnish what may be called the dry bones of History, or to use the words of a veteran historian, only " such a sequence of occurrence and priority and posteriority in point of time and the general condition of the civilization of people whose handiwork is subjected to examination." But for anything like a full appreciation of historical evolution and cultural development, we require very much more than the mere assembling of these materials in a proper sequential and correct skeletal formation. Even literary matter which has been utilized for historical purposes to a far greater measure than the material gathered from other fields, has got to be used with considerable caution and care. The use of literature as a source for the construction of History is liable to some dangers which should be carefully guarded against. Literature is held to belong to the region of conscious effort; and full allowance must be given, in the interpretation of its substance, for individual vagaries and personal equations of all kinds.

The difficulties of the true process of History have been attempted to be set forth by a long succession of great masters of the art. All of them are, however, agreed upon one point, namely, that any formal enunciation of general principles of interpretation constitutes a far more difficult task with regard to the more prominent sources of evidential value for History. Neither Archæology nor Literature, nor the conclusions arising from a study of languages and linguistic development can be allowed any undue force; nor can anyone of these factors be taken as the sole deciding test in any given

situation, even in the absence of the existence of other categories of evidence. The exploitation of historical sources should always be conducted "with a careful apparatus of criticism applied with judgment." The building up of history depends, therefore, upon the proper evolution of the various sources that may bear upon a particular question or aspect of history; and how difficult would be the correct interpretation and what possible sources of corruption may enter into it, would be clear from what has been stated before. Even so, it need not be regarded as impossible of achievement—it cannot, in any case, be to perfection—but to such a degree of completeness as is humanly attainable in a field of work like this." (*Proceedings of the Fifth Oriental Conference*, Lahore, 1938, Vol. I, p. 313).

II

This naturally leads on to an examination of History as being the result of a process of knowledge which can be included in the category of an art or a science. There is a large amount of disagreement expressed even at the present day on the view whether History is or may become a science. The learned Bishop Stubbs has elaborately discussed the question and arrived at the following conclusion: "Whether we look at the dignity of the subject-matter or at the nature of the mental exercise which it requires or at the inexhaustible field over which the pursuit ranges, History, the knowledge of the adventures, the development, the changeful career, the varied growths, the ambitions, aspirations, and if you like, the approximating destinies of mankind, claims a place second to none in the role of sciences." The strict collation and examination of facts and the drawing of ordered conclusions from them should, according to late Prof. J. B. Bury, make us always remember that "although History may supply the material for literary art or philosophical speculations, she is herself simply a science, no less and no more." But, on the other side, we have, among many thinkers, W. S. Jevons who has declared that a science of History in the truest sense of the term is an absurd notion, because the smallest causes might produce unexpected results and because in such instances the real application of the scientific method is out of the question. Concurring with him, Henry Sidgwick would not accord any support to the claim of History to be a

science as " it is specially and largely concerned with presenting particular events in chronological order."

One feature that may be remarked about the work of historians, particularly those engaged in the several fields of historical research in our country is that very often assertion evokes rejoinder and each writer becomes particularly sensitive to the lapses or omissions of his immediate predecessors, and even occasionally works himself up into a white heat of indignation thereat. This feature has particularly thrust itself upon the notice of the student of the growth of Indian historical material and research in recent times. The wise Bacon had long ago shown the way to one type of historians when he said that the past should be investigated by students with an absolute blank in their minds as to what they might wish to know or what they might expect to find. This method which in effect will only mean the mere cataloguing of facts, can be natually criticized as constituting not a scientific, nor even a reasoning process but a mere building up of the sequence of different happenings, a dry and in many respects, meaningless and unfruitful, collection of annalistic data unmarked by the " apprehension of phenomenal difference as the basis of pre-requisite of thought." Lord Acton gives his idea on this subject, in the following words in his *Lectures on the Study of History*: " In the Renaissance the art of exposing falsehood dawned upon keen Italian minds and it was then that History as we understand it, began to be understood and the illustrious dynasties of scholars, rose, to whom we still look both for method and material, Mediæval chroniclers of literary merit like Mathew Paris, Joinville and Froissart whose testimony to the events of their own time was fairly trustworthy, did not satisfy the essential condition of true historical study." One may well ask one's self: When did this ideal come to be realized in the evolution of historical work ? Gooch says that for liberty of thought and expression, for clear and ordered insight into the different ages and for the judicial temper on which the historical science, if it exists, should depend, we have got to come down to the 19th century, when alone there emerged a historical method with high ideals of objectivity and truthfulness. Thus one can support the dictum that " History and its interpretation and method are made to re-live with every awakening of the critical spirit. And these discoveries of true historical beginnings have been

made by scholars who identify history with critical inquiry. On the other hand, these who identify it primarily with composition press the beginning over further, not only to epic poems and ballads, but to the simplest recital of some unwonted occurrence or adventure." (Teggart, *Prolegomena to History*, 1913, p. 173).

The student of Indian History has naturally to inquire into the question whether the statements which should form the staple of his treatment should be always subjected to such severe criticism of the kind noted above and whether such intensive investigation of origins and deduction of conclusions should always serve as a necessary factor of the work of historiography. Very often, particularly when working in fields in which the available material is either scanty or not capable of being tested by the application of other evidence, he finds himself reduced to a position in which he cannot make use of any critical apparatus at all. The illustrious German historian of the last century, Leopold Von Ranke, cautiously, avoided any probing of the fundamental problem of the historical scholar's task and wrote his works as narratives upon what seemed to him to be the best elements sifted from the testimony available. The derivative question, coming immediately after the acceptance of this idea, is whether the historian should lay any stress upon the literary form to be adopted for the expression of his work and whether the literary form that may be adopted by him should give expression to any pronounced individual characteristics that would naturally assert themselves as the projection of any peculiarities of his particular personality and the temper of his work. Statements as to past events are in reality re-statements made after the examination of the evidence accumulated till then by the writer or scholar concerned; and in most cases the re-statement " is a selection dominated by ideas current now, from the restricted contents of the original statements." Shall we not add that the process of re-statement which should be naturally preceded by a process of selection or elimination of unnecessary or irrelevant or unreliable data is one involving a subjective presentation ? and this subjective and largely personal element has also natuarlly coloured the growth of histriography among the several generations of Indian historians, particularly those working on the more recent centuries. On the other side, it may be maintained that their main task should be to avoid any subjective interpretation to the farthest limit possible.

Thus it may be argued that the historian who endeavours to probe into the past would naturally project himself into a presentation marked by psychological features which necessarily accompany his endeavour to make the actions of his heroes and the picturing of processes of the period of his work intelligible to his contemporaries and readers; and so he makes the past vary with the present and so constructs history to be a record of events that actually happened only to some extent, and to be a presentation of inferences of his own suited to the age and temper of the reader, to the remaining extent. Do not our historians in their presentation of the character and achievement of an As'oka, a Samudragupta, a Pulikes'i or a Rājarāja, though they have to be restrained and canalized in defined directions by their knowledge of ideas and institutions known to be dominant in those respective ages, still work out for themselves some definite notions and bases concerning the characters of the heroes and the movements of the periods of study they are engaged in? Pictures of the past occasionally get to be refined by the charm of guessing ancient motives from the records of ancient deeds; but more largely they come out distorted from true perspective by the projection, unconsciously it may be, of later or even contemporary ideas. The historian of ancient times has indeed a cardinal duty to project himself into the past, but in doing so, he generally runs the risk of subordinating facts that might have had a fundamentally different spiritual and contemporary ideology. This applies, in a particular measure, to the description of ancient epochs, the genius and perspective of which the historian has set himself to investigate. He has to judge the springs of action in individual actors, to measure the calibre of their moral and intellectual powers and to pronounce a verdict of praise or blame or any intermediate opinion on the motives which have determined their manifestation.

III

It is said that the vision of Roman History as the true expression of Roman character came to Livy in natural course and that a momentary and incidental inspiration gave to Gibbon that most interesting and fruitful day of inspiration in his literary life when he

first thought of writing of the *Decline and Fall of the Eternal City*. Only the tallest of our country's historians, for instance, a Kalhaṇa or an Elphinstone, gets such a chance or guidance. One other feature should be characteristic of our historians, particularly of those who narrate the events of the distant past. Mommsen has said that history should be neither written nor made without love or hate. It is this intensity of personal feeling which should be inseparable from patriotism and politics that have given history its specific quality of intellectual and emotional excellence on the one hand and at the same time has served as the greatest, obstacle to the development of the true histriographic art. The golden mean between these two extremes, usually presented as antithetic to each other, is very difficult to find; but it is more or less close approximation to this ideal mean that should be the aim of everyone of our historical writers, particularly those engaged in presenting pictures of formative periods and constructive heroes. It is bound to prove a most difficult task to portray historical personalities and their impelling forces in all the complete and full accuracy of their lives and ideals without getting into one or another of these dangers. Such has been the experience of the historians of our national heroes like Akbar and Shivaji and of movements like the Maratha national growth. In the belief of dealing with the spirit of the times, some writers have been unconsciously led to reproduce their own mental texture and environment into their conclusions about the past. Thus it is dangerous to talk of the verdict of History in such cases, because such judgment varies from generation to generation and from country to country. In the words of Prof. G. M. Trevelyan, "action and reaction is as much the method of historical as of political progress." Historical conclusions accepted through a length of time have tended to stereotype popular and later judgments (*e.g.*, Macaulay's classic essay on Warren Hastings and the synchronism of Sandrocottus and Seleucus) and any attempt to go against these well-established assumptions has the disadvantage and risk of being condemned either as revolutionary and not sufficiently orthodox or as being not based on accepted data. Thus new conclusions put forward in conflict with the old, though they are very often based on inadequate study or upon data which may not be convincing enough, are easily rejected on grounds that, when examined internally and *per se*, do not present any great

reliability. On the other hand, there is the danger of some faddists who have become indissolubly wedded to their pet theories and interpretations hastening to condemn the historical conclusions against which they go, as being against information and methods marked by "refreshing reason and convincing argument so called." Thus attempts have been made from time to time to shake and move out of their rooted foundations, accepted synchronisms and schemes of chronology for periods and dynasties and epochs, particularly of the millennium down to the Gupta era. Such attempts have naturally been made from time to time; and in the burdensome task of the proper evaluation of these attempts, the rightminded critic should wield his powerful *daṇḍadhara* in such a truly conscientious and efficient manner as should encourage the growth of accurate historical perspective and scholarship and that should at the same time not damp healthy attempts at re-interpretation and re-valuation.

Some of the above mentioned dangers are incipient in those aspects of Indian historical studies that are associated with questions of race and culture mixtures and that imply a scrutiny of the bearings and reactions of castes and groups, on one another of the institutions of militarism and pacifism and of kindred questions of social evolution and repercussions. They also appear again and again, in the treatment of the growth and fortunes of particular movements like primitive Buddhism whose cult suffered modification in every different milieu through which it passed. Questions of the relative superiority and value of cultures like those of Sumer, Egypt and the Indus valley and of the resultant fruits of the impacts of ethnic groups and types associated with these great breeding grounds of primitive civilization have got to be treated in a particularly careful manner. The social order of the Hindu village community which has proved to be so vital, has been held to bear in its formative stages a religious or sacerdotal imprint which has made it essentially immobile and to have contributed to petrify the castes on a permanent and hereditary basis. The examination of these features and of the changes in the social order that have ensued is also a very important field of work for the historian and may be said to constitute a valuable and instructive supplementary region of activity for him.

IV

I may be permitted to digress here on one important side-track, as to what the historian should do positively for his own part in the interpretation of such vital forces. His duty, according to one school, is to follow closely the movements of races and of peoples, to vitalize old materials and to interpret them in the light of the present needs and ideals and to recreate, and ever renew, the memory of the past. Lord Morley has said of the Teutonic historians of the 19th century that "in Germany at least, it was the dynasty of historians and not the abstract men who supplied the final clenchers for public opinion and national resolution." (*Notes on Politics and History*, p. 183). If History should aim at providing a body of ideas which would serve to unify the attitude of the individuals of a nation towards their common country, it should, according to this view, first create a common pride in past events. The great Baron Stein thus wrote in 1829 of the discovery of this potent principle: "In the year 1818 I gave an impulse to this undertaking, because I thought it for the honour of the nation to collect and set out properly the monuments of its history, because I considered History an efficacious means of exciting patriotism and sustaining it against the influence of self-interest." (J. R. Seeley, *Life and Times of Stein*, p. 499). On the reverse side of this shield is the natural desire of even the patriotically inclined historian to be fair and impartial in his interpretative work and tell the exact truth without being impulsed by any sort of pre-possessions. Thus the illustrious Count Palacky who was animated by an equally great national patriotism with Stein's own, prefaced his *History of Bohemia* written in 1836, more than a century ago with these words:

"That I write from the standpoint of a Bohemian is a fact for which I could only be blamed, if it rendered me unjust either to the Bohemians or to their opponents. I hope, however, that my sincere craving for truth, my respect for all laws, divine and human, my zeal for order and legality, my sympathy with the weal and woe of all mankind, will preserve me from the sin of partiality."

The art of historiography may be held to stand in a very delicate and complex relation to the principles of nationality and patriotism; and it may well be maintained on the one side that the historian is "memory's mouth-piece for his countrymen; and history *is* the

inspiration of the patriot." But, likewise, on the other side of the shield, it may be put forward that history should bear a definite relation to the highest aspirations of the human spirit and should steadfastly aim at presenting a wide philosophic vision comprehending clearly an ultimate synthesis of forces far wider than those of one's own country or time.

Modern European nationalities have been moulded to a large extent by the efforts of historians who have taken Herodotus as their exemplar in this respect. This view holds that through the recounting and representation of the exploits of earlier generations by historians, the descendants of a people acquire a feeling of pride which can be made use of as a most important factor in the achievement of success in the struggles of the nation for its free and individualist manifestation. The danger lies in this fact that it is but a short distance from this attitude for the historian to go, before he could become grievously and fatally coloured by political partnership and by passions of ideology. "Should ideology operate and if so, in what measure," in the mental field of the historian is a question that should seriously though perhaps unconsciously, be always agitating the mind of every sober-minded student. The good historian has a duty to strive to arrive at the true meaning and explanation of the underlying principles or ideas of the period with which he is concerned. In this connection one can recall to his mind D. G. Ritchie's dictum that the Philosophy of History is an attempt "to reap the plan of providence to unravel the plot of the great drama that is played throughout the centuries;" Bishop Stubbs has likewise stressed the great value that should always be attached to the drawing of a moral by the teacher and student of History and concluded that the marrow of civilized History is ethical and not metaphysical and the deep underlying cause of action as manifested in the march of the Historical Muse through time passes through the maze of the shades of right and wrong. On the other side, there are men who would hold that the main line of research should be to free History from all partiality of ideas and to make it entirely self-reliant and dependent only on its own material for its conclusions. Lord Acton has taught us that though it may appear that the historian might have no interest beyond his narrative, still he should never debase the moral currency or lower the standard of rectitude; and he has cautioned the historian

" to suffer no man and no cause to escape the undying penalty which History has the power to inflict on wrong. Lord Haldane has expressed himself in confirmation of this view thus: " The Historian will fail hopelessly if he seeks to be a mere recorder. For the truth about the whole the expression of which is what matters, was not realized in its completeness until time and the working of the spirit of the period had enabled the process developed in a succession of particular events to be completed . . . His business is to select in the light of a larger conception of the truth. He must look at his period as a whole and in the completeness of its development. And this is a task rather of the spirit than of the letter." (Viscount Haldane, *The Meaning of Truth in History*, London, 1914, pp. 28-29).

V

The foregoing antitheses of views and ideas have begun to have their own repercussions in India, where the problems to be unravelled by the historian have been complicated by biases arising from conflicting religions, race contacts and group complications and also imperialistic conceit. To give but one example of this type of insidiously working forces, it may be pointed out that several Indian writers, particularly those of the period of British rule, have expressed themselves with a mentality marked by a disproportionately stressed admiration for English political and administrative ideals, while, on the other side, the European historian of the same epoch is in the danger of falling into a tilted national or racial bias that must necessarily harm the cause of balanced conclusions. This danger of impaired judgment and of a deficiency of true, balanced, vision operated even in the minds of the Hindu historians of the age of Muslim domination as well as in those of their Muslim counterparts themselves. It is these that have rendered many otherwise able pieces of work sink in the scale of final values and become bad patches in the developing web of the historical scholarship of our country.

Let us go further into the question of the partiality, either racial or cultural, which has coloured the work of historians. In his introductory remarks to the *Cambridge Modern History*, Bishop Creighton wrote that " the point of view and the nature of the conclusion

at which the historian should arrive are important and they would determine the whole nature of the treatment; or else he warns us that the whole work sinks to the level of a mass of details uninformed by any luminous idea, and the writer who strives to avoid any tendency becomes dull and the cult of impartiality paralyzes the judgment." He is supported in this view by another eminent historian, W. Cunningham, who remarks that " the claim to impartiality on the part of the historian seems to me to be unmeaning; and in so far as it has a meaning, is likely to be a mere affectation." Likewise, Professor G. M. Trevelyan has opined that " History must be thought about from some standpoint, and the cant of pure impartiality in History is only equalled by the cant of pure historical facts having value except as food for thought and speculation." The *partial* historian has been charged with taking sides and with allowing himself to be influenced by personal and patriotic considerations and with being a mouth-piece for his countrymen. A demand was made for *impartiality* by the classic historian, Polybius, who wrote at a distance of more than 2,000 years from us. He says as follows in speaking of Philinus and Fabius: " Judging from their lives and principles, I do not suppose, that these writers have intentionally stated what was false; but I think that they are much in the same state of mind as men in love. Partisanship and complete prepossession made Philinus think that all the actions of the Carthaginians were characterized by wisdom, honour and courage, those of the Romans by the reverse. Fabius thought the exact opposite. Now, in other relations of life one would hesitate to exclude such warmth of sentiment: for a good man ought to be loyal to his friends and patriotic to his country; he ought to be at one with his friends in their hatreds and their likings. But directly a man assumes the moral attitude of an historian he ought to forget all considerations of that kind." This double current of the partial and the so-called impartial interpretation have been ever flowing in the stream of history. It may be likened to the mingled, yet separately seen currents of the Jumna and the Ganges flowing side by side from holy Prayāga for some distance. It has sometimes stained and sometimes cleared the waters of the stream and its effect in the sum total is hard to find out.

Perhaps this impartiality is more easily attained by men writing of the histories of foreign countries and of distant periods of time far

removed from their own days. How far the historian will succeed in keeping himself entirely aloof from his times and in creating the distance necessary for the strict working out of his pure art by the interposition of a right and true judgment depends upon the capacity, the moral fibre and the standards that he aims at and endeavours to keep in view. This distancing, both mental and moral, which is so necessary between the historian and the subject of his work, may and should be done with the conscious skill of the artist; but it is, in actual practice, more often the effect of the operation of the distance of time that intervenes and the gulf of physical separation in area and life. Cannot one justifiably ask that this distance of attitude rising from a rigid impartiality of mind and judgment should be kept up on a most rigorous scale and should never be allowed to be warped by considerations of pride and the natural desire for claiming a great credit for the past that should be reflected on us? How often have pictures of the past with preconceived ideas serving as their bases, been given expression to by writers, largely Indian, but nevertheless comprehending foreigners also, when they have proceeded to describe the genesis of Dravidian and Aryan civilizations, the effect of the Aryan invasion on the inhabitants of South India and the consequent inter-twinings of cults and beliefs, the bearings of the impact of one civilization on another and even of the less uncertain, but more elusive, interaction of the forces of the north upon the south and *vice versa*? These dangers, among others, have got to be guarded against by those scholars and interpreters of the vast expansion of Indian culture into the central, western and south-eastern regions of Asia, our knowledge of which has been expanding by leaps and bounds in the last two decades. The culture-contacts of India with the outside world seem to be fields which are particularly susceptible to the manifestation of the symptoms of such an outlook and presentation; and in this connection one may with advantage remember the warning given by Dr. Finot, the distinguished Director of the Indo-French School of Oriental Research at Hanoi, that "it is impossible to trace clearly the evolution of Indian civilization in Indo-China in all its definite stages without great precaution being taken and to show how the ideas and social institutions of India came to be transformed at the touch of foreign races of quite a different turn of mind." Studies of a historical, or even of a quasi-historical, character in this field

are to be pursued both from an external and an internal point of view, and particularly the latter view-point should be kept up on the almost axiomatic assumption that a faithful presentation of the growth of Indian culture abroad should be free from the natural partiality and twist that may be developed by the historian and the student looking at new facts from their own accustomed points of view. Sir Denison Ross has given a subdued sort of expression that is however perfect in form, to this lurking danger. He writes : " The detachment that is really called for in an effort at the understanding of an extraneous culture is not perhaps always possible in the fullest measure. Nobody, therefore, need be held to blame ; but it is none the less necessary to remove the defect and perfect the knowledge that we possess of ancient Indian culture in its evolution down to modern times. That such defects are possible with a large amount of sympathy for the subject of study, is in evidence in the latest publication bearing on the subject by three continental scholars in the work *Ancient India and Indian Civilization*, published by Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner & Co., London, 1934."

VI

The principle of continuity on which some historians lay so much stress becomes very important in the bridging over of the breaks and lacunae that often occur in the early history of different regions and dynasties of our land, and that may be regarded as marking the margin between the historical and pre-historic times and peoples in India. Primitive cultures and pre-historic epochs have been roughly defined to be the times in which man was dominated mechanically by his physical environment ; while the historical period has been held to begin from that point in which social life had already become the result of the inter-relation of human wills. Can we, in this sense, maintain that the periods named Paleolithic and Neolithic were quasi-historic ? Shall we be justified in comprehending the times in which the Indus-valley culture is deemed to have flourished as having been part of the prehistoric epoch ? We can include them with some measure of appropriateness under the category of evolution during historic times, because the growing volume of our archæological discoveries and the ever-developing interpretations of finds

and the comparative study of primitive institutions that has become possible, thereby, can support us in holding that documents either written or as good as written, exist abundantly in the archæological relics, pot-sherds, stone implements and such modern survivals of them as have been interpreted and give facilities for the study, comparative as well as evolutionary, of ancient customs and institutions.

If thus the field of history has been projected into these far-off days which were till recently called primitive or pre-historical, rendered largely possible by the endeavours of scholars who have followed the method of comparative studies (of whom the pioneers might have said to have been Sir Henry Maine, Sir John Lubbock and Sir Edward Tylor) and who securely laid the foundations of the comparative study of man and Anthropology, we have, in the present century explorers of eminence ranging from Marshall and Aurel Stein to Quaritch-Wales and R. D. Banerjee who have discovered vast vistas of periods and regions which may well be regarded either as projections of the present into the past or *vice versa*. Thus the idea of continuity of history which was stressed so much by Freeman has been brought back to us, " after so long a circuit to the view of Diodorus and the Stoics that all men living or who once lived, belong to the common human family though divided from one another by time and space." And, as a result, History to-day includes " not alone every manifestation of political activity among men but the entire range of human experience." Thus the true interpreter of history should have not merely a nation-wide, but also a continental background ; for example the student of British History should comprehend much of European and that of Indian History should include in its wider scope much the largest portion of Eurasiatic History ; and the historian should try to extend his understanding from the conventional and narrow national and even subnational background and project it into the truly international one.

The so-called movements of peoples and cultures going on from the dawn history may be said to have made a rough marking line for themselves occurring about 500 B.C., which date, according to a recent interpretative historian, O. E. Burton (see his *A Study on Creative History—The Interaction of Eastern and Western Peoples to 500 B. C.*, 1932), saw the emergence about the time of full-fledged

religious creeds like the Prophetic School in Israel, or Mazdaism in Persia, of Brahmanism and subsequently Buddhism in India and of Confucianism in China. These major philosophies and creeds formed the starting point of subsequent important currents of interaction that have formulated ideas which have exercised a definite influence on men and affairs in subsequent ages. Burton thus concludes, stressing on the uniting value of History and its great service as a guide to our present conduct and as a help to the solution of our problem in these words: "For Asia, with all the various tribes of Barbarians that inhabit it, is regarded by the Persians as their own, but Europe and the Greek race they look on as distinct and separate. (*Herodotus*, Book I, c. 4). Human history, from about 1000 B.C. centres upon the problems arising from economic impact and in the dangers and difficulties inseparable from the ebb and flow of vast populations. There is a living historical process connecting 'Croesus, son of Alyattes . . . lord of all the nations to the west of the river Halys . . . the first of the Barbarians who had dealings with the Greeks. . . .' (*Herodotus*, Book I, c. 6) and such modern movements as Swaraj, Christian Missions to the East, the operation of western Capital in China and Hindu labour in Fiji. If we can grasp the ascending sweep of this great process of wheeling and circling upward from the dawn of History to our own time, we shall have a fuller knowledge of the immense problems men of our age are heir to, gain some ground perhaps for optimism and some guidance for our activity."

VII

Political and social systems, though they might vary in outward forms, have been essentially unified in spirit and essence, in their evolution through the ages, being marked by the imposition of the authority of the strong and the rich, justified either by physical strength or by religious ideas or by some other concrete philosophy of life. In India we have had a continuous evolution of society in which the original currents of organized social activity have not disappeared into the dry and barren wastes of lifeless sand, but have contrived in their several stresses to join the wide river of human life which today flows on towards the great ocean of

progress. The tendencies and influences which have gone to make of India an integral part of the warp and woof of international history have never died out and are now beginning to assert themselves with full force, bringing to the nation's mind pictures of its former achievements, through the delineations of historians and archæologists. Our knowledge of Indian History has been very extensively expanded by Epigraphy and allied studies. The various currents in the progress of historical studies have been flowing on in ever-widening and deepening channels; and they have mingled with ethnological and anthropological studies and have also been greatly influenced by geological and other scientific advances as well.

Hindu culture which deserves, from its essentially comprehensive and absorbing character as revealed by the process of History, to occupy such a large space in the chess-board of human evolution, has demonstrated, in its growth through the ages, a vitality for progress and a capacity for absorption as well as adaptation of foreign elements into its fold and has spread over a vast area of Asia, in fact all Asia, excepting only the Islamic countries of the West and Siberia. In one region, *i.e.*, in the further India and Indonesia, the absorption of Indian culture by their peoples stopped so soon as their contact with India in an active sense ceased: but its continuing part is seen even now after the passing of several centuries of Islamism, in the fact that the cultural back-ground of many parts of Indonesia has remained essentially Hindu. If Hindu culture has thus demonstrated its vitality in foreign lands, it should be easy to perceive how much more its inherent forces of strength should have operated in India itself and how much more important its influence has been on the peoples and cultures that have become comprehended in the course of the ages into the web of Indian life. In the interaction between the essentially Hindu elements and the essentially foreign ones in the evolution of Indian culture may be seen those features that have been at once the glory and the bane of our land. One line of research and presentation that may be suggested to scholars is the inquiry into the widening stream of Hindu life flowing on towards the ocean of the interaction of the peoples. Again we may say that in the field of Indian historical investigation the question of race mixture has been operating as a most complex and perplexing feature, the resultant pictures being roughly marked by a descending scale of evaluation of

colour and group mixture until we come to the Veddahs who have been voted as one of the lowest races on earth. But in the intensely debated and still contentious question of the division of the peoples into race groups and their cultures into Dravidian, Aryan, Scythian, etc., we do not definitely know yet, nor have we been in any way able to arrive at, any certain conclusion as to where the distinctions of the one type, ethnic or cultural or otherwise, should properly begin and where the corresponding features of the others should be regarded as ending. More likely to be profitable than this search after the mirage of race origins and culture contacts, Aryan and Dravidian, is the search for data concerning the development of social institutions like the village community, tillage, irrigation and social economy. We are probably on safe ground in assuming that in India the work of regular tillage, though it has been often interrupted to some extent by successive invasions, has contrived not only to maintain its intensive hold upon the people, but developed in some remarkable directions throughout the ages. The series of external invasions and internal irruptions, so far from their having broken down either the complexities of caste or the involutions of land tenure and village rights, have, on the other hand, added to the complications of the situation, and the divisions of caste have consequently tended to dip, clash, combine and interpenetrate into one another and not to be superimposed, one upon another, like the skins of an onion.

Again, a much needed corrective to the view that has been confidentially put forward as to the continuing vitality of the seafaring capacity of the Indian peoples on a considerable scale, may proceed from an impartial examination as to the causes that have enabled the Phoenicians and the Arabs on the one hand and the Malays on the other getting hold of a disproportionately large share of Indian commerce, while the Hindus have gradually lost control of the bulk of their transmarine trade, though the difficulties of their shore-line and coastal approach have not been as great to overcome as that of the Arabs who, under equally unfavourable conditions, have taken more readily to the ocean. Can we say, therefore, that India has been the land of rigidity and turgidity in all respects of social activity? Can we further maintain the thesis that the internal attractiveness of the land has been sufficient in itself to withhold the Hindus from developing as navigators? In this sense, the main

problems confronting the task of interpretation of the evolution of Indian culture through the ages has been summed up very succinctly by Andrew Reich Cowan in these following words: "For ages race must have warred with race and system with system within the pear-shaped continent itself, malignity everlastingly marring the march of sympathy, which yet made headway not only against predatoriness within, but also the still greater rapacity from without. The progress was probably largely in terms of those peaceful emulations that constantly operate in society in the midst of open breaches of the peace. The stratification that ensued in Indian society was not in the least peculiar to the peninsula, even if the caste system was more complicated and rigid than almost anywhere else, sacerdotalism asserting itself almost to the dwarfing of the secular in almost every relation of life. That that was not due to the subtropical character of the climate with its fierce vegetational power is evident by the fact that among a "Turanian" race on the other side of the Himalayas, in bare, windy and barren Tibet, sacerdotalism had almost equal power, if a less monstrous mythology. In India, however, progress cannot always have been banned, and we shall see Buddhism coming in as one of the great challenges in the history of humanity. But it will also be found that nothing availed to supplant the allied despotism of priest and king, or lever the people out of the superstitions of which, indeed, the common people are the greatest conservators." (*A Guide to World History*, 1923, pp. 82-83.)

VIII

Coming down to the history of Islam in India, any one who has bestowed some serious thought on the matter will naturally find pressing on his attention a number of questions clamouring for solution or at least an attempt at interpretation. The military and political achievements of the Muhammadan conquerors and rulers, the genius of Muslim writers, artists and builders, these and other related topics have been largely dwelt upon; but the problem that would still wait for a definite interpretation is how far Islam has really entered into the web of Indian life in some of its remote phases and whether historians have done much really to illustrate the Muslim peoples themselves in their religious and social lives and in

their evolution fully through the ages, apart from their conquests and politics and superficial contacts. We can easily refute the charges generally made that all our indigenous historians have not lived into the life of the common people and have not given pen pictures of their everyday activities and difficulties or of the changing features of society. To take but two shining examples: Kalhaṇa's famous *Rājataranginī* is something far more than a record of Kings' doings and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru describing the scope of his work, in his foreword to R. S. Pandit's *Rājataranginī, the Saga of the Kings of Kashmir*, 1935, page 12, points out how the historian has revealed the old order changing in Kashmir and the economic structure collapsed, shaking up the old Indo-Aryan polity and rendering it an easy prey to internal commotion and foreign conquest. He thus estimates the worth of Kalhaṇa revealing in this interesting phase: "It is a rich store house of information, political, social, and to some extent, economic. We see the panoply of the middle age, the feudal knights in glittering armour, quixotic chivalry and disgusting cruelty, loyalty unto death, and senseless treachery; you read of royal amours and intrigues and of fighting and militant and adulterous queens. Women seem to play quite an important part, not only behind the scenes but in the councils and the field as leaders and soldiers. Sometimes we get intimate glimpses of human relations and human feelings, of love and hatred, of faith and passion. We read of Suyya's great engineering feats and irrigation works; of Lalitāditya's distant wars of conquest in far countries; of Meghavāhana's curious attempt to spread non-violence also by conquest; of the building of temples and monasteries and their destruction by unbelievers and iconoclasts who confiscated the temple treasures. And then there were famines and floods and great fires which decimated the population and reduced the survivors to misery."

As a second revealing illustration we have the illustrious Abul Fazl; and we have got in his *Ain-i-Akbari*, not only a descriptive account of the regulations of the judicial and executive departments of Akbar's empire, but details of the survey of the land, the tribal divisions, the social conditions and literary activity of the people especially of the Hindus, in philosophy and law and also chapters on the foreign invaders of India and distinguished travellers. Blochmann's estimate of the value of the *Ain* will give us a true idea as to

what a full-told history, at the hands of a great polyhistor ought to be in scope. Apart from the trustworthiness, the love of truth and the marvellous powers of expression that marked the great author, we see in his books " the governed classes brought to the foreground; men live and move before us, and the great questions of the time, axioms then believed in and principles then followed, phantoms then chased after, ideas then prevailing, and successes then obtained, are placed before our eyes in truthful and therefore vivid colours." And also " his (Abul Fazl's) wishes for the stability of the throne and the welfare of the people, his principles of toleration, his noble sentiments on the rights of man, the total absence of personal grievances and of expressions of ill-will towards encompassing enemies, shew that the expanse of his large heart stretched to the clear offing of sterling wisdom." Some of these features may well be copied by the present day historians whose aim is to make their work perfect and all-sided.

IX

It will be good for the student of History to become early acquainted with the elements of historical methodology and to be trained in classifying facts into different groups. He should at the same time develop his powers of reasoning and of applying criticism to facts. Methodology comprises four sequential parts, heuristics, criticism, synthesis, and exposition. Of these, heuristics is the searching of documents or sources in the most comprehensive sense and covers a very large field of activity, individual parts of which would form distinct directions of work. Criticism would necessarily involve the examination and discussion of the sources so found and well divides itself into internal and external examination. Much has been written about the art of historical criticism which should be followed by the objective aim of constructing the planned historical narrative based on the real sequence of historical happenings. The task of the historian is therefore one which requires a versatile mind a critical capacity and a special training. Pointed attention was drawn to them and to their essential importance by the great Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, who laid stress in a lecture of his delivered in 1910, on the accumulation of material not only for political history but

also for the history of thought and of religious and social institutions and held that in the use of historical material, a great deal of keen critical power should be evinced and exercised particularly with respect to the sources utilized. The task of historical construction is certainly a most noble one; and students of Indian History who feel the urge to engage in that task either by the advantage of natural instinct or as a result of well-considered choice, will easily find in the varied aspects of the culture of the past ages of our land and peoples "a vast field of ideal human study, appealing to the gifts of heart and mind."

NOTES ON CERTAIN POST-MAURYAN DYNASTIES

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The political history of the centuries immediately following the disintegration of the Maurya empire is still somewhat obscure. Scraps of information may no doubt be gleaned from literature, inscriptions and coins. But it is no easy task to weave them into a coherent narrative. The literary tradition embodied in the Purāṇas is not always confirmed or elucidated by epigraphic and numismatic testimony and stray names furnished by inscriptions and coins are not, in several cases, capable of presentation in the shape of a connected story.

The *Bhaviṣyānukīrtana* section of the Purāṇas which is regarded by some as the most systematic record of Indian historical tradition ignores many ruling families and tribes whose existence is vouched for by contemporary archæological evidence. Moreover, the designations applied by the Purānic texts to a number of royal lines, for example the families of Simuka and " Nakhapāṇa " are not confirmed by epigraphs. The order of succession, too, does not in all cases accord with archæological testimony. For instance the only Āpīlaka known to the Purāṇic passages that deal with the so-called Andhra kings is placed very early in the list. Numismatic evidence on the other hand suggests that S'iva-S'rī-Āpīlaka should be classed with later rulers of the family like S'rī-Yajña S'ātakarṇi [1]. There are also some important omissions in the Purānic list. The cases of S'akti Srī and of S'rī Kumbha S'ātakarṇi [2] may be mentioned in this

[1] *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, x, 1-4, 1936-37, p. 225.

[2] Of the Akola hoard referred to by Mr. Mirashi at the meeting of the Numismatic Society held in Calcutta on 17th December, 1939.

connection. These facts should be borne in mind in utilizing the testimony of the Purāṇas for the reconstruction of the history not only of the S'ātavāhanas but of other lines as well.

According to Purāṇic evidence the immediate successors of the Mauryas were the S'uṅgas, a line that is taken to commence with Senānī Puṣyamitra. There are two well known epigraphs found in Bharhut in Central India which refer to the sovereignty of the S'uṅgas,[1] and Puṣyamitra himself is mentioned in an Ayodhya inscription.[2] But the last mentioned record does not style Puṣyamitra as a S'uṅga, and the S'uṅga records at Bharhut have no reference to that king, his son or grandson. According to the most recent view the Bharhut inscription of Dhanabhūti mentioning the reign of the S'uṅgas is to be classed with the epigraphs of Indrāgnimitra and Brahmamitra and the Mathurā record of Viṣṇumitra and assigned to the earlier part of the first century B.C.,[3] and not to the age of Puṣyamitra and Agnimitra. It may be remembered in this connection that the dynastic designation S'uṅga is applied to Puṣyamitra and his progeny only in the Purāṇas. It is not used in reference to the great Senānī and his son in the *Divyāvadāna* the *Mālavikāgnimitram* or even the *Harṣacarita.*[4] The name S'uṅga is no doubt known to the last mentioned text but Bāṇa applies it not to the commander who overthrew Bṛhadratha Maurya but to the ruler killed by the emissary of Vāsudeva. The dynastic connection of this prince (Devabhūti) with Puṣyamitra rests entirely on Purāṇic evidence, and receives no confirmation from independent sources. It is well known how the Purāṇas mix up dynasties or collateral lines of rulers claiming descent from some legendary hero. The S'ākyas of Kapilavastu for instance are represented as ancestors of Prasenajit of Kosala, a prince described as a son of Rāhula and grandson of Siddhārtha.

S'uddhodanasya bhavitā Siddhārtho Rāhulaḥ sutaḥ I
Prasenajit tato bhāvyaḥ Kṣudrako bhavitā tataḥ II

S'is'unāga who rose to power having taken away the glory of the Pradyotas (*Hatvā teṣām yas'aḥ kṛtsnam*) is represeuted as belonging to

[1] Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, Nos. 687, 688.
[2] *JBORS*, X (1924), p. 203.
[3] Marshall, Foucher and Majumdar, *Monuments of Sanchi*, I, p. 271.
[4] *Harṣacaritam*, Ucchvāsa 6.

the same family as Bimbisāra and Dars'aka and is actually described as their ancestor. This goes not only against the testimony of Buddhist literature which clearly distinguishes between the line of Bimbisāra and the family of S'is'unāga, but also against the evidence of two plays attributed to Bhāsa and a verse ascribed to Kalidāsa which make Pradyota, Udayana Vatsarāja and Dars'aka contemporaries. The possibility is therefore not precluded that the Purāṇas may have included under the name S'uṅga two distinct groups of kings, *viz.*, the line of Puṣyamitra which is styled Baimbika by Kālidāsa and the real S'uṅgas referred to by Bāṇa and the Bharhut inscription of Dhanabhūti.[1]

To the S'uṅgas succeeded, according to the Purāṇas, the dynasty named Kāṇva or Kāṇvāyana. The *Bhavishyānukīrtana* styles them servants of the S'uṅgas (*S'uṅgabhṛitya*) and *dvija* (twice-born) and represents the founder of the line as an *amātya* (minister) of the last S'uṅga. The family is an old one. It is mentioned in Vedic literature.[2] The Purāṇas represent it as an offshoot from the Paurava line[3] and bring it into special relation with the kings of Hāstināpura and Pāñcāla. It may be remembered in this connection that the name of the second Kāṇvāyana king of the Purāṇic list is Bhūmimitra, and an identical name is actually found on certain coins attributed by Cunningham to a dynasty exercising sway in Pañcāla.[4] Rulers of this group, include an Agnimitra as well. In the Purāṇas the line of kings to which Bhūmimitra belongs succeeds the group headed by Agnimitra and his father. It may be noted here that rulers issuing the same or similar types of coins in a given locality need not belong to the same family. Succeeding dynasties are known to have continued the coin types of their predecessors with or without modifications.

Bhaviṣyānukīrtana does not afford any definite clue as to the location of the capital city or the metropolitan province of the Kāṇvāyanas. In speaking of the territory over which they exercised sway it uses vague terms like Mahī, Vasundharā, and Bhūmi, and does not name well-defined localities like Girivraja, Kusumāhvaya,

[1] *Harṣacaritam*, Ucchvāsa 6.
[2] *Vedic Index*, I. 147.
[3] *Matsya*, *49*, 47; *Vāyu*, *99*, 170; *AIHT* (Pargiter), p. 225.
[4] Allan, *CICAI*, pp. cxvii, 198.

Magadha, Prayāga, Sāketa etc. It is however to be noted that the founder of the line is said to have become king among the S'uṅgas (S'uṅgesu bhavitānṛpa).[1] Now S'uṅga rule *in extremis* is in the Purāṇas definitely associated with the Vaidis'a territory, that is to say, the region round Vidis'ā or Besnagar in Eastern Malwa.

Nṛpān Vaidis'akāṁs' c āpi bhavisyāṁs tu nibodhata

Bhūtinandas tatas' c āpi Vaidis'e tu bhavisyati
S'uṅgānāṁ tu kulasyānate S'is'unandir bhaviṣyati[2]

This fact along with the Bharhut Inscription of Dhanabhūti undoubtedly points to Eastern Malwa and that neighbourhood as the locality with which the S'uṅgas of the first century B. C. are to be connected. So far as Purāṇic evidence goes there is no reason to doubt that the Kāṇvāyana mayor of the palace who ousted his S'uṅga master ruled in the same region.

If the *Mālavikāgnimitram* is to be believed the southern frontier of the Vaidis'a territory had been pushed as far as the valley of the Wardha as early as the days of Agnimitra. That the Kāṇvas extended their sway over certain neighbouring regions is suggested by the epithet *praṇatasāmanta*[3] applied to them in the Purāṇas. The word *sāmanta*, it may be remembered is equated with *sāmīpa* in the As'okan Rock Edict II. One direction in which Kāṇva dominion may have extended is the north where coins bearing the name of Bhūmimitra have been found. Another direction is clearly indicated by the expression *Bhṛtya* (or servant of the last Kāṇva) used by the Purāṇas in reference to Rājā Simuka and his fellow tribesmen. As the earliest epigraphic records of Simuka's line have been discovered in the Nānāghāṭ and Nāsik regions, it is not improbable that the later Kāṇvas succeeded in extending their frontier to the Godavari and even further to the south. The term *bhṛtya* in the passage

Kāṇvāyanāṁs tato bhṛtyāḥ Sus'armāṇam prasahyatam[4]

is paralleled by the expression *paricāraka* used in reference to the *Āṭavikarājas* in the Allahabad pras'asti of Samudragupta.

[1] Pargiter, *DKA*, p. 34.
[2] *ibid.*, p. 49.
[3] *ibid.*, p. 35.
[4] *DKA*, p. 38.

No inscription definitely assignable to the Kāṇvāyana dynasty has been discovered so far. A Mahārājā Vis'vāmitrasvāmin is mentioned in a Besnagar Seal Inscription.[1] It is not known as to whether Vis'vāmitra is here a personal name or a dynastic designation. As is well known the figure of Vis'vāmitra appears on Audumbara coins[2] and the *Vāyu Purāṇa* points to the intimate connection of the sage with the people in question.[3] But there is nothing to connect Mahārājā Vis'vāmitrasvāmin of Besnagar or Vidis'ā with the Kangra district where Audumbara coins have been found in large numbers.[4] Epic and Purāṇic geneologies connect the sage Vis'vāmitra with the royal line of Ajamīḍha and queen Kes'inī from whom the *Kāṇvāyana dvijas* are also supposed to derive their origin. It may be recalled in this connection that an inscription of Paramabhaṭṭārikā Mahārājādhirāja Parames'varī Daṇḍī Mahādevī refers to a person belonging to the Vis'vāmitra *gotra* as a student of the Kaṇva s'ākhā.[5] The evidence cited may not be sufficient to establish a dynastic connection between Mahārāja Vis'vāmitrasvāmin and the Kāṇvāyana line of the Purāṇas. But the matter is worth further study.

The *Brahma Purāṇa* adds the interesting information that the royal grandfather of Vis'vāmitra grew up among the Pahlava or Parthian forest folk :

Pahlavaiḥ saha saṃvāiddho rājā vanacaraiḥ saha[6]

Contact between Vidis'ā and the Yavana realm in the north-west is referred to in a record of the time of Bhāgabhadra. Did the Parthian successors of the Indo-Greeks maintain this contact when the line of Bhāgabhadra was supplanted by a family bearing the famous name of Vis'vāmitra and have we an echo of this in the Purānic story about the association of Vis'vāmitra's royal ancestor with the Parthians ? Future discoveries alone may show if such a surmise is warranted.

According to the Puranic chronology Kaṇva rule came to an end 137 + 112 + 45 = 294 years after the accession of Chandragupta Maurya, that is, not earlier than 31 B. C. Classical writers refer to Indian embassies which reached Augustus in 27, 26 and 20 B. C. The

[1] P. R. A. I. W. C., 1915, p. 64.

[2] Allan, *CICAI*, p. lxxxiv.

[3] *Vāyu*, *91*, 94-98.

[4] *Mbh* I, 94. 31-33 ; *Brahma Purāṇa*, XIII, 83-91 ; *Matsya*, *49*, 46-47.

[5] *Ep. Ind.* VI, pp. 136, 139.

[6] *Brahma Purāṇa*, XIII, 89.

king who sent the ambassadors is variously named Pandion or Porus. As Kātyāyana derives the name Pāṇḍya from Pāṇḍu, King Pandion might doubtless lay claim to Paurava ancestry. But it should be remembered that the Kāṇvāyanas, too, according to Purāṇic tradition were of Paurava extraction. The Indian ruler in question (styled Porus by Nicolaus of Damascus) is described as the sovereign of six hundred kings. This description suits the imperial successors of the Mauryas and the S'uṅgas who were "*Banata Sāmanta*" better than the ruler of Madura, Tinnevelly and one or two adjoining districts of Southern India. It is not improbable that records of embassies of two distinct rulers one from the Pāṇḍya country and the other from Mid—India both meeting at the city of Barygaza and doing the rest of the journey together have got mixed up in the classical account.[1]

[1] Strābo XV, 1, 4 and 73; Strābo refers to one king. But Don Cassius speaks of many embassies coming to Augustus (M'crindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 212). See also *JRAS*, 1860, 309 ff.

A NOTE ON FOUR INDIA OFFICE LETTERS OF THE REIGN OF TIPU SULTAN

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It is admitted by all scholars that the history of the region in between the Tungabhadra and the Kaveri during the period roughly extending from 1734, the date of the dethronement of the Mysore prince Cham Raja to 1799, which saw the death of Tipu Sultan requires re-examination. In Mysore this was the period of Hindu and Muslim king-makers who gradually usurped not only all royal powers but in the end also assumed royal titles. In the wider history of India this was largely the period of the phantom Timurid empire (C. 1761-1803). It was one of those periods of transition which have, in Indian history, always intervened between the fall of one and the rise of another imperial power.[1] This inevitable period of disruption was dominated by various aspirants for the imperial crown of India. In this period of struggle not only did the region mentioned above geographically play an important role but it also produced in Hyder Ali and Tipu two persons of such outstanding ability and energy that they within a short time raised the state of Mysore to a pitch of dignity and power that was once enjoyed by Vijayanagar. Politically Mysore again dominated the whole region to the south of the Krishna. Like Vijayanagar too it could only be destroyed by a confederacy of all its enemies and that too after a severe struggle. As the complete destruction of Vijayanagar, by weakening political power in the south, indirectly helped the establishment of Imperialism of the House of Babur which ultimately destroyed the confederates, so also the lack of political vision of the Nizam and the Maharattas in

[1] *Dynastic History of Northern India* by Ray, Calcutta University, Vol. I, p. xxxviii.

combining with the British to bring about the downfall of a hated rival materially assisted the establishment of a foreign imperialism which finally destroyed their sovereignty.

Hyder and Tipu both lived in stormy times. The records of none of the contending powers of their age, can be said to be unsullied by any acts of treachery, deceit or dishonour. It would be, therefore, too much to expect that the conduct of either of the two Mysore rulers mentioned above, when judged by modern standards, could be regarded as always blameless.[1] But still with the passage of time it has been increasingly realized that the judgment on their career and conduct as expressed in the works of Lieut. Mackenzie[2] or that of Colonel Wilks[3] requires some revision in the light of new materials. Moreover these authors lived too close to those troublesome times to be perhaps entirely free from the heated rivalries and jealousies out of which an empire gradually took shape. Under the circumstance it would be too much to expect them to be absolutely impartial. It was with considerable interest therefore that I heard form Dr. Randle, the Librarian of the India Office in London, that he has got a bunch of letters of the reign of Tipu Sultan in his archives. This was in August, 1939. As I was at that time very busy with my arrangements to return to India, Dr. Randle was kind enough to send them through the Government of Bengal to the University Library, Calcutta. Since my return to India in October, 1939, I have had time to go through these letters and I hasten to give the following brief description of their nature and contents.

These letters[4] are contained, along with some other letters and papers on different subjects, in a big volume nearly 16 × 12 inches in size, bound with leather at the back and corners. The papers in the collection herein noticed are of different size and in one case of different quality. The first sheet is about 12 × 7¾ inches in size;

[1] During my historical tours in these regions, I was once told by some people at Seringapatan that Tipu was a 'martyr' and that he was really poisoned by British spies by bribing his kitchen servants. When I drew their attention to the wellknown picture of Tipu fighting sword in hand standing near one of his gate ways at Seringapatàn, they told me that it was "false."

[2] *Sketch of the war with Tipoo Sultaun by Roderick Mackenzie*, Lieut. 52d. Regiment. Calcutta, 1793. It covers the period from December 1789 to February 1792. 2 Vols.

[3] *Historical Sketches of the South of India*, in an attempt to trace the History of Mysore; From the origin of the Hindoo Government of that State to the extinction of the Muhammadan Dynasty in 1799, by Colonel Mark Wilks, London, 1820, 3 Vols.

[4] MSS. Eur. 18/1.

thick white paper. Contains 23 lines of writing in French (including the date and signature). The second sheet, which is exactly of the same size and quality as the first one is blank except the India Office Seal dated 31 Aug. 1915 and the number R. & R. 2111/1915. The third sheet is $13\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ in size; paper rather thin and old. Quality bad; strengthened by thin slips of gummed paper on three sides and also in one place on the 4th side and upper middle portion. It contains 27 lines of writing in what appears to be in a *Shikasteh* variety of the Persian character. The 4th sheet is absolutely similar to the 1st and 2nd in size and quality. It contains 78 lines of writing in French, 37 lines in front and 41 lines on the back (including date and signature). The 5th, 6th and 7th sheets constitute one complete letter. Quality of paper as in the 1st but the size of the sheets which are uniform is $14\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$. The front page of the first sheet contains 22 lines in French in small hand on the left margin. The rest of the space on the right contains 19 lines of French writing and in addition a circular chronogramme in the centre containing 11 lines of writing. The characters are of various size. The backside of this sheet contains about 29 lines of writing in French. The 6th sheet contains 64 lines of French writing, 31 on the front side and 33 on the back. In addition there are 7 lines of writing in smaller character on the top of the left margin. The 7th sheet contains 31 lines of French writing on the front page, the back side being blank except for the usual India Office Library Seal and No. referred to above. The 8th and the 9th sheets constitute one separate letter. The front side of the 8th sheet is similar to that of the 5th with the same chronogramme and explanatory note on the middle left margin. The rest of the left margin is blank except for two lines of writing on the top. The space on the right of this margin, in addition to the chronogramme referred to above, contains 20 lines of French writing in varying types of letters. The back side contains 32 lines of writing in French. The 9th sheet contains 8 lines of similar writing. Its back side is blank except for the usual India Office Seal and No. referred to above. The quality of paper in these two sheets is similar to the sheets 5th-7th but the size is slightly smaller.

A brief summary of the contents of these papers is given below:

(I) The first sheet is the French translation of a letter written in Persian by the ambassadors (apparently of Tipu Sultan) to the Grand

Vizir (Prime Minister ?) of the French King (apparently Louis XVI). It acknowledges the receipt of a dispatch from the French minister announcing the appointment of a royal interpreter for Oriental Languages to assist the Mysore embassy in giving replies to official communications (apparently in French), and in general, in the matter of negotiations with the French court. While agreeing with this arrangement, the letter politely informs the minister that the embassy has its own interpreter and that on the occasion of the royal audience discussion would proceed through the agency of this Mysore official. Further the letter requests that all letters and communications (intended for the embassy) might be drawn up in Persian (and apparently not in French). For "we shall understand them sooner." This letter is dated 28th July, 1788 at Paris.

(II) The 3rd sheet: Persian Letter: The letter is addressed to (one) Khan Sahib, the "affectionate and kind friend" of the writer. It refers to the fact that the addressee together with friends had sometime ago crossed seas and having reached France had been received with "pomp and honour" on behalf of the King (*Badshah*). This news had given great pleasure to the writer and he now expects that after having been received in audience by the King of France and after having fulfilled his objects the Khan Sahib would soon return (to India). The writer proceeds to say that he had before the date of the present letter written 5 or 6 letters to the addressee but had as yet received no reply. Due to his devotion and zeal for the Government of France, he was now "in the path of great danger." But he was determined to persevere in his efforts for the service of France. He was now working as the (local) *Diwan* for the King of France in whose affairs there has recently cropped up some trouble. The writer had done all he could in connection with the erection of the fortress of Sipār. Previously his brother Kandap Madley had been the *Diwan* and after his death he succeeded to the office. The General Mūsī Konwey Bahadur has now taken him in his retinue and he has been presented[1] with a *Palki*, *aftabgri*[2] *patta* etc. He now requests the Khan Sahib that he should persuade His Majesty the King of France to grant him a formal letter of appointment

[1] General Conway, Governor of Pondichery (1788.) See Wilks, *Op. cit.*, Vol, III., p. 10.

[2] Umbrella.

(*parwānah-i-khās*) with the royal seal and signature together with the robe of honour. These, the Khan Sahib should either bring with himself or send them on a Company's ship to either General Mūsī Konwai or to M. de Morison of this place. He then writes on another matter. In the days of M. Lally, we are told, 50,000 rupees (*rūpīa*) had been taken (apparently) for the (French East India) Company. This amount has not yet been returned. Would the Khan Sahib exercise his good offices in this matter also so that an order might be secured from His Majesty for the return of the amount to one who is entitled to it? The letter closes with "respectful obeisance to Akbar Ali Khan Sahib[1] and to Muhammad Osman Sahib.[2] (The letter does not preserve any date or the name of the writer or the addressee[3].)

(III) Translation of a Persian letter addressed to "Mouhammad Dervich Khan," the first ambassador of Typou Sultan by the Diwan or Interpreter of the King at Pondicheri. In the Superscription it is dated on the 17th day of Djemaziulsani, the year of the Hijra 1203[4] (It appears to be rather a free French translation of the previous letter in Persian.[5] We are told at the end that it was) translated by order of the (chief minister of the French King) by the Secretary for Oriental Languages attached to the court of Versailles. (Dated) 24, VII, 89.

(IV) This is a French Translation of a dispatch in Persian from "Typou" Sultan to the Emperor of France. After the usual preliminaries, it acknowledges the receipt of two dispatches, one through the intermediary of his (Tipu's) ambassadors and the other by the hand of "his very exalted Commandant of the Ocean of your Imperial Majesty M. le Count of Macnamara."[6] It then refers with thanks to the despatch by the French King of various artists and workers with the party of the ambassadors. It then proceeds to

[1] One of the three members of Tipu's embassy to the French Court in 1787-88.

[2] Sometimes known as Othman Khan. See Wilks, *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 52 fn. He was the 2nd member while the third was of course "Derveish Khan".

[3] This are to some extent supported by the next letter. This shows that this Persian letter was not original. Or is it possible that such letters were sent during this time to escape detection in case letters fell into the hands of enemies.

[4] Jemad-as-Sani Hijra 1203 would be approximately C. March 1789.

[5] See above No. II.

[6] See Wilks, *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 64. Macnamara was received by Tipu shortly before his departure from Travancore in 1790.

complain of the conduct of M. de Bussy.[1] The letter ascribes his unsatisfactory conduct to his infirmities due to old age. It then acknowledges the receipt of the welcome news that M. de Cossigny[2] had been promoted to the position of Marechal de Camp by the addressee on the recommendation of the writer. The letter then refers to the mission of M. le Count de Macnamara, Commandant of the French Naval Forces in India to the Court of the writer. It next refers to the admittance to Royal audience of the artists and workers sent by the French King. The letter again refers to the deplorable conduct of M. de Bussy and acknowledges with thanks the renewed affirmations of friendship by the French King which was "too old and too solid" to be shaken by the English, the "universal disturbers." It then refers to the French troops at Pondichery and the Isle of France[3] and the many embassies multiplying between the two courts and the unjust jealousies of the "common enemy." The writer assures the addressee that the heroes of Islam were even at "this" moment engaged in repressing the "violators of treaties." The writer invites the French King to join in this enterprise and issue instructions to his Commandants at Pondicheri and the Isle of France to supply the writer with 2000 French troops to be maintained and fed at the expense of the Indian prince. The letter then again refers to the mission of M. le Count de Macnamara and his reception by the Sultan. The latter praises this French officer and thinks him quite capable of fulfilling the delicate missions entrusted to him in India by the French ruler. In the same paragraph it again refers to the promotion of M. de Cossigny and the satisfaction it has given to the writer. The letter closes by referring to some gifts, "the production of our country," *viz.*, 3 jewels and 21 khilat or dresses of honour, which Tipu had sent with M. le Count de Macnamara for the French King. It is dated on the 9th day of the moon of Chaaban, the year of the Hijira 12041.[4] Translated from the original Persian by the royal French interpreter of Oriental Languages at Paris on 30th January, 1791.

[1] The well known French general.

[2] French, Governor of Pondicheri who later on resided in Isle of France (Mauritius).

[3] Island of Mauritius.

[4] Sh'abān Hijra 1204 corresponds roughly to C. May, 1790.

(V) This is the French Translation of another Persian Dispatch from "Tipou Sultan" to M. le Count de la Luzerne, Vizir of the emperor of France. After the usual preliminaries the letter repeats the request contained in the previous letter that he should persuade the king of France to direct the Commandants at Pondichery and the Isle of France to "send us at the first sign from our part two thousand soldiers ready to march under our command." After stating the many advantages this measure is likely to have, the letter refers to "a chain of diamonds and rubies and four Khilats or dresses of honour" which the writer had sent for the minister through M. le Count Macnamara. Written on the 9th day of the moon of Chaaban of the Hijira 1204.[1] Translated as in No. IV on 31st January, 1791.

[1] See above fn. no. 4. p. 401.

THE ADVENT OF THE ARABS IN HINDUSTAN: THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE HINDUS; AND THE OCCUPATION OF SINDH[1]

BY SHAMS UL 'ULAMA M.A. GHANI'

THE earliest batches of the 'Arabs that came to India, after their conversion to Islam, did so in the 16th year of the Hijrah, *i.e.* in 637 A.D., more than *thirteen hundred* years ago. They came not as fighters but as tradesmen and missionaries, along with a number of Persian families who had embraced Islam.[2]

They landed in Sindh, and soon after their arrival found themselves pre-occupied with a taste for the native tongue to such a degree that they even produced poets writing in Hindi. Their compositions were appreciated by the people and well received at the courts of the Hindu Rājās. The Arab families that had settled in Sindh knew Prākṛts well, and their poets wrote both in Hindi and Arabic. Among them may be mentioned a young Arab resident of Mansūrah, the capital of Sindh, who had composed a poem in the current Prākrit in praise of Rājā Mahrūg of Alūra, a city on the east bank of the Indus in upper Sindh. This poem was so much appreciated by the Rājā that he sent a special messenger to escort the young poet to the court, where he was greatly honoured and rewarded. He further translated the Holy *Qur'an* into Hindi at the desire of the Rājā, having stayed for *three* years at the royal court as the State guest.[3] The contemporary historians and geographers of Arab descent, who travelled through Persia to Hindustan, have commented on the life of the Muslims in Sindh in those days. They observed that the feeling

[1] (This paper is adopted from my forthcoming work on the *Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustān*.)

[2] Buzurg bin Shahryār, 'Ajā' ib ul Hind, p. 4, Leyden.

[3] *ibid.*

of amity and fellowship between the Arabs and the Hindus was so stable that the Arabs in Sindh became united with the Hindus, and followed the Indian customs and ceremonies spontaneously. They married in India, showed their liking for the native tongues, and readily adopted the Indian titles and Hindi names.[1] It goes without saying that considerable modifications were effected in their spoken Arabic and the Indian dialects current in the districts lying between Multan and the Arabian sea, obviously as a result of the Hindu-Muslim cultures coming in contact with each other.

It is clear from history that few ' Arab Muslims were interested in territorial acquisition in India until nearly the close of the first century A. H. Those who came to this country in the regime of the first *four* Caliphs were innocent visitors, having largely trade interests, who have distinguished themselves for their simple and pious lives.[2] It so happened that a group of Arab traders sailed for India from Bahrain, and arrived at Tana (Bombay) in 16 A. H. (637 A.D.) Subsequently, two more groups landed at Baroach and Dībul, where some skirmishes were fought with the natives, but none was undertaken either for conquest or was authorized by the Caliph. These newcomers went back, having traded and stayed for a while in India. It is related that the Caliph Umar was greatly displeased when he was informed of the safe return of the first batch from Tana. In a letter to the governor of Bahrain, Usmān bin Abī al Āsī Saqafī, who was originally responsible for the dispatch of this contingent, the Caliph remarked :

> *Yā akhā Saqīf hamalta dūdan ' ālā ' ūdin wa innī ahlafu billāhi illau usībhū la adhaztu min qaumika mislahum.*[3]
>
> O brother of Saqīf, thou didst make an insect climb over a wood. And I swear by God, if they had come to grief, I would have taken the same number from thy tribe.

After Umar, a special envoy, Hakīm bin Jabalah al Abdī, was despatched to India at the instance of the *third* Caliph Usmān who, out of curiosity, wanted to know something about India and her people.

[1] *Bashshārī, Ahsan ut Taqāsim*, Chap. on Sindh, Leyden.

[2] The prevalent conception in the minds of most people today is that the ' Arabs were led towards India for territorial conquest in all cases. This error could be removed if people were to take the trouble of consulting the early records of the historians dealing with India.

[3] *Balāzurī*, chap. I, (Futūh us Sind).

But no expedition was sent out for territorial acquisition to Hindustan either in his or in his successor's regime. The Arab traders and travellers kept coming to India and returning home for some *nine* decades, until in 93 A.H., a contingent of Arab soldiers sailed in Walīd bin Abdul Malik's time with the avowed object of settling in India. The ground was prepared for them as their predecessors had already established agreeable relations with the inhabitants of the land, leaving behind them a good reputation of their achievements. The new-comers chose to settle here permanently. They raised families and built estates. In a word, they came to look upon India as their home, and so did their descendants.

One of the most remarkable features concerning the lives of these early settlers, as well as their predecessors, is that the people were profoundly impressed with the purity of their living, their zeal for the new faith and the principle of world-wide brotherhood which they preached. This striking feature attracted many an Indian to Islam at once. An idea of the conversion to Islam can be had if we are told that over fifty thousand people were received into the Islamic fold every year.[1] The Arab historian Ibn Hauqal, who visited Sindh in person in the second quarter of the third century A.H., says that Arabic and Sindhī were the spoken tongues of Sindh in his time, and were understood generally, so that during his stay there, he had no difficulty in making himself intelligible to the natives. It is mainly through the influence of Arabic in Sindh that its speech is described by the historians as different from the rest of Hindustan. Thus says Mas'ūdī:

> *Fa hāzihī jumalun min akbhār-i mulūk-is Sind-i wal Hind-i wa lughat-us Sind-i khilāf-u lughat-il Hind- i.*[2]
>
> So these are few sentences about the history of the kings of Sindh and Hind; and the lingua of Sindh is different from that of Hind.

He further speaks fervently of the happy relations prevailing between the Hindus and the Muslims, and more particularly of the religious toleration shown by the members of one community for the other. For instance, he pays a high tribute of praise to Rājā

[1] Lane-Poole has used the expression "Turk" for Muslim, cf. *Mediæval India*, Introduction, p. 4.

[2] *Murūj uz Zahab*, chap. XVI.

Balhārī for his just and generous treatment of the Muslims, and the esteem in which he held their mosques in the following significant passage:

> *Wa laisa fī Mulūk- is Sind-i wal Hind-i man yu'izzu-l Muslimīna fī mulkihi misl-al Bhalhārī fal Islām-u fī mulkihī- 'azīun wa masūnun wa lahum masājidun mabniyatun wa jawāmi'un ma'mūratun lissālāt-i-l khams-i wa yamlik-ul maliku minhum arba'īna sanatan wa khamsīna fa sā'adā wa ahl-u mumlikatihī yaz'umūna annahū tālat a'mār-u mulūkihim li sunnat-il 'adl-i wa ikrām-il Muslimīn.*[1]
>
> There is none among the rulers of Sindh and Hind who in his territory respects the Muslims like Rājā Balhārī. In his kingdom Islam is honoured and protected. And for them mosques and congregational mosques, which are always full, have been built for offering prayers *five* times. Every one of these kings rule for forty or fifty years or more. It is the general belief of the people of his kingdom that the lives of these kings are long because they administer justice and honour the Muslims.

After Balhārī, he places the Rājā of Tāfin[2] in this respect, and compliments him for his religious toleration and justice.

Balāzurī also has quoted instances of the kind and just treatment meted out to the Muslims by the Hindus. Once, in an encounter against Sindan, a coast town of Sindh, the Hindus gained victory over the Muslims and captured the town, but they never destroyed or damaged the mosques, nor did they interfere with the liberty of the Muslims as citizens.[3]

A curious story is told illustrating the high sense of justice of a Rājā of Gujarāt by the Persian historian 'Aufī, in his *Jawāmi'*.[4] He writes that when he happened to visit Khambāyat (Cambay) which was a big town on the coast of Gujarat, he found there a small population of devout Muslims, who entertained travellers and also extended their hospitality to him. During his stay in the town, he heard a story of Naushīrwān-like justice which runs as follows:

[1] *ibid.* 11. No city of this name could be traced on the map. Elliot in his *History* has taken it to mean the hilly tracts of the mountainous region of salt. (p. 361.)

[2] *Murūj*, chap. XVI.

[3] *Futūh ul Buldan*, chap. Futūh us Sind.

[4] Chap. II.

In the days of Rājā Jang, there was a mosque which had a *minaret*, from the top of which the *mu'azzin* gave a call for prayers, It so happened that the Parsis incited some Hindus to make war on the Muslims. The latter's mosque with its *minaret* was razed to the ground, and along with it *eighty* Muslims, who had taken their stand by the mosque, were slain. Alī, the *Imām* of the mosque, fled to Naharwāla, the capital seat of the Rājā, and tried to approach him for the redress of the wrong done to the mosque and the Muslims. Failing access to the Rājā, he made complaints to the officials at the court, but none paid any attention to his representation. Not discouraged at this, he composed a poem in current Hindi, narrating therein the full story of Hindu atrocity and the official indifference, and planned to present this versified petition to the Rājā, when he rode out for *shikār* on the appointed day. The opportunity soon came, and the *Imām*, who had carefully hid himself in a bush on the Rājā's track, rushed out and boldly stood in front of his elephant, barring the way, and prayed that his poem be heard. The Rājā took compassion, and order his *mahout* to stop the elephant. He then heard the versified Hindī petition of the *Imām* from the beginning to the end with forbearance and attention. When the *Imām* finished, the Rājā took this poem, and gave it to his Secretary with instructions to remind him of it on his return from *Shikār*. That day the Rājā did not tarry long in the jungle, and returned early. He called his Minister and told him that he felt tired, and would remain within the palace and rest for three days, adding that the usual work of the State should be carried on during these three days without reference to him. Having said this, he retired, and when the night fell, he robed himself in a merchant's dress, and mounting on a fast camel rode to Khambāyat, which lay at a distance of *40 farsang* from Naharwāla. The next day he reached his destination, and went about the streets of the city, listening to the talk of the passersby and the local shop-keepers. He also inspected the spot, and made casual and unconcerned inquiries about the incident from the residents of the quarter. He heard every one say that great tyranny was inflicted on the Muslims, their innocent blood was shed, and their mosque with its *minaret* was pulled down to the ground. The Rājā then went to the coast, and taking out his jug he filled it with the sea-water, sealed it, and repaired to his

Capital, covering the distance as before in one day and one night. On the next day of his arrival, he held a public *darbār*, which was attended by the people and officials of the State. The *Imām* of the mosque was also present. When the *darbār* was in full swing, the Rājā suddenly recalled the Muslim petitioner's case, and asked the Minister-in-charge to produce the *Imām* and his Hindi petition. The *Imām* appeared and made his obeisance. The Rājā ordered him to read his plaint. When he finished, the officers of the Rājā unanimously declared the contents to be false. Thereupon the Rājā ordered his ewer-bearer to bring the sealed jug, break the seal, and distribute the water to every one of them. They all tasted it, and found it to be the brackish water of the sea. The Rājā then related in the *darbār* how he had gone in person to Khambāyat in the guise of a merchant to ascertain the facts, and returned with the truth. He declared that the Muslims were the oppressed, and in his kingdom no community should come to grief, and his *rāj* could not tolerate such oppression. He then ordered that the ring-leaders, who had a hand in the crime, should be brought to book, and the Muslim sufferers be awarded from the royal Treasury one late of *balutra* (silver coin) to rebuild their mosque and its *minaret*. The *Imām* received *khil'at* and other gifts from the Rājā, which were retained in the mosque for centuries afterwards as a token of the Rājā's unparalleled act of clemency and justice to the aggrieved Muslim subjects of his State. The Persian traveller was an eye-witness to these gifts which were there as exhibits till 665 A.H., when he visited Cambay. Many such instances could be quoted from reliable authorities, but there is no place for them here.

In short, the Arab invaders came to India by sea through Persia. Their first armed batch landed at Dībul, at the mouth of the Indus, having sailed from Sarrāfah in the Persian gulf, and passed along the Persian coast. The circumstances which attracted them to India for the purpose of territorial conquests on the Indian soil, may be briefly stated as follows:

The early Arab merchants and travellers who had returned home, having traded with the people and preached their religion in India, spoke freely about its wealth, rich products and abundance of shady and fruit trees, which they had seen during their sojourn in Sindh, Cambay, Calicut and Gujarat. No detailed account of their

activities is available now. What is probable, however, is that they then had no intention of territorial acquisition in Hindustan. The opportunity for territorial conquest presented itself to the Arabs, as stated above, long afterwards, when the Arab travellers and traders were not protected against the attacks of the robbers and pirates by the Rājās of Sindh and Gujarat. Several ships carrying merchandise from the Persian towns, and a party of widows and orphan daughters of the Arab traders who had died in Ceylon and were sent under escort by the Rājā to Hajjaj, the Caliph's governor of Iraq, to please him, had been robbed at Dībul, which was the chief mediaeval harbour of Sindh situated at the mouth of the Indus. When the pirates, coming out of their armed barges, attacked the ship carrying the women and their property, a woman cried out, " O Hajjaj, come to our help." On this news being conveyed to Hajjaj, he forthwith answered the call, saying " I come to your help." The pirates had become a menace to the Arab trade on the coast of India. Their strong-holds were the harbours of Sindh and Gujarat, and the Rājās were unable to chastise them, as was confessed by Rājā Dāhir of Sindh in his reply to the demand made by Hajjaj.[1] To add to this injury, Rājā Dāhir had incensed the Caliph Walīd bin 'Abdul Malik and his governor Hajjaj, by his refusal to arrest and hand over to them the 'Arab convicts who had fled and taken shelter in the Rājā's dominion. These were the main causes which led the Arabs to think seriously of the occupation of the coast towns of Sindh. The first remedy that suggested to them lay in their seizure of the port of Dībul. Consequently, an army under the command of Muhammad bin Qasim, consisting of *6,000* soldiers from the inhabitants of Syria, and many more from other towns, was collected at Shiraz, together with large supplies of war material, including even needles and thread to prepare the sand-bags. Muhammad Qasim was instructed to remain and wait at Shiraz until the whole equipment was ready and all his comrades and soldiers had arrived and joined him. Several armed barges with men and material sailed in advance to meet him at Dībul. The army from Shiraz marched along the Persian coast, and reached the valley of the Indus on Friday, substantially added and increased in bulk on its way, and laid siege to the fort of Dībul.

[1] ***Balāzurī***, **chap. Futūh us Sind.**

Balāzurī, more than any other historian of this period who wrote on India, gives a fuller account of this battle in his ***Futūh ul Buldān***, which he completed in the latter part of the third century A.H. This historic battle was fought in 93 A.H. The Arab army, which consisted mostly of the Persian troops, was led by the young general who was then only *seventeen*; while Rājā Dāhir's governor of the town was in command of his and the allied forces, including the garrison in the fort. Both the armies, says the Arab historian, fought with such valour as had not been heard of in history. Rājā Dāhir's courage was specially to be seen in the fact that he kept on fighting single-handed when all his bodyguards and personal attendants had deserted him. To be brief, after some more fighting, the whole plain of the Indus valley came under the direct sway of the Arabs. Shortly afterwards, Muhammad Qasim was recalled home by the Caliph's orders, to the great sorrow of the people, because of his unblemished character and just and equitable administration in Sindh. The Arab conquest appears to have been a blessing in disguise to the peasantry and, in particular, reflects on the way the people of Sindh mourned for Muhammad bin Qasim after his departure from India, and raised his statue to commemorate his just and tolerant government:

> *Fa babakā ahl ul Hind-i 'alā Mahammadin wa saw-wara-hū bil-Kērij.*
>
> The people of India wept over Muhammad bin Qasim and erected his statue at Kērij.

He was very popular in Sindh, and was loved by the people. In a verse of his own composition, he declares that if he had chosen to remain in Sindh as its king, both men and women of the place would have supported his claim, and fought on his side against any foe: He says:

> *Lau kunt-u ajma't ul quarāra la wuttiat.*
> *Ināsun uiddat lilwaghā wa zukūr-ū.*

THE EARLY RĀṢṬRAKŪṬAS OF THE DECCAN AND NIZAM'S DOMINIONS

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Miraj plates[1] of the Western Cālukya Mahārājādhirāja Jayasingha II state :

> यो राष्ट्रकूटकुलमिन्द्र इति प्रसिद्धं कृष्णाह्वयस्य सुतमष्टशतेभसैन्यम् ।
> निर्जित्य दग्धनृपपञ्चशतो बभार भूयश्चुलुक्यकुलवल्लभराजलक्ष्मीम् ॥

i.e., Solāṅki Jayasimha I by defeating Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra the son of Kṛṣṇa and owner of eight hundred elephants re-established the lost Vallabha (Cālukya) kingdom in the Deccan.

This shows that up to the end of the fifth century A. D., Rāṣṭrakūṭas were ruling at Latur in the Gulabarga District of the Hyderabad Deccan, but were overthrown about 507 A. D. (564 V. S.) by Solāṅki king Jayasimha I who established his capital at Vātāpi (Bādāmi) in Bijapur District.

The Miraj plates further state :

> तद्भवो विक्रमादित्यः कीर्तिवर्मा तदात्मजः ।
> येन चालुक्यराज्यश्रीरन्तरायिण्यभूद्भुवि ॥

i.e., in the time of Kīrtivarman II son of Vikramāditya (who was 9th in descent from Jayasimha I) the Solāṅki kingdom again disappeared.

This event might have taken place between 747 and 753 A. D. (805 and 810 V. S.)

The genealogy of Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings found in the inscription[2] of the Daśāvatāra temple at Ellora, situated in the Aurangabad

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, p. 12.

[2] *Archæological Survey Report of Western India*, Vol. V, p. 87.

District, the first name which appears is of Dantivarman I, perhaps a descendant of Indra referred to above, who might have flourished before 593 A. D. (650 V. S.).

We learn from the inscription, dated[1] S'aka Samvat 556 (634 A. D. = 691 V. S.) of Cālukya Pulakes'in II that

लब्ध्वा कालं भुवमुपगते जेतुमाप्यायिकाख्ये
गोविन्दे च द्विरदनिकरैरुत्तरांभोमरथ्याः ।
यस्यानीकैर्युधिभयरसज्ञत्वमेकः प्रयात-
स्तत्रावाप्तं फलमुपकृतस्यापरेणापि भूयः ॥

i.e., at the time of Pulakes'in II Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govindraja I (the grand-son of Dantivarman I) with the aid of his allies attempted to regain the lost ancestral kingdom. But as he could not succeed he concluded peace.

Between 748 and 753 A. D. (804 and 810 V. S.) Dantivarman (Dantidurga) II the great-grandson of Govinda I defeated (the western Cālukya king) Solāṅki Kīrtivarman II, took possession of Vātāpi (Bādāmi) the northern part of his kingdom and re-established the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rule in the Deccan.

A copper grant[2] of S'aka S. 675 (753 A. D.= 810 V. S. found at Samangad (Kolhapur) also supports this. It states :

मही महानदीरेवारोधोभित्तिविदारणम् ।
. . . . ॥
यो वल्लभं सपदि दण्डलकेन जित्वा राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतामुपैति ।
काञ्चीशकेरलनराधिपचोलपाण्ड्यश्रीहर्षवज्रटविभेदविधानदक्षम् ॥
कर्णाटकं बलमनन्तमजय्यरथ्यैर्भृत्यैः कियद्भिरपि यः सहसा जिगाय ॥

i.e., the elephants of Dantivarman II reached up to the rivers Mahi, Mahanadi and Narbada. (This shows that he invaded Gujarat, Malwa and Orissa successfully.) Further after defeating Vallabha (the western Cālukya king Kīrtivarman II) he assumed the titles of Rājādhirāja and Parames'vara and taking with himself a small cavalry defeated the powerful Karnatik army, which had won victories over

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, pp. 5-6.
[2] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, p. 111.

the kings of Kāñci (Conjeveram), Kerala (Malabar coast, including modern Travancore and Cochin States), Cola (Coromandel coast) and Pāṇḍya (further south west of the Coromandel coast) as well as over King Harṣa of Kanauj and Vaijrata.

The Karnatik army referred to was the army of the Cālukyas.

He also defeated the rulers of Kāñci (Pallava rulers of Nolambavādi or Citaldurga district of Mysore State, S'rīs'aila (in the Kurnul district of Madras), Kaliṅga (the country near the sea coast between the rivers Mahanadi and Godavari), Kos'ala (southern Kos'ala-Goṇdwana including the eastern portion of the Central Provinces), Malwa (Central India), Lāṭa (southern and central Gujarat), Tanka and Sandha Bhupa (or Sindh).

A copper grant[1] of S'aka S. 679 (757 A.D.=814 V. S.) of Mahārājādhirājā Karkarājā II of Gujarat shows that Dantivarman II made this Karkarājā who was his relative the ruler of Lāṭa (southern and central Gujarat).

Paithan (Aurangabad District) grant[2] of Govindarājā III dated S'aka S. 716 (794 A.D.=851 V. S.) states that he (Dantivarman II) extended his sway all over India from Rames'varam in the south to the Himalayas in the north and from the western coast to the eastern coast.

From the above facts it is evident that Dantivarman (Dantidurga) II was a powerful king of south India and his dominions extended from the northern borders of Gujarat and Malwa to Rames'varam in the south.

The famous Kailās Bhavana (or S'iva temple) of Ellora caves in the Aurangabad division of the Nizam's dominions was built by Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇarājā I, the uncle of Dantivarman II. This temple is carved out of the rock and is famous for its architecture. Here he also constructed a " Devakula " known after him as " Kaṇṇes'vara " where many scholars used to live.

It is evident from the Talegaon grant[3] of S'aka S. 690 (768 A.D.=825 V. S.) that he (Kṛṣṇarājā I) invaded the country ruled by Gaṅga king (or the south-eastern and south-western part of Mysore state).

[1] *Journal of Bengal Asiastic Society*, Vol. XVI, p. 106.
[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, p. 105.
[3] *ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 275.

It is stated in the Alas plates[1] of S'aka S. 692 (770 A.D.= 827 V. S.) of Govindarājā II, that when he Govindarājā) was encamped near the confluence of the rivers Krishna, Vena and Musi, the king of Veṅgi[2] (the eastern Cālukya king) acknowledged his supremacy. A large part of this Vengi-Maṇḍala comprises the south-eastern districts of Nizam's dominions.

We learn from the copper grant[3] of Begumra that Dhruvarāja, the younger brother of Govindarāja II had seized a canopy from the king of Northern Kos'ala (Ayodhya).

He also defeated the Pallava king of Kāñci (Conjeveraṃ or Nolambavādi) imprisoned Gaṅga king of Cera (Coimbatore or Gaṅgavādi) and attacking Parihāra ruler Vatsarājā drove him towards Bhinmal (Marwar).

The copper grants[4] of S'aka S. 730 (808 A.D.≡865 V. S. of Govindarāj III (the son of Dhruvarājā) shows that he released and reimprisoned the king of Cera (Coimbatore or Gangavādi), attacked Gujarat and conquered Malwa. After subjugating Marasharva on his invasion of Vindhyācala he camped at S'rī Bhavana (Malkhed) till the end of the rains. On the advent of winter he advanced towards the river Tungabhadra (which is the southern boundary of the Nizam's dominions) and defeated the Pallava king Dantivarman of Kāñci (Conjeveram or Nolambavādi). Later in obedience to his command the king of Veṅgi, probably Vijayāditya II of the Eastern Cālukya dynasty, attended his court and acknowledged his supremacy.

As his expedition up to the Tungabhadra is mentioned in the grant[5] of S'aka S. 726 (804 A.D.=861 V.S.) it is obvious that some of these events took place before this year.

We learn from his copper plate[6] of S'aka S. 735 (813 A.D.= 870 V.S.) of Torkhede (Khandesh Dist.) that he having conquered Lāṭa—the central and southern part of Gujarat—made it over to his younger brother Indrarāja who founded the second branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings of Gujarat.

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, p. 209.
[2] The district lies between the rivers Krishna and Godavari.
[3] *Journal of Bombay Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVIII, p. 261.
[4] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, p. 157 and *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI p. 242.
[5] *ibid.*,
[6] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, p. 54.

From the above facts, it is quite clear that he was a powerful king of the south, ruling over the tract lying between the rivers Narbada and Tungabhadra, and his commands were obeyed by the kings of Vindhaya or Malwa in the north to Kāñci (Conjeveram or Nolambavādi) in the south.

Nilgunḍ inscription [1] of S'aka S. 788 (866 A.D.=923 V.S.) points out his victories over Kerala (Malabar coast) Malwa, Gauḍa (perhaps Northern Bengal) Gurjara and Citrakūṭa (Chittor).

We learn from the Radhanpur grant [2] of S'aka S. 730 (808 A.D.= 865 V.S.) that he got built the city wall round the town or fortress by the eastern Cālukya king of Veṅgi.

Kanhari-cave-inscription [3] of S'aka S. 799 (877 A.D.=934 V.S.) shows that king Amoghavarṣa I son of Govinda III being pleased with his feudatory Kapardi II of the S'īlāhāra clan made over to him the kingdom of Konkan .[4]

It is known from the Konnur grant [5] of S'aka S. 782 (860 A.D.= 917 V.S.) that at that time Bankeya the feudatory of Amoghavarṣa I was the Governor of Banavasi (Shimoga District of Mysore) and at the desire of his king he invaded Gangavādi successfully.

The S'aka S. 793 (871 A.D.=928 V.S.) grant of Sanjan States that mobilization of Amoghavarṣa's army struck terror in the hearts of the kings of Kerala (Malabar coast), Coḷa (Coromandal coast), Pāṇḍya (further south-west of Coromandel coast), Kaliṅga (the country between the Mahanadi and the Godavari on the border of the sea), Magadha (Bihar) and Pallavas of Kāñci (Conjeveram).

We learn from the Sirur grant [6] of S'aka S. 788 (866 A.D.=923 V.S.) that the rulers of Aṅga (the country about Bhagalpur including Monghyr), Banga (Bengal), Mālava (Central India) and Veṅgi, the tract) lying between the Krishna and the Godavari or south-eastern part of Hyderabad-Deccan acknowledged his superiority. There may be some exaggeration in this statement.

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, p. 102.

[2] *ibid.*, p. 242.

[3] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIII, p. 135.

[4] Its capital was Tana. It denotes the whole strip of land between the Western ghats and the Arabian sea.

[5] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, p. 25.

[6] *ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 203.

He shifted his capital perhaps from Nasik or Latalur to Mānyakheṭa (Malkhed) 90 miles to the south-east of Sholapur in the Nizam's dominions.

We learn from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants that Kṛṣṇarāja II, the son of Amoghavarṣa I also conquered Andhra (the country between the rivers Godavari and Krishna including the districts of Krishna) Banga, Kalinga, Magadha, Gurjara and Gauḍa and annexed the province of Lāṭa.

He also fought against the Gaṅgas, the Nolambas and the eastern Cālukyas.

We learn from the Begumra copper grant[1] of S'aka S. 836 (915 A.D.=972 V. S.) that Indrarāja III the grandson of Kṛṣṇarāja II, moved from Mānyakheta to Kurundaka for his coronation. This Kurundaka was situated at the junction of the rivers Krishna and Pañcaganga. It also states that Indra III devastated Meru perhaps Mahodaya or Kanauj.

Karhad plates[2] of S'aka S. 880 (958 A.D.=1015 V. S.) indicate that Kṛṣṇarāja III, the nephew of Indrarāja III, while subduing the south, laid waste the province of Coḷa (Coromandel coast, perhaps the capital of which at that time was Tanjore) conquered the territory of Pāṇḍya (further south-west of Coromandel coast) and Cera (Coimbatore) subjugated the king of Ceylon and erected a monumental tower at Rames'varam to commemorate these victories. The invasion of the Cola country (Coromandel coast) probably took place in 947 A.D. (1004 V. S.). He also defeated Haihaya (Kalacūri) king Sahasrārjuna.

Yas'astilaka-Campū a poem completed in S'aka S. 881 (959 A.D.=1016 V. S.) by Somadeva also praises his victories over Cera, Cola, Pāṇḍya and Simhala.

Further he awarded the district of Banabāsi to Bhutuga II (his own brother-in-law) whom he first installed in place of western Gaṅga king Rācamalla I at Gāngavadi. He also defeated King Anniga of Pallava dynasty and killed King Dantiga of Kāñci.

He was also a powerful ruler and his territory extended beyond the Ganges in the north.

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, p. 29.
[2] *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 281.

Udayapur (Gwalior) inscription [1] of Parmara Udayāditya points out that at the time of Khottigadeva the younger brother of Kṛṣṇarāja III, S'ri Harṣa (Sīyaka II) of Malwa invaded his capital.

Paiyalacchi Namamala of Dhanapāla states that in 972 A.D. (1029 V.S.) the king of Mal'wa plundered the city of Mānyakheṭa (Malkheda).

After this event the great power of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan began to decline, and at the time of Karkarāja II, the nephew of Khottiga, Solāṅki Tailapa II, attacked their kingdom and restablished the Cālukya kingdom at Kalyāni after 973 A.D. (1030 V.S.)

The Kharepatan copper grant [2] states

कक्कलस्तस्य भ्रातृव्यो भुवो भर्ता जनप्रियः ।
आसीत् प्रचण्डधामेव प्रतापजितशात्रवः ॥
समरे तं विनिर्जित्य तैलपोऽभून्महीपतिः ।

i.e., the powerful King Karkarāja II was the nephew of Khottigadeva and after defeating him, Tailapa usurped his kingdom.

Vikramāṅkadevacarita [3] of Bilhaṇa also supports the above statement. It states:

विश्वंभराकण्टकराष्ट्रकूट-समूलनिर्मूलनकोविदस्य ।
सुखेन यस्यान्तिकमाजगाम चालुक्यचन्द्रम्य नरेन्द्रलक्ष्मीः ॥

i.e., the state passed on to the Cālukya king Tailapa (II) the destroyer of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings, who were a menace to the world.

Here the adjective used for the Rāṣṭrakūtta kings shows that they were very powerful kings and all other rulers were afraid of their invasion. This fact is also supported by the writings of the contemporary Arab writers, like Sul'aiman, Abuzainul Hasan, Ibn-Khurdadba, Almasudi, Al Istakhari and Ibn Haukal who considered these Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers of Malkhed eminent and most powerful kings whose supremacy was acknowledged by all the other rulers of India who came in touch with them.

[1] *Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX, p. 549.
[2] *Epigraphia India*, Vol. III, p. 297.
[3] Sarga I, stanza 69.

After this we find mention of only one more Rāṣṭrakūṭa king named Indrarāja IV, a grand son of Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇarāja III, who died in 982[1] A.D. (1039 V.S.)

This summary of the history of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed shows that the kingdom established by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dantivarman (Dantidurga) II by defeating Solāṅki (Calukya) King Kīrtivarman II, between 748 and 753 A.D. (804 and 810 V.S.) lasted for about 225 years and nearly the whole of the Deccan including the present dominions of His Exalted Highness the Nizam as well as Trivandrum and Cochin etc. went under direct or indirect sway of the rulers of this dynasty.

In conclusion, I may add that a small village named Jaswantpura comprising of 1459 Bighas of land in the Aurangabad district of the Nizam's dominions is still held by the Rathor rulers of Jodhpur. It was founded by Mahārāja Jaswantsingh I of Jodhpur in about 1667 A.D. when he was sent by the Emperor Aurangzib to subdue the well known Mahratta ruler Sivaji.

1 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, p. 182.

GOṄKA II AND THE CĀLUKYAS

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Verse 10 in 277 of 1893 (*SII*., iv., 1141) relates to Velanāṇṭi Goṅka II (c 1132-60 A.D.) and reads:

> *Vīras'rīla (lanā) kaṭākṣa rucinā vidrāvya bāhāsinā senāṁ kuntalavallabhasya nika (ṭē) Godāvarīsaṁgarē* ।
> *Prāpal-lakṣmaṇada (ṇḍanā) tha-sahitaṁ Govinda-daṇḍādhipaṁ jitvā hāṭaka khōṭakoṣṭranivahair-vīras'riyaṁ yaḥ pa (rāṁ)* ॥

The verse means: "Having in the battle of the Godāvarī and in the presence of the Kuntala-Vallabha put to flight his army with the sword (in his hand) shining like the glances of the goddess of heroism, and having conquered Govinda Daṇḍādhipa along with Lakṣmanadaṇḍanātha, he attained the highest splendour of heroism besides (capturing) quantities of gold, horses (khōṭaka=ghoṭaka), and camels.'

Here Goṅka is said in clear terms to have fought a battle on the banks of the Godāvarī, put to flight the army of the king of Kuntala and to have defeated two of his commanders Lakṣmaṇa Daṇḍanātha and Govinda Daṇḍanātha and captured much booty in gold, horses and camels."

Considering the dates usually assigned to Goṅka, this hitherto unnoticed engagement on the banks of the Godāvarī must have taken place some years after the death of the famous Vikramāditya VI and perhaps in the reign of his successor Somes'vara III (1126-39). The inscription unfortunately bears no date. But the commander-in-chief of the Cāḷukyan forces Govinda-daṇḍādhipa seems to be identical with the feudatory of Anantapāla in the reign of Vikramāditya VI who held

many positions of trust from at least A.D. 1103;[1] and if this be so, the battle of Godāvarī in which he sustained a defeat must have occurred in the beginning of Goṅka's rule, soon after 1132 A.D. The expression *Kuntalavallabhasya nikaṭe* in the verse seems to imply that Someśvara was present on the field. If this interpretation of the verse is correct, Fleet's account of Someśvara's reign will stand in need of some revision; for though he noted a Baḷagāmve inscription mentioning that this king was encamped at Hulluṇīya-tīrtha in the course of his *dig-vijaya* in the south, Fleet added: "but with this exception, the records do not seem to mention any campaigns made by him; and his reign seems, in fact, to have been a very tranquil one."

The trend of W. Cāḷukya policy in the Telugu country in this period, and its results have to be gathered from the contemporary inscriptions of E. Deccan in which the Cāḷukya Vikrama era is cited and from casual references in them to the W. Cāḷukya's like that in the verse which form the subject of this note. Since the accession of Kulottuṅga I to the Coḷa throne, Vikramāditya left no stone unturned to create trouble for Kulottuṅga in the Veṅgī country. The feudatory princes of the land tended to divide themselves as a consequence into rival camps, one party supporting the W. Cāḷukya power and the other the Cāḷukya-Cola. For the best part of Kulottuṅga's reign Vikramāditya's efforts to gain the upper hand in Veṅgī seem to have met with only indifferent success. The Velanāṇḍu chief of Tsandavolu ranged themselves definitely on the side of the Coḷa power, and on more than one occasion their suzerains evinced their high estimate of the value of their loyalty to their cause. We learn, for instance, that Vedura II, a nephew of Goṅka I assisted Vīra Coḍa, the Coḷa Viceroy of Veṅgī, in a battle against an unnamed Pāṇḍyan king, doubtless an Uccaṅgi Pāṇḍya feudatory of Vikramāditya VI, ' and Vīra Coḍa expressed his appreciation by conferring on Vedura the doab country between the Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvarī.[2]

But towards the close of his reign, Kulottuṅga lost ground in Veṅgī, and for a time Vikramāditya's sway spread practically over the whole of the Telugu country.[3]

[1] Fleet, *DKD*. p. 451.
[2] *EI*. iv, p. 36.
[3] See *Colas*, ii, 44-49.

This is attested by the inscriptions of his officers stationed in the Veṅgī country, and even the friends of the Coḷas had to acknowledge Western Cāḷukya supremacy in A.D. 1120 when the gifts made in Drākṣārāma by Velanāṇṭi Rājendra are recorded in the Cāḷukya-Vikrama era:[1] so also is a gift by Mayilama, the wife of a Telugu Coḍa chief.[2]

Even more direct evidence of the sway of Vikramāditya and his successor Someśvara in the Telugu country at the close of Kulottuṅga's reign and the beginning of Vikrama Coḷa's is furnished by two other records. One of them is from Tripurāntakam; it is dated in C. V. 51 (A.D. 1126/7); in it Anantapāla is said to have defeated the Cōḷa army, pursued it as far as Kāñcī, and plundered that celebrated city and thus gained the title Coḷa-kaṭaka-sure-kāra.[3]

Apparently the same exploit is attributed in another record[4] from Kollūr (Guntur) to Ecapa, a subordinate of Anantapāla who is said to have pursued the Coḷa forces from Uppinakaṭṭe in Veṅgī to Kāñcī and gained for himself the title: Coḷarājya-nirmūlana.

The records dated in the C. V. era in this series go up to 57 and 58 corresponding to S'aka 1054 and 1055 (A.D. 1132 and 1133). In some of these later inscriptions we come across the two Daṇḍanāyakas who are said to have sustained defeat in the battle of the Godāvarī. Bhūlokamalla Someśvara III maintained for some time the position he inherited from his father in the Veṅgī country. An inscription[5] dated in S'aka 1051 (A.D. 1129-30) from Gurizala in the Palnād taluq records that a Haihaya chief Beta by name acknowledged the supremacy of Bhūlokamalla. Again, at Drākṣārāma we have a record dated in S'. 1054 mentioning a gift by Kallaya Sāhini who was in the service of Lakṣmarasa Daṇḍanāyaka;[6] and another inscription in the same place dated in the next year S'. 1055 (A.D. 1133) describes a gift by Govindarāja, Lakṣmarāja, and Siddhimaya,—Lakṣmarāja being described in the following terms: *Vilasadveṅgī-mahīvallabhaśrī daṇḍādhipa Lakṣmarāja - nikhila - kṣmākāryabhāra - kṣamaḥ i.e.*, Lakṣmarāja, the glorious daṇḍādhipa ruling the splendid

[1] 335 of 1893.
[2] 345 of 1893.
[3] 258 of 1905, l. 53, (*SII*. IX, i, No. 213).
[4] 714 of 1920, ll. 113-17 (*ib*. No. 220).
[5] 596 of 1906.
[6] 336 of 1893.

land of Veṅgī and capable of bearing the weight of the affairs of the entire world;[1] lastly Śiddhimaya and his son Kecimayya are mentioned together in yet another record from Drākṣārāma also bearing the dates S'aka 1055 and C. V. 58.

After this date inscriptions dated in the C. V. era are not so common and the galaxy of Bhūlokamalla and his daṇḍanāyakas also seem to make their exit. It thus becomes clear that the date suggested above for Goṅka's victory on the banks of the Godāvarī depends not only on the possible identity of Govindarasa suggested above, but on the more direct testimony of the inscriptions in which the persons taking part in the battle are mentioned.

The verse cited at the beginning of this note occurs again in a later record dated S'aka 1072 (1150)—*nayanādrikhendu gaṇite*[2] with the expression Coḍāsinā substituted for bāhāsinā, a change calculated to confirm the view that this verse records an important victory for the Coḷas and their friends against the W. Cāḷukyas sometime about 1133 A.D. Goṅka II therefore must be taken to have played a prominent part in reversing the tide of W. Cāḷukya successes in Veṅgī which began towards the close of the reign of Kulottuṅga I.

But evidently this was by no means the end of the story. For we have an inscription dated ten years later in S'. 1065[3] (A.D. 1143) in which a chieftain called Baṇṭabhūpati takes credit for restoring Cāḷukya sway—*Cāḷukyasamuddharaṇadakṣiṇaḥ*. Incidentally, the admission of a need for restoring this power at that date also goes to confirm the date and the significance we have assigned to the victory of Goṅka II.

[1] 243-3 of 1893.

[2] 306-8 of 1893—*SII*. iv, 1182, v. 17.

[3] 296 of 1863.

THE KĀKATĪYAS AND THE YĀDAVAS

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The reign of the Western Cālukyan monarch Taila III witnessed the fall of the great empire built by Vikramāditya VI. Of the many independent kingdoms that rose on the ashes of this empire, the Kākatīyas and the Yādavas apportioned the greater part of the Deccan between themselves and played a prominent part in the history of the Deccan during the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries. These two dynasties came into conflict with each other frequently, continued their animosities even in the face of the advent of Islam as a common danger and like the Rajputs of northern India were individually conquered by the Sultans of Delhi and came to a tragic end. The object of this paper is to trace the relations between these two Deccan dynasties.

Many inscriptions belonging to monarchs of these rival houses in different generations contain valuable references to their mutual feuds and fights. Similarly, numerous literary sources like the *Vratakhaṇḍa* of Hemādri and the *Pratāparudrīya* of Vidyānātha and many traditional histories of the Kākatīyas also supply us useful information.

Prola II (1115-1158) threw off the Cāḷukyan yoke and founded an independent kingdom in the neighbourhood of Warangal in the middle of the 12th century. He conquered many of the Cāḷukyan feudatories and annexed their territories. This work of expansion was carried on with greater vigour by his illustrious son Rudradeva (1158-1168). As mentioned in the latter's famous inscription in the Rudreśvara temple at Anamakoṇḍa, the Kākatīya kingdom reached the Mālyavanta hill in the north, Śrīśailam in the south, Kalyāṇ in the west and the sea on the east.[1] The Yādavas too began about this

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, XXX.

time an active phase of expansion under Jaitrapāla. The Kākatīya kingdom blocked Yādava expansion to the south and south-east and the expansion of the Kākatīyas themselves to the north was obstructed by the Yādavas. Thus these two kingdoms, intent upon expansion, inevitably came into conflict with each other.

The Yādavas seem to have taken the initiative in this inevitable conflict. It is said of Jaitrapāla that he "assumed the sacrificial vow on the holy ground of the battlefield and throwing a great many kings into the fire of his prowess by means of the laddles of his weapons, performed a human sacrifice by immolating a victim in the shape of the fierce Rudra, the lord of the Tailiṅgas and vanquished the three worlds." Obviously, Jaitrapāla invaded the Kākatīya kingdom and was opposed by Rudradeva. In the battle that ensued the Kākatīya monarch was killed. Since no other version is to be found in the other sources regarding the manner of Rudradeva's death, the above account may be taken to be true. Since the latest known record of this Rudradeva is dated 1196 A.D.[1] this event has to be ascribed to that date.

Hostilities, thus started, were continued by both parties. Rudradeva was succeeded by his brother Mahādeva. The thought of avenging the death of his brother at the hands of Jaitrapāla inspired Mahādeva to invade the Yādava dominion. The Garavapāḍu plates of the time of Gaṇapatideva state, for example, that Mahādeva "ruled the entire circle of the earth up to the Cakravāḷa mountain, the residential rampart of the Seuṇa king, which, breached by the tusks of whose elephants, eclipses the Krauñca mountain cleft by S'arvaṇabhava."[2] According to one traditional account, Mahādeva besieged the Yādava capital for three months and according to another he died in an unequal elephant fight that ensued.[3] This information is corroborated even by the sources of Yādava history. Thus, for example, the Paiṭhān grant of Rāmacandradeva states that Jaitrapāla slew in battle a king of Trikaḷiṅga, occupied his territory and "fetched Gaṇapati out of prison and made him lord of the earth. From what has been said above, it looks reasonable to identify this

[1] *Tel Ins.* Kak. No. 22.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, No. 41, verse 41.

[3] *Pratāpacaritramu*, p. 30; *Sōmadevarājīyam*—ās'vāsa 2. The Yenamadala inscription (*Ep. Ind.* III, p. 101) refers to the same incident and says that Mahādeva died in a great battle and fell on the temple of a female elephant.

king of Trikaḷiṅga with Mahādeva of the Kākatīya family. It follows that he was accompanied by his son Gaṇapatidēva in this expedition against Devagiri. Since the first regnal year of Gaṇapatidēva was 1198 A.D. I ascribe this fight to the same year.

What happened after the death of Mahādeva at Dēvagiri ? The Paiṭhān grant, referred to above, mentions that Mahādeva's son and heir Gaṇapatideva was released by Jaitrapāla from the prison and restored to his own throne. Obviously, Jaitugi, held Gaṇapatidēva prisoner for some time before this release. Secondly, Jaitugi is said to have occupied the territory of the king of Trikaḷinga slain by him. There is, however, no evidence to support this statement and no part of the Kākatīya kingdom seems to have passed into the hands of the Yādavas as a result of this battle. The sources of Kākatīya history mention that consequent on the calamity that overtook Mahādēva and his son, a number of enemy chieftains tried to take advantage of the situation and attempted to snatch away parts of Kākatīya territory. But this danger was averted by loyal and valiant generals like Recerla Rudra, who drove away all these intruders and maintained the integrity of the kingdom and handed it over to Gaṇapatidēva, evidently after his return.[1]

How long was Gaṇapatidēva in the Yādava prison ? The Madras Epigraphists have opined that the accession of Gaṇapatidēva took place in 1198 A.D., that his earliest known inscription belongs to his tenth regnal year and that therefore he must have spent part or the whole of this period in prison.[2] This view, however, is untenable. An inscription from Nāgulapāḍu in the Nizam's Dominions bears the date S. S. 1130 or 1208 A.D. and registers a gift made in the reign of Gaṇapatidēva.[3] Another record from Pillalamaṛṛi belonging to S. S. 1124 or 1202 A.D. states that Gaṇapatideva was ruling in that year and contains a statement which implies that the kingdom was free of all dangers.[4] I believe, therefore, that this Kākatīya monarch was in the Yādava prison between 1198-1202 A.D.

Gaṇapatideva never forgot the great humiliation that he and his father suffered at the hands of the Yādavas. Nor did the Yādavas

[1] *Hyd. Arch Ser.* Pillalamaṛṛi inscription, verses 21-24.
[2] *M. E. R.* for, 1906, p. 80.
[3] *Tel. Ins.* Kak. No. 5.
[4] *Tel. Ins.* Kak. no. 39.

cease their hostility with the Kākatīyas. The Ēkāmranātha [1] and Gaṇapes'varam [2] inscriptions mention Gaṇapatideva's fight with the Yādavas. The latter too claim victories over the rulers of the Andhra country. Thus, for example, Simhaṇa II calls himself "the up-rooter of the water lily which was the head of the king of Telunga."[3] In the Paiṭhān grant, he is said to have defeated an Andhra king.[4] A third record describes him as "the up-rooter of the water lily that was the head of the Telunga king and its re-institutor."[5] It is evident from these examples that Gaṇapatideva and Simhaṇa continued the traditional enemity of their houses. When did this fight take place? The inscriptions of Gaṇapatideva indicate that he was busy with the conquest of the east coast of the Andhra country and the consolidation of his power till 1230 A.D. The Gaṇapes'varam inscription, referred to above, states that that the monarch was fighting with the Seuṇas and others in 1231 A.D. All the other records that refer to this monarch's rivalry with the Yādavas belong to later dates. I conclude therefore that Gaṇapatideva's fight with Simhaṇa took place in 1231 A.D. The traditional records mention that this monarch invaded Devagiri in order to avenge the death of his father and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Yādava king. It is said that the latter made peace by giving the victor large sums of money as indemnities and by offerring the hand of his own daughter Rudrama.[6] The matrimonial aspect of this treaty is untenable because it is now proved beyond doubt that Rudrama or Rudrāmba was the daughter and not the wife of Gaṇapatideva.[7] The fight seems to have ended in victory for the Kākatīyas. The south-eastern part of Berar seems to have been under the rule of the Kākatīyas.[8] Neither Rudramba nor Pratāparudradeva seem to have made any fresh conquests in the north. It is likely, therefore, that Gaṇapatidēva himself annexed this territory as a result of the victory referred to above.

[1] *Ind. Ant.*

[2] *Ep. Ind.* III, pp. 82-93.

[3] Fleet, *Canarese Dynastics*, p. 216.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 314.

[5] *Ep. Carn.*, VIII, p. 57.

[6] *Pratāpa-caritramu*, p. 34.

[7] See no. 31. of my *Kak. Sam.* App.

[8] *Berar Gazetteer*, p. 18.

Hostilities were continued in the next generation by both the parties. The accession of Rudrāmba to the Kākatīya throne after the death of Gaṇapatideva, was followed by a number of disturbances. Many rival chieftains hoped that a woman would not be able to defend the vast empire that was inherited by her and lead a number of raids hoping to snatch parts of her territory. The Yādavas were not slow to take advantage of this situation. It is said that Mahādeva, the Yādava king, was " the whirl-wind that scattered the cotton that was the ruler of the Tillinga country."[1] " Out of their fear of this Mahādeva, the Andhras " it is said " instituted a woman as their ruler, knowing full well that he does not kill a woman."[2] Still, however, this Mahādēva is said to have fought with Rudrāmba and taken away her five musical instruments and elephants but spared her life because she was a woman.[3] The traditional accounts also refer to Rudrāmba's fight with the Yādavas. They mention that the king of Devagiri invaded Warangal and besieged it. The Kākatīya queen is said to have fought with him for a full fortnight and destroyed three lakhs of cavalry and one lakh of infantry belonging to his forces and put him to flight. It is stated, further, that she pursued the retreating enemy up to his capital and extracted a crore of rupees as indemnity. There is reason to believe that Rudrāmba's grandson and Yuvarāja, Pratāparudradeva also took a leading part in the repulsion of the Yādava forces.[4] This invasion was a mere passing phase and entailed no serious consequences for the Kākatīya kingdom. Since the early disturbances in Rudrāmba's reign lasted till 1267 A.D. and since Mahādeva, the Yādava king, died in 1270 A.D. I assign the above events to 1267-70 A.D.

Even during the time of Pratāparudradeva, hostilities continued. The Godavari consituted the boundary between the two kingdoms and there were numerous fights on the border. The power and integrity of the Yādavas were shaken by the inroads of Alauddin Khilji in the early years of the 14th century. Even though the whole of northern India fell a prey to the Muhummadans as a result of the mutual feuds and jealousies of the Hindu rulers of the region, the

Hēmādri-*Vratakhaṇḍa*, Rājapras'asti, verse 48.

[2] *ibid.*

[3] *ibid.*

[4] The *Pratāparudrīya*—Nāṭakaprakaraṇa, Act II, verse 17, Arthālankāraprakaraṇa, verse 179.

Yādavas and the Kākatīyas of the Deccan failed to learn a lesson from it. While the Khiljis were invading Devagiri repeatedly and beating down her resistance, the Kākatīya was feeling exultant that his traditional enemy was being rightly annihilated. The Yādava in his turn could not set aside his enmity and seek the aid of the Kākatīya in warding off a common danger. As a result, the Sultan easily subjugated the kingdom of Devagiri and made it a useful base for their operations against Warangal. The Yādavas, though humiliated, still cherished vengeance against their rival and furnished the invaders with full information regarding the Andhra kingdom. The ultimate consequence of this prolonged rivalry between the Yādavas and the Kākatīyas was the fall of both their kingdoms in the first quarter of the 14th century.

SHAJI'S TOMB AT HODIGERE

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THE village of Hodigere (old name—Kyādigere) is situated at a distance of about 6 miles to the east of Channagiri and a mile to the north of the Bhadrāvati-Chitaldrug road. It contains a few monuments like the Bhavānī temple, the Rachchi (Rāsta) Rām Bhāvi, etc., which belong to the period of the occupation of the place by the Marathas during the 17th and 18th centuries. The sowcar of the place, Mr. L. Mallappa Setti, is reported to have with him certain old costumes of the Maratha period.

To the north-west of the village is an old banyan tree to the north side of the tank bund, next to which again, on the north, is a field known locally as 'the Lāyada-hola' and used now as a ***kaṇa*** for stacking hay by its owner Mr. Nāḍiga Subbaṇṇa. In the middle of the field is a low tomb of brick and mortar. Mr. Subbaṇṇa's father, Nāḍiga Gaṅgaṇṇa is said to have often been speaking about this tomb and referring it to Shaji, father of the famous Sivaji, on the authority of an old paper (Bakhr) with him, which is now reported by Mr. Subbaṇṇa to have been taken away from him by a certain Co-operative Inspector about twenty years ago. This paper is said to have contained the information that Shaji's tomb lay in the vicinity of a banyan tree on the way from Hodigere to Yerkāṭanahaḷḷi. The banyan tree referred to here may be the same described above as standing beside the tank to the north-west of the village. One Mr. Patvardhan of Poona, with the help of the Kolhapur State, is also said to have visited the place about the same time or somewhat earlier and to have obtained from the same Mr. Gaṅgaṇṇa some records in this connection. On enquiry it has been found that the late Mr. Patvardhan's

note on 'Shaji's tomb and the date of his death' published in the *Annual Report* of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samsodhaka Maṇḍal for the year 1915-16, does not make reference to any such paper secured by him. His statement that the samādhi was continued to be worshipped down to 7th January 1733 and that the village of Yerakāṭanahaḷḷi had been assigned for the purpose, is reported to have probably been based on some authority obtained from the land records at Hodiker itself.

From an old photograph obtained through the Amildar of Channagiri, the tomb seems to have consisted originally of a pairlion (now disappeared) and a brick-built platform about a foot in height. It has recently undergone some repairs at the hands of some private men. In the middle of the tomb has been constructed a stepped *dais* and the whole structure has been plastered over with cement. During the repairs some portion of the old structure was dressed up, so that it was possible to examine the type of the bricks employed in the old construction. The bricks are thin and flat and belong to the 17th century. Abutting the north side of the tomb is a short lamb pillar of granite, about 3″ high, with a niche cut in it near the top for keeping oil lamps. The shaft is round in section and conical at the top. The owner of the field stated that there had been standing a similar pillar on the south side of the tomb also. Beyond this no more evidence seemed to be forthcoming.

A certain villager, however, stated that he had seen in his boyhood a stone inscription standing at a little distance to the east of the tomb and that it must have been removed to some other place. Though this inscription could not be found at the time of inspection, a part of the stone has now been traced and found definitely to read:

Sri Shaji
Rājana Sa (mādhi)

It is in Kannaḍa characters and in the Kannaḍa language. It has been reported that it had been embedded originally in the north in front of the tomb, but was broken subsequently and used in later days as a covering slab to the waste weir of the tank. There is thus no doubt that the tomb is that of Shaji.

The epigraphical evidence stated above is also verifiable from some published records in Marathi. A few extracts are translated and given hereunder from Sardesai's *Riyasat*, page 82,—a Marathi work.

"The Bednore Naik[1] rebelled against his master Adil Shah and delayed for long his tributes. Shaji was sent to bring the Naik to his senses and compelled the latter to make ample amends for his mistake.

"Adil Shah was immensely pleased at Shaji's success. So he sent him a congratulatory letter, clothes and jewels, horses and elephants as presents.

"To settle the new territories where peace was established Shaji was *encamped at HODIKERI, near Basavāpaṭṇa.*[2]

"This village was infested by wild beasts; the Rāja liked to hunt them; then the leg of the horse was caught in a hole and both stumbled to the ground. Instantly Shaji lost his senses.

"On 23rd January 1664 A.D. his funeral ceremonies were conducted by Ekoji, his son.

"Adil Shah heard of this misfortune and gave the robes of the mansab to Ekoji.

"Sivāji heard the news soon after his sack of Surat. On the place of the demise of Shaji Siva built a pavilion. The text reads: *Chatri imārat majabūd karavile ; āṇi pādṣāhi sanade ghevūn Yaragāṭanahaḷḷī gāmv tētīl kharcās dila. To gāmv chatrikaḍe adyāp cālat āhe.*"[3]

CONSERVATION NOTE

On Shaji's Tomb at Hodigere

The tomb is an important monument connected with Maratha history. The following steps may be taken to conserve the structure:

It may be declared a 'Protected' monument and put into Class III for conservation purposes.

The small *mandavare* tree to the west of the tomb should immediately be removed.

[1] (? mistake for the Naik of Basavāpaṭṇa).

[2] This proves that Shaji did not die at Basavāpaṭṇa as mentioned by Grant Duff and others. This place is about 25 miles distant from Hodigere.

[3] Jedhe's chronicle.

The land which is about one acre in extent and is surrounded by a hedge may be acquired and properly protected, first by a hedge and later on by a compound wall with a gate.

The ground may be levelled and, if funds are available, a re-inforced concrete or stone mandap or pavilion with a suitably designed tower may be erected.

The funds for the purpose may probably be provided by the Maratha public. The owner of the land is Mr. Nadigar Subbaṇna, the Shanbhogue of the place. The cost of acquiring the plot may come to about Rs. 50 per acre.

KARNĀṬAKA IN ANCIENT TAMIL LITERATURE

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What is today geographically designated the Carnatic which is the territory below the Ghats on the Coromandel Coast covering all Tamil Districts and also the District of Nellore, has nothing to do with the Karnāṭaka of ancient Tamil literature. The Karunāḍu of Tamil literature is undoubtedly the territory above the Ghats, while all Southern India below the Ghats went by the general name of Tamiḷagam. Into the derivation of the term Karnāṭaka we need not enter here. The derivations conjectured by scholars are all fanciful. The Tamil literature is rather explicit on this point, and we shall therefore say a word about it. The ancient classic *S'ilappadikāram* of the second century A.D. refers to this kingdom in more than one place as Karunāḍu. And Karunāḍu may mean a territory with black soil. But it has been interpreted, not without authority, elevated region. As ancient Karnāṭaka was situated on a high plateau, much above the sea level, the early Tamils spoke of this region as Karunāḍu. The Tamiḷagam was covered by the plains below this nāḍu and consequently below the Ghats.[1]

Our endeavour is to trace the relations between Ancient Karnāṭaka and the Tamiḷagam on the strength of the evidence supplied by ancient Tamil literature, especially the *S'angam* literature of the Tamils. Before we proceed to an enumeration of the relations, political or otherwise, between Karnāṭaka and the Tamil land in the early centuries of the Christian era, it is better to say a word about the territorial and geographical divisions of the ancient Karnāṭaka as evidenced by the Tamil literature. To the Tamilian of the *S'angam*

[1] *cp. Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pp. 254-86.

epoch, all territory beyond the other side of Nilgiris formed part and parcel of the Karnāṭaka country. For, do we not read in the Tamil epic *S'ilappadikāram* that when the Cera King S'enguṭṭuvan reached the Nilgiris *en route* to the Ganges, that the country on the other side of the hill presented entirely a different picture—a picture quite in contrast to this side of the hill which formed a part of the ancient Cera kingdom ? That it was summer season when the king set out on march is evident from the story of the *S'ilappadikāram*. When he was camping on the hill, there came to see him the dancing persons of Konkaṇa and of Karnāṭaka of both sexes. Also came there the Kuḍagar, men and women. While the former set of dancers sang in praise of the appearing summer season, the latter set gave expression to the approaching winter season. Thus the poet Iḷanko-Aḍigal who is a shrewd observer of nature shows that at one and the same time, while it was winter for one country it was summer for another. In other words, while it was winter for Kuḍagu kingdom, which we seek to identify with modern Coorg, it was summer for Konkaṇa des'a and Karnāṭaka, as also for the Cera kingdom. Thus the climatic variations due to peculiar geographical situations of each kingdom are vividly brought out.[1]

These lines of the Canto xxvi of the *S'ilappadikāram* enable us to fix approximately the territorial limits of the ancient Karnāṭaka. Karnāṭaka being coupled with Konkaṇa, it is reasonable to assume that these two peoples were neighbours. The ancient Konkaṇa seems to have occupied the northern part of South Kanara and the southern part of modern North Kanara. Their another neighbour was the people of Kuḍagu which we have sought to identify with modern Coorg. Thus a considerable portion of modern Mysore State formed a part of the ancient Karnāṭaka kingdom. Further it is reasonable to suppose that the modern districts of North and South Kanara were then also different territorial units, and these went by the name of Kadamba, Konkaṇa, and Tuḷu kingdoms. The Tuḷus were the residents of the modern South Kanara and the people of this territory were known as Kos'ar and also Nanmoḷikkos'ar which we have sought to identify with the Satyaputras of As'oka's inscriptions. Possibly the Tuḷu kingdom formed the frontier state between Tamiḷagam and Karnāṭaka country proper. The evidence of Tamil *S'angam* literature,

[1] Canto xxvi, ll. 106-121.

with regard to the Kadambas, points out that it was an island kingdom. That it was situated on the sea and that S'enguṭṭuvan's father Imayavaramban Neḍumceralātan led an expedition against that island and routed them by cutting off their guardian tree (*kāval-maram*) are seen from the pages of the *S'ilappadikāram* and the *Patiṟṟuppattu* decade dealing with S'enguṭṭuvan. To venture a conjecture the Kadamba island was originally very near the modern Goa.

Proceeding to examine the boundary limits of ancient Karnāṭaka we have again valuable testimony in Tamil literature. In a stanza in *Ahanānūṟu* attributed to poet Nakkīrar (stanza 253) we have unmistakable evidence of the Erumaināḍu which is said to be under Vaḍugar Perumakan, the great chief of the Vaḍugar.[1] This Erumaināḍu has been conjectured as equivalent to Mahiṣamaṇḍalam from which the modern term Mysore has been derived. Legend shows that it was originally the region of Mahiṣāsura who was discomfited by the Devī who hence came to be known Mahiṣāsuramardanī. According to one theory the Erumaināḍu covered also the modern districts of Anantapur and Bellary.[2] It is reasonable to assume that these districts formed the northern portion of ancient Karnāṭaka. In the west we have the Kadambas, Konkaṇas and Tuḷus. It was bounded on the south by Kuḍagu or Coorg and Salem district which then formed a part of the Cera kingdom. On the east portion of the Karnāṭaka was the little kingdom of Kaṭṭiyar, the northern portion of the present Salem district and all territory east of Karnāṭaka. Thus we are enabled on the testimony of the *S'angam* literature to fix up more or less the boundary limits of ancient Karnāṭakades'a.

The term Vaḍugar in the above paragraph is an interesting expression. Originally it seems to have been used without distinction to both the Telugus and the Kannaḍigas. It was used in the broad, literal sense of northerners. But in course of time the term came to be generally restricted to the Telugus. And in the time of Sundaramūrti svāmigaḷ of the ninth century A.D. we find appropriation by the Vaḍugaveḍuvar of Tirumurugan-pūṇḍi in Coimbatore district. In a

[1] For details see M. Raghava Aiyangar's *Tamils and Andhras in Tamil* (*Sen Tamil*, series 50, pp. 4-5).

[2] According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Kiṣkindha, Ch 11, Dundubhi the asura took the form of Mahiṣa and attacked Vāli king of Kiṣkindha; the powerful Vāli slew him. This shows that Mahiṣa's territory lay close to Kiṣkindha.

padikam, the S'aiva Samayācārya deplores that the shrine of Tiru-murugan-pūṇḍi is in the centre of the Vaḍugaveḍuvar (hunters). This shows that they spread over the Tamil country. But in the *S'angam* age the Vaḍugar meant also the Kannaḍigas.[1] And these must have been the people who led the vanguard of the Mauryan army to the southern Tamil country. But when we come to the eleventh century and examine the *Kalingattupparaṇi*, a composition of that century attributed to Kaviccakravarti Jayamkoṇḍār, we find Vaḍugar definitely used to designate the Telugus. The Kannaḍas are separately mentioned. Jayamkoṇḍār makes the significant remark that the Kannaḍam language is made up of two sister languages Tamil and Vaḍugu.

Does the author of the *Kalingattupparaṇi* speak of his age or refer to the origin and development of language, we cannot say with any satisfaction ? In this connection we cannot refrain from referring to the views of a modern scholar, the late Mr. R. Raghunatha Rao. In his opinion the two schools in Kannaḍa, styled Northern and Southern, by Nṛpatunga and Bhaṭṭākaḷanka, owed their origin primarily to the influence of Telugu and Tamil respectively. His arguments have been examined by R. Narasimhachariar in his *Readership Lectures* as having no valid grounds.[2] Whatever this may be we find Mr. Narasimhachariar himself stating in an earlier chapter the close relationship between Kannaḍa and Tamil, and between Kannaḍa and Telugu, differences apart.[3]

Kannaḍa seems to be an old language while Tuḷu and Koḍagu may be regarded dialects of this language. But, how old it is, it is not possible to determine at this stretch of time. Dr. Hultzsch identified with Kannaḍa some Indian works in a Greek farce, being one of the papyri discovered at Oxyrhyneus in Lower Egypt and assigned to second century A.D.[4] This has received emphasis at the hands of the author of *Ancient Karnataka*, vol. I.[5] If it were to be ultimately proved that the Indian words of the farce are Kannaḍa they may be treated of as Hala Kannaḍa. Mr. Narasimhachariar postulates the theory of primitive or old Kannaḍa, prior to the epoch of Hala Kannaḍa.

[1] See, for example, *Aham*. 115.
[2] *History of Kannada Language*, pp. 123-128.
[3] *ibid.*, p. 36.
[4] *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1904.
[5] Dr. B. A. Saletore, Appendix 1.

If this theory has any force, it once for all proves the antiquity of the Kannaḍa language.

Whether the Old Kannaḍam was indebted to Tamil and Telugu for its development or not, one thing is certain, and it is that foreign words have largely entered into Kannaḍa as in other Dravidian languages and some of them have become even naturalized. Tamil was no exception and it became enriched by the adaptation of Kannaḍa words and expressions in its literature. These expressions foreign to Tamil language but are adapted in its literature characterized by the Tamils as *tis'ais's'ol* or alien words as opposed to *iyars's'ol* or indigenous words. This influence of Kannaḍa in Tamil literature is seen in the *Jīvakacintāmaṇi*, an epic of the 9th century A.D. attributed to one Tiruttakkadevar, who belonged to the *Dramila* (Tamil) *sangha* of the Jains. At this time S'ravana Belgola was the centre of Jain activities and there was frequent intercourse between *Dramila s'angha* and Sravana Belgola, which was at that time a part of the Karnāṭakades'a. This also is true of the other Kāvya, *S'ūlāmaṇi* whose authorship is ascribed to S'rivarttadevar *alias* Tolāmoḷi. According to an inscription[1] S'rivarttadevar followed the author of the *Cintāmaṇi* in point of time. In support of the Kannaḍa influence and the use of *tis'ais's'ol,* the following expressions may be picked out in the *Jīvakacintāmaṇi.*

The foregoing inquiry leads to the irresistible conclusion of mutual borrowing on the part of languages due to some reason or other:

There is little or no evidence in Tamil literature to construct a history of their social life. In the *S'ilappadikāram* passage which we have quoted above, we see Karunāḍar with the attribute *Koḍum,* and the full expression Koḍumkarunāḍar means cruel-hearted Karunāḍar. Why they were styled as fierce men we cannot answer at this distance of time. But with the same breath the epic refers to their musical attainments and expert dancing skill.

Inter-state relations : We have already said that the Kos'ar of the Tuḷu country and the Konganar were neighbours. As neighbours according to the ancient concept of the *maṇḍala* theory, they were hostile to each other. To the Kōs'ar the Konganar were *ari* or enemy, and the ruling chieftain of the Konkan who was a contemporary of

[1] No. 105 Tirumukudal, Varasipur Taluq.

S'enguṭṭuvan was the powerful Nannan. In many a stanza, the S'angam poets speak highly of the valour and prowess of Nannan. His totem tree was the mango tree, as the kaḍambu for the Kadambas. To cut off this totem tree technically called *kāvalmaram* amounted to, according to laws of ancient Tamil warfare, vanquishing the chieftain of the kingdom. Nannan who was the common enemy of both the Kos'ar and the Ceras was attacked by Nārmudicceral who cut off his *kāvalmaram* which was the mango tree.[1] One victory led to the other. At the time of S'enguṭṭuvan it is safe to conjecture that Tuḷu, Konkan and Kadamba countries were independent kingdoms. But S'enguṭṭuvan carried his sword to these kingdoms and brought them under his subjection one after the other. So he became the master of Tuḷu country on the evidence of *Aham* 15 and *Naṟṟiṇai* 391. Whether it was a peaceful or military occupation we have no definite evidence to furnish. We have the evidence, however, of the *S'ilappadikāram* to show that a Kos'ar chieftain by name Palyāni who had his capital at Mohūr was defeated by S'enguṭṭuvan. It may be that the Kos'ar of Tuḷunāḍu voluntarily sought alliance with the Cera king, in as much as they were looked upon with hostility both by the Konganar and the Coḷas. It is said in *Aham* 205 that the Coḷa King Kiḷḷivaḷavan was bent upon a crushing defect of the Kos'ar. S'enguṭṭuvan would have gladly welcomed their alliance in as much as they were noted for their military prowess and honesty and truthfulness.[2] It can be concluded that the Tuḷu Kos'ar cultivated peaceful relations with the Cera king S'enguṭṭuvan with profit both to themselves and the Cera king. In cultivating such relations it is not clear whether they accepted the suzerainty of the Cera ruler or they were independent of the Ceras. The *Uraiperukaṭṭurai* says that they participated in the festival of founding the Pattini shrine by S'enguṭṭuvan and carried the cult with them to their country. According to the evidence furnished by *Aham* 90 the capital of the Tuḷu country was S'ellūr, or more probably Niyamam which lay to the east of S'ellūr, and there has been a dispute as to the location of this city. The editor of the *Naṟṟiṇai* held the view that it may be looked for on the east coast. But it is difficult to accept this in view of the fact that, firstly, the Tuḷu country lay on the west coast, and secondly of the alleged tradition by which

[1] *Kurun.*, 73.

[2] *Maduraik.*, 1. 773, *Agam* 205 and 262.

Paras'urāma is said to have performed sacrifice in this city of Sellūr as could be gathered from a stanza in the *Ahanānūṛu.* (st. 220).[1]

We have again evidence of the *Patiṛṛupattu* and *S'ilappadikāram* to show that S'enguṭṭuvan went north and brought the Kadambas to subjection. There are few lines in the *S'ilappadikāram* which refer to the exploits of S'enguṭṭuvan. According to this the Karunāṭar, Gangar and Kaṭṭiyar were also discomfited by the Cera king. Unfortunately we have no details of these expeditions. But it is a fact that Karunāṭaka with its eastern suburbs of the Kaṭṭiyarṅāḍu and Ganganādu were brought under his suzerainty. From this it is evident that the Gangas and Kaṭṭiyar were independent chiefs during the age of S'enguṭṭuvan and had an early history of which we have scanty or no record. Even the semi-historical work *Kongudēs'arājakkalcaritai* does not take us very far. According to this testimony the first Ganga ruler was one Konganivarman whose date may be tentatively fixed about 190 A. D. If this date could be accepted for Konganivarman, then he must have been the first king after the Gangas became independent which must have been under the weak successors of S'enguṭṭuvan.

[1] For the legend of Paras'urāma in connection with the legendary origins of Malabar and Tulu, see B. A. Saletore: *Ancient Karnataka*, Vol. I, pp.

BADAPA AND TALA
TWO EASTERN CĀLUKYAN KINGS

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ALL records assign twenty-five years for the rule of Amma II. As the date of his coronation is given in one his grants (*I.A.* xiii, 213) as S'aka 867, his reign must have lasted till 970 A.D. Amma was succeeded by his elder brother Dānārṇava for three years. Then, according to all but one of the inscriptions of the line of Dānārṇava, the Andhra country was without a king for twenty-seven years 973-999 A.D. The only exception, the Chellur grant of Kulottuṅga II gives thirty years to Dānārṇava and does not refer to the period of *anāyakam*.

The line of Dānārṇava is continued after 999 A.D. by his son S'aktivarman. Working backward from the known date of the coronation of Vimalāditya the brother and successor of S'aktivarman, *viz.*, 1011 A.D. we may date the beginning of S'akti's reign in 999 A.D.

What happened in 973-999 A.D.? Was there no king then? Who restored the original line after 999 A.D.? Was the reign of Amma II closed abruptly in his eleventh year? These questions have not been satisfactorily answered.

The Korumelli grant of Rājarāja (*I. A.* xiv, 52) speaks of a feverish desire, for twenty-seven years, to obtain a suitable lord consumed the earth, which was without a leader (*anāyika*). The Chellur grant of Vīra Coda says 'for twenty-seven years, through the spite of fate, the land of Veṅgi was without a leader' (*S.I.I.*, i, 54).

But, new light has been thrown on this dark period by two copper-plates of the brothers Badapa and Tala, sons of Yuddhamalla, of a collateral family. The Arumbaka (*E.I.* xix, 137) and Sripundi (*E.I.*, xix, 145) charters of Badapa and Tala establish beyond doubt

that they were rulers after Amma II though, for obvious reasons, the successors of Dānārṇava considered Badapa and Tala as usurpers and omitted them from their genealogical lists. The usurpers' grants do not speak of *anāyika* or anarchy for any length of time, though undoubtedly, their pretensions backed up by the ever-ready Rāṣṭrakūṭa must have caused disorder in the kingdom.

According to the Mangallu grant (*M.E.R.* 1917, 117), Ammarāja II, in the eleventh year of his reign, proceeded to Kalinga to meet the Raṭṭa King Kṛṣṇa III, after making his brother Dānārṇava regent in Veṅgi. Kṛṣṇa must have instigated Kalinga against Amma or helped Badapa and Tala to disturb the peace of the northern part of Amma's kingdom. Badapa calls Amma ruler of Veṅgi and Trikalinga. He must have triumphed over Badapa now as he is said to have ruled for twenty-five years. If Badapa had defeated and exiled Ammarāja now as the Arumbaka plates say, then Amma's reign could have lasted only 11 years. Ammarāja must have defeated Badapa and crowned himself *again* as the undisputed ruler in S'aka 880 as the Bezwada plates give that date for his coronation (*M.E.R.* 1915, 90).

The grand titles Badapa bore and the nobles that he befriended show clearly that he was ruler over the whole country. The whole story of Badapa may be summed up thus.

Badapa son of Yuddhamalla with his younger brother Tala as lieutenant sought the help of the Raṭṭa in about 956 A.D. and they invaded the northern division of Kaliṅga or the present South Ganjam and North Vizagapatam Districts. Amma, full of wrath at this misdeed of Kṛṣṇa, started north leaving Dānārṇava as regent. He succeeded in arresting their attempts and returned and resumed his rule. Towards the end of the reign of Amma, Badapa gave trouble again with the help of Kaṇṇārarāja Vallabha who lived on to about 968 A.D. This time he succeeded in defeating and exiling Ammarāja in 970 A.D. Dānārṇava inherited Amma's claims and held out for three years against Badapa but he too was routed as the Arumbaka plates say that Badapa defeated the other *dāyas*. Then, he ruled, for how long we dont know, assuming the grand titles Rājamārtaṇḍa, Samstabhuvanās'raya, Vijayāditya Mahārāja, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Paramamāhes'vara, Adhirāja etc. His brother Mahārājādhirāja Tadabhūpāla was ruler for some time after his brother's death.

Both the Arumbaka and Sripundi charters make grants in Velanāṇḍu viṣaya (between Nurvid and Repalle), the former to Amma's brother-in-law and the latter to another noble of the Pallava-malla family. The former praises the donee's skill in archery and the latter records the death of the donee's father in the cause of Tala. So, Badapa and Tala alienated the sympathies of some of the nobles from the side of Ammarāja.

From 999 A.D. it is clear that S'aktivarman was ruler. According to the Kāñcīpuram inscription of Rājarāja Coḷa (*S.I.I.* Pt. V), a Telugu Coḷa king Gata Coda Bhīma took hold of a large part of Andhra and he was dispossessed by Rājarāja Coḷa (who restored the country to its legitimate ruler, S'aktivarman, and established order where chaos prevailed before).

The Kāñcīpuram inscription is divided into two sections. The first dated S'aka 924 enumerates the kings from Vijayāditya III to Dānārṇava, a devotee of Bhīmes'vara, who had many vassals one of whom was the Vaidumba. The second section speaks of of Dānārṇava Nṛpakāma who defeated the armies of his enemies and despatched Dānārṇava to heaven, evidently a Kaliṅga king who invaded the Eastern Cālukyan kingdom.

Rājarāja Coḷa was invited by the Andhra legitimist branch or he came to conquer. Either way, he took Veṅgi before his 14th year, 999 A.D. The Tiruvalangadu plates say that Rājarāja defeated an Andhra king named Bhīma. It was hitherto thought that he was Vimalāditya who was also known as Mummidi Bhīma. But, Vimalāditya ascended the throne in 1011 A.D. and Rājarāja Coḷa conquered Veṅgi before 999 A.D. So Rājarāja's Andhra foe Bhīma was Gata Coda Bhīma who usurped the Andhra kingdom after Tala's death.

S'aktivarman is said to have fought with the Coḷa Bhīma while young who died like Rāvaṇa at the hands of this Cālukya Nārāyaṇa (*M.E.R.* 1918, 132). This is, again, another reference to Gata Coda defeated by Rājarāja Coḷa. As a result of Rājarāja's conquest of Veṅgi on behalf of Dānārṇava, a friendship arose between, the Andhra and Drāviḍa royal families which fructified in the marriage of Rājarāja's daughter Kundavi to Vimalāditya the second son of Dānārṇava.

STUDIES IN EARLY BUDDHIST HISTRIOGRAPHY

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Buddhism introduced into Indian literature two of its branches till then imperfectly, if at all devoloped. These were the branches of sacred biography and church-history. It is true that the antecedent Vedic literature was not wanting in figures of teachers and successions of teachers of the Brahmanical sacrificial ritual. The Brāhmaṇas contain Vams'as ('genealogies') giving lists of teachers, sometimes fifty or sixty in lineal succession, who are credited with handing down one or other portion of the ritual from the gods. Apart from these general lists, individual teachers like Yājñavalkya and S'āṇḍilya are quoted as authorities for distinct portions of the later Vedic Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas. But these authors were, essentially, interpreters of the sacred tradition which had gathered into a great mass in course of time. It was therefore no wonder that the *vams'as* remained mere lists of names without even the elements of a biography. On the other hand, the rise of various religious movements at the epoch of the rise of Buddhism, brought into the forefront a number of Teachers who were marked out from their predecessors by their more or less distinctive teachings, who personified as it were in themselves the whole of their message. Nothing, therefore, could be more natural than that the lives of these Masters should from the first form the subject of reverent investigations by their disciples. What we have said about the biographies of these Teachers would apply in a like manner to the history of their religious orders. It is only with two of these religious movements, Buddhism and Jainism and more specially with the first, that the student of early Indian histriography is concerned.

It would obviously be improper to judge by the modern critical standards the old Buddhist historical or quasi-historical texts such as we find embedded in the Pali and Sanskrit canonical literatures. They transport us to an atmosphere where the heroic poetry was very much in vogue, where beast-fables delighted the hearts of learned and unlearned alike, where the doctrines of rebirth and *karma* were held to have undisputed sway over the lives and actions of men. The pious monks, probably the reciters (*bhāṇakas*) of the discourses, who composed the texts centuries after the event, looked upon their Master as the great Path-finder, possessed of the three-fold knowledge and the ten powers, who had qualified himself for his high calling by his strenuous strivings in previous successive births. (For the conception of Buddha's personality in the Pali canon, see E. J. Thomas, *History of Buddhist Thought*, pp. 148-150). And yet it is not unprofitable to study their works if only to discover the successive layers of the legend and the principles of their growth. In the present paper I shall confine myself to a small portion of my subject, *viz.*, the biography of the Buddha, reserving the lives of Buddhist saints and the history of the Buddhist Church for a separate treatment.

In the whole range of Pali canonical literature, there is no connected biography of the Buddha. Interspersed with the canonical texts on Doctrine and Discipline, however, are a number of episodes describing the Master's ancestry and birth, His infancy and youth, His renunciation, austerities and enlightenment, His career as a wandering preacher and lastly His *nirvāṇa*. The same appears to have been the case with the oldest parts of the Sanskrit canon. Out of these separate legends were, woven in later times and with numerous additions, complete biographies of the Buddha, such as we find in the Pali commentaries and chronicles as well as the Sanskrit *Mahāvastu* and *Lalitavistāra*.

The form and contents of the early Buddhist historical or semi-historical texts were determined by the circumstances of their origin. Like all expanding religions, Buddhism was split up in course of time into a number of schools of sects. The present Pali canonical literature represents the scriptures of only one of these schools, the Theravādins. There is good reason to believe that a canonical literature essentially similar to this one existed already in the time of Asoka (*cf.* Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 18 ; E. J. Thomas,

Early Buddhist Scriptures, Introduction, p. xxi; Geiger, *Pali Literatur und Sprache*, p. 7). The canonical literature of other schools has been preserved in the form of Sanskrit fragment recently brought to light in Central Asia, as well as in Tibetan and Chinese translations. It is, however, a curious fact that the sacred works of these schools at first were handed down by oral tradition alone and were not put to writing till centuries afterwards, thus according to a tradition of the *Dīpavamsa* and *Mahāvaṁsa* which has been accepted as trustworthy, the Pali Tripiṭaka was fixed in writing for the first time under the Simhalese king Vaṭṭagāmani in the first century B.C. (*cf.* Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Geiger, *loc. cit.*) Now the oral mode of transmitting the canon has been traditional in India since the early Vedic times and it has been shown in the case of the Vedic literature how it was possible by a series of elaborate arrangements to preserve the purity of the sacred texts with conspicuous success. In so far as the Buddhist doctrinal teachings are concerned the oral tradition was attended with the same happy results. A comparison of the Scriptures of the Theravādins with those of the Mahāsāmghikas and the Sarvāstivādins shows not only a common doctrinal basis but also a common arrangement of discourses and monastic rules (*cf.* Thomas, *Early Buddhist Scriptures*, Introduction, p. xii). In the case of the stories and legends of Buddha's life, however, there was from the first a strong doctrinal motive for transforming his personality into that of a Superman. In this process of transformation, the authentic facts of the Teacher's life tended to be obscured or forgotten, while numerous legends gathered around the various incidents of his career from his birth to his *Nirvāṇa*. How early these legends found their way into recognition will appear from the fact that the romantic tales of Buddha's miraculous conception and birth and the dogmatic beliefs about the six preceding Buddhas occur in the texts of the Pali as well as Sanskrit canon.

Beginning with the ancestry of the Buddha, we have a Pali canonical discourse, the *Ambaṭṭha sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* which gives a story of the folk-lore type about the origin of the S'ākyas. There the origin is traced to the eponymous ancestors, four brothers and their sisters, who, expelled by their royal father at the behest of their step-mother, took refuge on the Himalayan slopes where they intermarried with each other to preserve the purity of their race. (For

the *Ambaṭṭha sutta*, see Text in *D. N.*, P. T. S. edition, Vol. I, pp. 92-93; tr., Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. I, pp. 114-15. On the relation of this legend to the Rāma story in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and especially in the *Das'aratha Jātaka*, see E. J. Thomas, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 10-12 and the authorities quoted there). From the polemical way in which this story of S'ākya origins is put forward—as an answer to the proud Brahman's description of them as menials—it would seem that there was at this time some dispute about the ancestry of the S'ākya people. Whatever that may be, the above story marks a deliberate attempt to ennoble the origin of the Buddha which is not justified by the incidental allusions to the comparative insignificance of the S'ākya stock in other parts of the canon (*cf.* Thomas, *op. cit.* p. 20). Of the genealogy of the Buddha, the Pali canon gives very slender details. Only in such admittedly late suttas as the Mahāpadāna sutta of *Dīgha Nikāya* and the Buddhavams'a involving the dogmatic belief in a succession of Buddhas, do we come across the names of Gautama's father and mother along with his birth-place. There is no trace in the canonical literature of any attempt on the one hand to connect the S'ākyas with Mahāsammata, the first king of the present cycle according to Buddhist beliefs, and on the other to carry forward the descent of S'ākya kings to the Buddha. Such connected accounts are found for the first time in the Pali commentaries and chronicles, in the *Mahāvastu* and in the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins (*cf.* tr. of Buddhaghoṣa's commentary on *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* in Thomas, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 7-10; *Mahāvastu*, p. 338 ff; Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, Ch. I, etc.). There can be little doubt that these later developments were inspired by the Purāṇic accounts of the descent of royal houses from the fabled Manu, the son of Vivasvān.

Of the conception and birth of the Buddha, we have a number of stories or legends alike in the Theravāda (Pali) canon and in the canon of the Sarvāstivādins and other sects. In its simplest and most general form it occurs in the Soṇadāṇḍa sutta of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, where it is said that the Samana Gotama is "well-born on both sides, of pure descent through the mother and through the father back through seven generations with no slur put upon him and no reproach in respect of birth" (Text in *D.N.*, P.T.S. ed., Vol. I, p. 115; tr. in Rhys Davids, *Dialogues*, Vol. I, p. 146). With this

contrast the elaborate account in the Acchariya-abbhuta-dhamma-sutta of *Majjhima Nikāya*, which Ānanda recounts to the assembled monks exactly as he has heard it from the lips of his Master. The Bodhisatta lived in his Tusita form during the whole term of his existence. Leaving this form, he entered his mother's womb to the accompaniment of a measureless vast effulgence. As soon as he entered his mother's womb, four deities guarded the four cardinal points to keep watch over the precious child, while the mother is freed from all physical and mental ailments. The mother gives birth in an erect position and the child as it issues out from his mother's womb is received by the gods and bathed with two jets of water starting from mid-air. Then he takes seven strides to the north proclaiming his pre-eminence. This is attended, as before, by the outburst of super-natural effulgence (Text in *Majjhima Nikāya*, P.T.S. ed., Vol. III, pp. 119-122; Tr. in Chalmers *Further Dialogues*, Part II, p. 223 ff; *ibid*., Thomas, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 30-31). The above extract professes to trace Buddha's antecedent existence in the Tusita heaven ("Heaven of Delight"). To what extent this pious belief in the previous lives of the Buddha was developed thus early is shown by the existence of two separate works, the *gāthās* of the Jātaka and the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, as constituents of the canon. The characteristic incident of the Bodhisatta assuming the form of a white elephant, however, before entering his mother's womb, is not found till we reach the later works like the Nidānakathā and the *Lalitavistāra*.

Another sutta of the Pali canon, the Nālakasutta of the *Sutta Nipāta*, of which parallel versions occur in the *Lalitavistāra* and the Nidānakathā, introduces us to one of the most famous episodes of the Buddha's infancy. This is the visit of the sage Asita to see the Holy Child shortly after His birth. The metrical introduction (*Vatthu-gāthā*) of the Nālakasutta, which contains this legend, belongs to the class of metrical narratives or ballads out of which the later Buddha epic has grown (*cf*. Winternitz, *op. cit*., p. 96 and the authorities there quoted). Not only in its form but in its contents it anticipates the later works. For it describes through the mouth of the sage the Bodhisatta's possession of the external marks of the Superman and the famous prophecy of his attaining the summit of enlighten-ment (See *Sutta Nipāta*, 679-698; tr. in Thomas, *Early Buddhist*

Scriptures, pp. 1-5, *cf.* also Nidanakathā, V. Fausboll's ed. of the Jātaka, Vol. I, pp. 54 ff. and tr. in Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, pp. 157-160. Also cf. *Lalitavistāra*, Lefmann's ed., p. 101 ff. and tr. in Thomas, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 39-41).

In the Mahāpadāna sutta of the *Dīgha Nikāya* the career of the Buddha is brought into relation with the Buddhist concept of the great time-cycles (*kalpas*) and their divisions, which are marked by diminishing durations of the span of human lives. In the course of these *kalpas*, we are told, there have arisen seven Buddhas, *viz.* Vipassi, Sikhi, Vissabhu, Kakusandha, Konāgamana, Kassapa and Gotama. The lives of these Buddhas follow a uniform pattern. For the text gives for each of them in identical phraseology his particular time-cycles, his *jāti* and *gotta*, his tree of enlightenment, his two chief disciples and his usual attendant, his parents and birth-place. What is more, the miraculous story of Gotama's conception and birth such as we have quoted from the *Majjhima Nikāya* text above-mentioned is found to be repeated *verbatim* in the case of the first Buddha (Text in *Dīgha Nikāya*, P.T.S. ed., Vol. II, p. 2ff; tr. in Rhys Davids, *Dialogues*, p. 5ff.)

The lives or legends of the Buddhas are described at greater length in another work of the Pali canon to which we have referred above. This work is the *Buddhavamsa* which is incorporated in the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. It gives in as many chapters the legends of the twenty-four Buddhas supposed to have preceded Gotama in the past twelve *kalpas* and it winds up in the last chapter with a sort of autobiography describing in Gotama's own words his last earthly existence. The tendency towards systematization which was noticed above is still more prominent in the present text, where the same principal incidents are repeated in a very monotonous fashion about the career of each of these Buddhas.

It will be noticed, from the above, that we have here, as in other cases, an initial stage of plain and matter-of-fact narrative. In the next stage the narrative has grown into a mythological account professing to trace the story to Buddha's antecedent existence in the Tusita heaven and claiming a supernatural conception and birth for the holy child. In the last stage the legend has been inter-twined with Buddhist cosmological and cosmogonic concepts of *kalpas* with their outcrop of Buddhas and the whole has been standardized according to a single pattern.

The stories or legends of the Buddha's renunciation, austerities and enlightenment are told in a number of passages in the Pali canon. In the Ariya-pariyesana sutta (Discourse of the Noble Quest) of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, the Bodhisatta tells us that he at first pursued what was subject like himself to rebirth, decay and the rest. Then when he reflected on their vanities, he was led to pursue the "consummate peace of Nirvāṇa which knows neither rebirth nor decay, neither disease nor death, neither sorrow nor impurity." He then started despite the wishes of his parents who wept and lamented, to go forth from the householder's to the homeless life. He sought instruction successively from Āḷāra Kālāma and Udaka Rāmaputta, but finding no satisfaction he came to the township of Uruvela where he sought and won "the consummate peace of Nirvāṇa." (Text in *Majjhima N.*, P. T. S. ed., Vol. I, pp. 160-175; tr. in Chalmers, *Further Dialogues*, Part I, pp. 113-118; in Thomas, *Early Buddhist Scriptures*, pp. 9-15 and 23-29).

Another equally connected account occurs in the Mahāsaccaka sutta of the *Majjhima N.*, which speaks of the renunciation in still more general terms and describes the austerities at great length. Here we are told that the Bodhisatta, reflecting on the contrast between life at home and life in the open, donned the yellow robes and went forth from a householder's to a homeless life. There flashed on him the three allegories which led him to practise the hardest austerities till at last, convinced of their futility, he renounced his fasting and was able to enter into the four successive trances and attain the supreme knowledge (Text in *Majjhima N.*, P. T. S. ed., Vol. I, pp. 240-249; tr. in Rhys Davids, *Dialogues*, pp. 173-178; Thomas, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 62-68; ibid., *Early Buddhist Scriptures*, pp. 19-22).

In contrast with the above more or less general accounts we have other legends and traditions dealing with this specific episode of the Buddha's career. A passage in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* attempts to give a dramatic turn to the incidents of the Renunciation. The Buddha, we are told, was a delicately nurtured youth having for himself three lotus pools and three palaces (one for the cold, one for the hot and one for the rainy season). There came to him the poignant reflection on old age, sickness and death and all the elation in life disappeared (Text in *Aṅguttara N.*, P.T.S. ed., Vol. I, p. 145;

tr. in Thomas, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 47 and 51). It seems unlikely that the above is based on a genuine historical tradition if only because of the essentially poetical character of the story of the three palaces which is likewise told of Vipassi Buddha in the Mahāpadāna sutta above quoted (*Dīgha Nikāya*, Vol. II, p. 21) and of the noble youth Yasa in the Mahāvagga of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, (Vol. I, p. 15). With the further development of the legend in which Gautama's abstract reflections are made to take the concrete shapes of an aged man, a sick man and a corpse, followed as a dramatic contrast by the sight of a contemplative hermit, we are not here concerned. It is, however, important to remember that even this development which is found in *Nidānakathā* (Tr. in Thomas, *Life*, pp. 52-53), the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya (Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 22 ff.) and other works, is anticipated in the story of Buddha Vipassi as described in the Mahāpadāna sutta above-mentioned (Text in *Dīgha Nikāya*, Vol. II, pp. 21-29 ; Tr. in Rhys Davids *Dialogues*, pp. 18-22).

The canonical texts above-quoted are silent about the temptation of Māra which plays such a conspicuous part in the later works as well as in the late Buddhist art from the Gandhāra school downwards. The Padhānasutta (Discourse of Striving) of the *Sutta Nipāta*, however, of which parallel versions exist in the Sanskrit *Mahāvastu* and *Lalitavistāra*, contain the first suggestion of this legend. In this sutta not only is Māra said to have vainly tempted the Buddha while engaged in the performance of austerities, but Lust, Aversion, Hunger and Thirst are personified as Māra's armies and Māra himself is said to have surrounded the Buddha with his elephant arrayed in battle (Text of Padhānasutta in *Sutta Nipāta*, P. T. S. ed., 425-429 ; cf. *Mahāvastu*, Vol. II, p. 238 and *Lalitavistāra*, p. 327). It is easy to understand how the dramatic rendering of the Buddha's spiritual struggles during his strivings developed in the later legend into the story of an actual conflict between the Bodhisatta and the Power of Evil at the moment of the former's attainment of the supreme enlightenment.

The story of the Buddha's last year, his *nirvāṇa* and his funeral, is told in a number of texts in the Pali as well as Sanskrit canonical literature. These consist, on the one hand, of the Sagātha sutta of the Pali *Saṁyutta Nikāya* and the oft-quoted *Mahaparinibbāna sutta* of the Pali *Dīgha Nikāya* and on the other hand, of the Nirvāṇa sūtras of the Sanskrit *Saṁyukta Āgama* as well as those of the *Vinaya*

of the Sarvāstivadins and the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins. Of these, the Sanskrit *Saṁyukta Āgama* and the Mūla-Sarvāstivādin *Vinaya* are preserved in translation in the Chinese Tripiṭaka which the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya is preserved in the Dulva section of the Tibetan Bkah-gyur. To the French scholar, Jean Przyluski, belongs the credit of the most thorough examination of the different parinirvāṇa texts making it possible to trace the gradual accretion of the legendary matter therein. Thus in the first place, regarding the so-called 'stanzas of lamentation' uttered by various personages, human and divine, immediately after the Buddha's death, Przyluski observes:

> "In the canon of the Sthaviras as much as in that of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, we discern in the last analysis two *parinirvāṇa* sūtras: one very short, almost entirely recorded in verse (Saṁyukta Āgama and Pali Saṁyukta Nikāya), the other, which reproduces the stanzas of the first, while inserting in it long developments in prose (Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivadins and the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta." (*Le Parinirvāna et les funerailles du Buddha Journal Asiatique*, Mai-Juin 1918, pp. 511-512, English tr. by the present writer).

Proceeding further with his analysis of the stanzas above mentioned, Przyluski points out that while the versified portions of the *Avadānas'ataka* and the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya predicate of the Buddha a simple funeral, the prose portions of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya and the Pali *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* attribute to him a pompous funeral like that of *cakravartins*. His view on this point may be explained in his own words as follows:

> "Before being deified S'āykamuni was in the eyes of the faithful not essentially different from other men. He was a *bhikṣu par excellence*. The most ancient tradition accordingly recorded that he had the funeral of a religieux and was shrouded in the *cīvaras*. Meanwhile the popular conscience had conceived a type of kings superior to the greatest monarchs of the earth . . . This grand movement of ideas had a profound repercussion upon the legend of the Buddha. . . . The legend of king Mahāsudassana is perhaps the most typical example of this kind. It was bodily inserted in the *Ta-pan-nio-p'an-king* and the other nirvāṇasūtras. But the redactors of Dīgha preferred to isolate it for making it an independent

sutta. This legend had for its object to show that S'ākyamuni in his past existences was a puissant *cakravartin* king . . . The ancient ceremonial of Buddha's funeral appeared from that time to be very vulgar. The sacred body, marvellously beautiful, could not have been shrouded in coarse clothes, common and slovenly. Ere long it was admitted that the funerals of S'akyamuni had been as pompous as those of *cakravartin* kings. It was even pretended that shortly before his death, he had clearly expressed his intentions on the subject" (J. Przyluski, *op. cit.*, pp. 514-515, English trans. by the present writer).

In the above account, we can trace the development of the conception of Buddha's personality from an ordinary human being to a Superman, the equivalent of a universal Emperor. Another line of evolution may be traced in the account of the last journey of Buddha forming the prelude to the closing scenes of his life in the different redactions of the Nirvāṇa-sūtras. On this point again, we can quote the views of the French scholar just mentioned:

"The uddānas (verses of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya) enable us to go back to an epoch when the Magadha kingdom was the citadel of Buddhism. At this stage which we might call 'the era of Rājagṛha,' the account of the last journey of the Buddha consisted essentially of a series of discourses which Bhagavat was supposed to have pronounced in course of the route . . . Vais'āli was then in contemplation only for mentioning the last look cast at it by the Master and perhaps also for the reception of Buddha by the courtesan Ambapāli. The diffusion of Buddhism in the Vṛjji country marked the beginning of a second period. Vais'āli acquired a puissant influence in its church. It attracted, while giving them an original turn, a certain number of traditions till then localized elsewhere. A new episode of the biography of the Buddha, the scene of 'the rejection of life,' was likewise laid at Vais'āli. The theologians introduced into the account the words of blame addressed to Ānanda and a new theory on the stages of the moral life . . . All these traits which characterized the period of Vais'āli are much more accentuated in the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta than in the Parinirvāṇasūtra of Mūlasarvāstivādins,

Finally, the new faith spread into new regions and stretched to the foot of the Himalayas. The opulent city of S'rāvastī, ennobled in its turn, attracted to its territory a great number of legends and edifying scenes. Under the influence of this new current the account of the last journey of Buddha broke up, and some of its elements, transported towards the north, were finally gathered up by the compilers of the Sanskrit Ekottara-Agama" (Przyluski, *op. cit.*, Nov.-Dec. 1918, pp. 455-456 tr. by the present writer).

Let us conclude this brief and imperfect survey with some general remarks on the nature and services of early Buddhist Historiography. We have seen how the canon presents us as yet not with a connected narrative of the Buddha's biography, but with detached notices relating to the various episodes of his career. These notices obviously do not belong to the same chronological or intellectual stratum. Some texts (or portions of the same texts) are simple and matter-of-fact accounts, while others are embellished with much legendary and dogmatic matter. We have thus on the one hand the picture of a very human Teacher, earnest in imparting his message to all and sundry, remorseless in vanquishing his opponents with his logic and withal overflowing with human sympathy and kindness. On the other hand, there is conjured up before our eyes a Superman having a long series of proto-types in the remote past, the chief incidents of whose career are marked by miracles and legends. In so far as the oldest narratives are concerned, we may grant that they are not the compositions of eye-witnesses, but we have no doubt that they have handed down the genuine tradition of the founder's career. The strange view of R. O. Francke which looks upon Gautama Buddha as but a dogmatic conception has been condemned on just and proper grounds (See Winternitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 598-601 and the authorities there quoted). To the other arguments advanced against Francke's view, we may add one derived from the analogy of Caitanya's biography. It is a fact that the biographical notices of this great Bengali saint of the late 15th and early 16th centuries, unlike those of the Buddha go back to the Teacher's own life-time. One of these contemporary writers, Murāri Gupta, tells us how Caitanya, after the great spiritual crisis of his career (his visit to Gaya and initiation by Īs'varapurī) was proclaimed as a portion of

Viṣṇu. What is more, he was consecrated as a deity in the presence of a large number of his disciples and his own image was set up for worship in a number of different places almost immediately after he had assumed the vow of *sannyāsa* (See Biman Bihari Majumdar, *Caitanya-Cariter Upādān* in Bengali. Published by the Calcutta University 1939, pp. 590-605). If such was the fate of Caitanya in his own life-time, it was no matter for surprise that the historical Buddha should have been invested with extra-human attributes in the course of oral transmission of his teaching. For the rest, the stories of the Buddha's life in the Pali canon are not without interest for subsequent times. They lay down in broad outline the legend which was filled in by the authors of the Aṭṭhakathās, the source-books of the Pali commentaries and chronicles, and by the latter compilers of the Sanskrit quasi-canonical works. Thus was formed what may be called the standard biography of the Buddha which dominated Buddhist art and literature till it was thrown into the shade by the rise of Docetic ideas in the schools of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

THE CAPITALS OF THE VĀKĀṬAKAS

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The late Dr. Jayaswal first advocated the theory that the Vākāṭakas were, by origin, a northern power. He found a village named Bāgāṭ 'in the northernmost part of the Orchha State,—six miles east of Chirgaon of the British District of Jhansi.'[1] He thought that the dynastic name Vākāṭaka was derived from the name of this village which was the original home of these princess, just as Traikūṭaka is derived from Trikūṭa. In support of his view he essayed to show that three coins discovered at Kosam and another place in North India were issued by Pravarasena I, Rudrasena I and Prithivīṣeṇa I.[2] The first two, according to him, bear the dates 76 and 100 respectively which he referred to the era of A.D. 248. This era, though called by the name of the Cedi or Kalacūri era, was, according to Jayaswal, really started by the Vākāṭakas. But Jayaswal's readings of the legends and figures on the coins are extremely doubtful.[3] Besides, his theory that the Cedi era was really founded by the Vākāṭakas is disproved by the fact that the Vākāṭakas themselves never used it, but dated all their records in regnal years. Besides, if the Vākāṭakas had really come from the north, their early inscriptions should have been found in North India. But this is not the case. The earliest inscription of the Vākāṭakas was found at Deotek in the Chanda District of the Central Provinces. It records the construction of a *dharma-sthāna* by Rudrasena whom

[1] *History of India 150 to 350 A.D.*, p. 67.

[2] *ibid.*, pp. 108 ff.

[3] See, for instance, Dr. Altekar's criticism of his reading of the coins ascribed to Rudrasena I, *Numismatic Supplement.* No. XLVI, Art. 331.

I have shown elsewhere [1] on the evidence of palæography to be Rudrasena I. Several copper-plate inscriptions of Pravarasena II [2] and an incomplete one of Pṛithivīṣeṇa II [3] have been discovered in the Central Provinces and Berar. The only records connected with the Vākāṭaka dynasty which have been discovered to the north of the Narmadā are the Indore plates of Pravarasena II [4] and the Nachna [5] and Ganj [6] inscriptions of Vyāghradeva, a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka King Prithivīṣeṇa. Of these the first, though discovered in North India, may or may not be a northern record; for copper-plates, like coins and seals, are often discovered in places far removed from their original provenance. The identification of the localities mentioned in them is the only sure guide to their original place; and it is noteworthy that none of the villages mentioned in the Indore plates has yet been identified. As for the Nachna and Ganj records, Pṛithivīṣeṇa, the suzerain of Vyāghradeva who caused them to be incised, must be identified with Pṛithivīṣeṇa II as shown by Prof. Dubreuil and Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit. Vyāghradeva is, therefore, probably identical with the Uccakalpa prince Vyāghra, who, we know, was ruling over the adjoining territory in the same period [7]. The Bālāghāṭ plates of Pṛithivīṣena II state the ruler of Malwa was a feudatory of his father Narendrasena and it is not unlikely that Pṛithivīṣeṇa's own authority was recognized in Central India towards the close of the fifth century A.D. None of these three records, therefore, afford any sure proof that the Vākāṭakas originally came from the North.

We find, on the other hand, that the Vākāṭaka inscriptions bear unmistakable affinity to early Pallava records. Like the Pallava grants the Vākāṭaka plates begin with *dṛṣṭam*. In the beginning of both there is an enumeration of the Vedic sacrifices performed by

[1] See my article entitled 'New Light on Deoṭek Inscription' in the *Proceedings of the Eighth Oriental Conference*, p. 613.

[2] *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 235 ff. and 243 ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 258 ff.; Vol. XXII, pp. 167 ff.; Vol. XXIII, pp. 81 ff.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 267 ff.

[4] *ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 52 ff.

[5] *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 233 ff.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 12 ff.

[7] The known dates of his son Jayanātha are the years 174 and 177 which probably refer to the Gupta era. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 171 ff.

the donor or his ancestors. There is, besides, a close similarity in the phraseology of their formal portions.[1] These resemblances, some of which are very striking, are surely not accidental. As the rule of the Pallavas never extended to the Central Provinces and Berar, we cannot explain them as due to the employment by the Vākāṭakas of the clerks who are previously in the Secretariat of the Pallavas. They point to some connection of the Vākāṭakas with the Pallavas and this is corroborated by the discovery of an inscription of a Vākāṭaka householder on a pillar at Amraoti in the Āndhra country.[2] That the rule of the Early Pallavas extended to the Āndhra country in the North is well known; for the Mayidavolu plates of the Pallava king S'ivaskandavarman record the grant of a village in the Andhāpatha (Āndhrapatha) to two Brāhmaṇas.[3] Mere discovery of a pilgrim record at a holy place is, of course, no clear evidence that the pilgrim was a resident of that or even of a neighbouring place; but in conjunction with the close similarity in a number of technical expressions, which can not be merely accidental, it may be taken to point to some sort of connection between the two royal houses. We shall not be, therefore, wrong if we suppose that the Vākāṭakas had their home in the South.

The earliest capitals of the Vākāṭaka were Purikā and Canakā. The Purāṇas state that Pravīra, the son of Vindhyas'akti, who has been rightly identified with Pravarasena I, ruled for sixty years at Purikā and Canakā.[4] Jayaswal's identification of Canakā with Nacnā can not be accepted in the absence of corroborative proof. As for Purikā, it was situated, according to the *Harivaṃs'a*[5] at the foot of

[1] Compare, for instance, the following Prākṛt expressions in the Pallava grants (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 5-6 and Vol. VI, p. 87) with their Sanskrit counterparts noticed in Vākāṭaka records *viz.* appaṇa kulāgottasa dhamm-āyu-bala-yaso-vadhanike *with* dharm-māyur-bala-vijaya-ais'varya-vivṛiddhaye ; a-dūdhadadhi-gahaṇam and a-haritaka-sāka-pup pha-gahaṇam *with* a-puṣpakṣira-candohaḥ , a-lona-ghādakaṁ and a-loṇa-gula-ccho-bhaṁ *with* a-lavaṇa-kliṇṇa-kreni-khanakaḥ ; a-bhaḍa-papesam *with* a-bhaṭa-cchātra-prāves'yaḥ ; a-kara-veṭṭhi-koṁjalla *with* sarva-viṣṭi-parihāra-parihṛitaḥ ; a-pāraṁpara-balivadda-gahaṇaṁ *with* a-pārampara-go-balivardaḥ. Notice also the close similartiy between amha-pesaṇa-ppayutte samcarantaka-bhaḍa-manusāṇa *with* asmatsantakāḥ sarvādhyakṣa-niyoga-niyuktā ājñā-saṁcāri-kulaputsādhikṛitā bhaṭās-chatrāsca and *also* saym-ānataṁ *with* ājñā svayaṁ.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 267.

[3] *ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 87 ff.

[4] Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 50. I accept Dr. Jayaswal's suggestion that we should read the verse as *bhokṣyate cha samāḥ ṣaṣṭiṁ Purikāṁ Canakāṁ ca vai ;* for no city lik* Kāncanakā (which is Pargiter's reading) is known. Purikā is named in the previous verse also (*dauhitraḥ S'is'uko nāma Purikāyam nṛpo bhavat*).

[5] *Harivaṃs'a*, Viṣṇuparvan, *adhyāya* 38, vv. 21-22.

the Ṛkṣavat (modern Satpurā) mountain and therefore in the Central Provinces or Berar. This place has not been identified so far.

The next Vākāṭaka capital[1] was Nandivardhana. The Poona plates which record the grant of Prabhāvatīguptā, who was a regent for her minor son Divākarasena, are issued from this city.[2] They are dated in the thirteenth year which must of course be counted from the accession of the boy prince. As there is no word like *vāsakāt* affixed to Nandivardhana, it appears that it was at the time the capital of the Vākāṭakas. This conjecture receives confirmation from another set of plates recently found in the Wardha District of the Central Provinces.[3] They register a grant of Pravarasena II and are issued from the same place Nandivardhana. Here too, no word like *vāsakāt* is added to the name of the place to show that it was a temporary site of the royal camp. Unfortunately the last plate of this set, which must have contained the date of the grant, is missing. Otherwise it would have enabled us to state how long Nandivardhana continued to be the capital of the Vākāṭakas.

This Nandivardhana is probably identical with Nandardhan or Nagardhan about 5 miles from Rāmṭek.[4] According to the *Sindūragirimāhātmya* Nandivardhana was a holy place. It is noteworthy that the only other grant of Prabhavatiguptā discovered so far, *viz.* that recorded in the Ṛiddhapura plates, was made near the feet of the lord of Rāmagiri. This Rāmagiri is undoubtedly modern Rāmṭek.

The seat of government seems to have been transferred next to Pravarapura during the reign of Pravarasena II. The city was evidently founded by this king and named after himself; for it is known for the first time from his grants. It is mentioned as the place of issue in three out of the five complete grants[5] of this king. It was therefore undoubtedly his capital during the latter part of his

[1] Chikkamburi (or Chikambari) may have been the capital in the time of Rudrasena I. The stone inscription of this king found at Deoṭek which adjoins Chikmārā (ancient Cikkamburi) records that there was a *dharma-sthāna* (place of religious worship, or temple) of Rudrasena at Cikkamburi. From the Vākāṭaka records it seems that *dharma-sthānas* were situated at the capital. All records of Pravarasena II issued from the capital (Pravarapura) contain the statement that the grants recorded in them were made at the victorious *dharma-sthāna* (*vaijayike dharma-sthāne*), while such an expression is absent in the Tiroḍi plates of that king which register a grant made at a holy places outside the capital. See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXII, p. 170.

[2] *ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 39 ff.

[3] I am editing these plates in the *Ep. Ind.*

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 43.

[5] *Viz.*, in the Chammak Dudia and Paṭṭan plates.

reign. We have no means of knowing when the city was founded. It is mentioned for the first time in the Cammak plates which were issued in the 18th regnal year. This place has not yet been identified; but Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit has suggested that it may be identical with Pavnār in the Wardha District where there is a strong fort overlooking a river and considerable ruins.

Padmapura seems to have been the next capital of the Vākāṭakas. The unfinished Vākāṭaka plate found at Mohallā in the Drug District of the Central Provinces was intended to be issued from Padmapura.[1] In this case also, no word like *vāsakāt* or *sthānāt* is added to the namé of the place. I have shown elsewhere that this Padmapura is identical with the village Padampur near Āmgaon in the Bhaṇḍārā District of the Central Provinces, where there are still finely carved but broken images of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras, some others of Hindu gods like Viṣṇu and remains of two mediæval Hindu temples. The circumstances which necessitated the shifting of the seat of government to Padmapura are not yet definitely known. But in my article on the Drug plate I have put forward the suggestion—that the capital must have been removed to Padmapura when a portion of the Vākāṭaka kingdom was occupied by Bhavadattavarman of the Nala dynasty. The Riddhapur[2] (Rithapur) plates of this king are issued from Nandivardhana which is evidently identical with the homonymous place near Rāmṭek, once the capital of the Vākāṭakas. The plates have been referred to a period falling between the end of the fifth and the first half of the sixth century A.D. The grant was therefore undoubtedly made in the age of the Vākāṭakas and the conclusion is irresistible that the Nala king had ousted the Vākāṭakas at least from a portion of their kingdoms. A record of the Vākāṭakas themselves bears witness to this reverse sustained by their arms. In the Bālāghaṭ plates, Pṛithivīṣeṇa II is said to have raised his sunken family.[3] Here we have evidently a reference to a foreign invasion and consequent loss of territory. This must have occurred during the reign of Pṛithiviṣeṇa II's father Narendrasena. The Vākāṭakas in this emergency seem to have shifted their capital to Padmapura in

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 207.

[2] *ibid.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 153 ff.

[3] See div (vi) nimagna-vaṁs'asyvoddhartuḥ Vākāṭakānām-paramabhagavatamahārāja-S'rī-Pṛithivishenasya vacanāt-etc., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 271.

the East where they had the support of their loyal feudatories, the kings of Kosalā (Chattisgarh) and Mekalā (the region round the source of the Narmadā.)[1]

Bhavadattavarman and his son Arthapati seem to have reigned over parts of Vidarbha for some time.[2] Ultimately Pṛithivīṣeṇa drove the Nalas out of his ancestral kingdom. He even carried the war into the enemy's territory and devastated their capital Puṣkarī as stated in the Poḍāgaḍh stone inscription.[3] He did not apparently take back his capital to Pravarapura; for this place is not mentioned in any subsequent inscription of the Vākāṭakas. Perhaps it was completely devastated by the Nalas.

The last capital of the Vākāṭakas seems to have been Vatsagulma. The India Office plate of Devasena,[4] the son of Pṛithivīṣeṇa II (?) was intended to be issued from Vātsyagulma or Vatsagulma. In this case also, there is no indication that it was only a temporary place of royal residence. From this time Vatsagulma seems to have risen into prominence. It gave its name to a particular style. In the opening verse of his Prākṛt play *Karpūramañjarī*, Rājas'ekhara mentions Vacchomī (which is plainly derived from the Sanskrit Vātsyāgulmī) as a *rīti*-together with the Māgadhī and the Pāñcāli. Vacchomī is, therefore, clearly identical with Vaidarbhī. The latter name is derived from the country of Vidarbha and the former from its capital Vacchoma (Vatsagulma). Dr. Randle has shown by reference to the *Kāmasūtra* that the Vatsagulma country was situated in the South and that it corresponds to the Vākāṭaka kingdom. Rājas'ekhara also tells us in his *Karpūramañjarī* that Vacchoma was situated in the Dakṣiṇāpatha.[5] This Prākṛt play has for its theme the marriage of Karpūramañjarī, the princess of Vacchoma with Caṇḍapāla who is probably intended to represent the

[1] See Kosalā-Mekalā-Mūlav-ādhipatibhir-abhyarcita-s'āsanasya . . . Vākāṭakānām-mahārāja-S'rī-Narendrasenasya . . . *loc. cit.*

[2] The Nala kings originally reigned over parts of the modern Bastar State and the adjoining Vizagapaṭam District. A stone inscription of Bhavadattavarman's son Skandavarman has been found at Poḍāgaḍh in the Jeypur Agency and gold coins of three Nala kings, *viz.* Varāha, Bhavadatta and Arthapati, have been recently discovered in the Bastar State.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 212.

[4] *New Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, pp. 177 ff.

[5] *Karpūramañjarī* (Harward Oriental Series), p. 26.

Pratīhāra king Mahīpāla of Kanauj.[1] This princess was apparently an adopted daughter of the contemporary Rāsṭrakūta king and was staying at Vachchhoma (Vatsagulma) the capital of Vidarbha.[2] The importance of Vatsagulma as a centre of culture is suggested by Rājasekhara in his rhetorical work Kāvyamīmāṁsā also. In third *adhyāya* of this work Rājasekhara states that the mythical Kāvyapuruṣa married the Sāhityavidyādharī at Vatsagulma in Vidarbha, which is the pleasure-resort of the god of love.[3] Vatsagulma evidently continued to be a centre of of learning and culture down to the time of Rājasekhara.

This Vatsagulma is probably identical with Vāsim or Bāsim, the chief town of the Bāsim *tālukā* of the Akolā District in Berar. This town is now regarded as a holy place and there are said to be as many as 108 *tīrthas* in it associated with different gods and sages.[4] This place-name is variously derived. *Jayamaṅgalā*, a commentary on the *Kāmasūtra*, states that Vatsa and Gulma were two princes of Dakṣiṇāpatha who were uterine brothers, The country settled by them came to be known as Vatsagulma.[5] The local *māhātmya* gives an altogether different derivation. It states that Vatsa was a sage who by his severe austerities made an assemblage (*gulma*) of gods come down and settle in the vicinity of his place of residence which since then came to be known as Vatsagulma.

Thus there were five or six capitals of the Vākāṭakas during their rule of nearly three centuries.[6]

[1] Lanman thinks that he was ruling in the Deccan (*ibid.*, p. 213), while Sten Know identifies him with Mahendrapāla (*Das Indische Drama*, p. 85). For the reasons on which my view is based see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. LXII, pp. 201 ff. and *Paṭhak Commemoration Volume*, pp. 362 ff.

[2] The text is corrupt in this portion. The Nirṇayasāgara edition has *tehiṁ ahaṁ upaṇṇetti* which would make the princess a daughter of the Kuntala king. But the capital of Kuntala was Mānyakhēṭa, not Vatsagulma. The Harward edition has *tehiṁ ahaṁ khalakhaṇḍehiṁ kiṇidā duhidā tti vuchchāmi*, which Lanman translates as 'They call me by way of joke (?) their bought daughter.'

[3] *G. O. S.* ed. (1916), p. 10.

[4] *Akolā District Gazetteer*, p. 322.

[5] *Kāmasūtra* (Nirṇayasāgara ed.) p. 295.

[6] *Akolā District Gazetter*, pp. 322 ff.

A FEW MUGHAL DOCUMENTS

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The documents which form the subject of this paper are from a collection of some Mughal deeds that were offered to me for sale some time ago. The collection included 5 Farmans, 12 Sanads, 5 Parwanas (Letters of appointment to the post of *Qazi*) and 6 other miscellaneous papers. The owner was not willing to break up the collection, but wanted to dispose of the whole lot together. A few of these documents were of exceptional interest, but the condition laid down by the owner left no chance for selection, and the want of funds with the Archaeological Department stood in the way of the acquisition of the whole lot. Fortunately detailed notes on the papers were taken by me for submission of a report to the Director-General of Archæology in India, and this article is an amplification of that report. While each of the deeds of the collection has its own respective merit, I have to discuss here only 5 of them which appear to me of outstanding importance.

Before describing the documents in question it seems desirable to make a general observation on the Mughal official papers. I am to confine my remarks to those documents only as no such papers belonging to the period prior to the Mughal rule in India have so far been brought to my notice. The papers, as available, generally belong to the period beginning from the time of the Emperor Akbar, and a reference to some of them viz., *Farmans*, *Sanads* and *Parwanas* is to be found in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, where regulations governing the issue of those documents and prescribing their forms are also given. We, however, come across several other papers of official nature, some of which bear their titles transcribed upon them, and the absence of any allusion to them in the *Ain-i-Akbari* leads one to conclude that their distinctive characters were recognized subsequently. The ancient

Mughal documents which I have had the chance of seeing are detailed below :

1. *Farman* : A royal mandate stamped with the imperial seal.

2. *Manshur* : A royal mandate not stamped with the imperial seal. A *Manshur* issued by Aurangzib and bearing its title as such is preserved in the Archaeological Museum, Delhi Fort. It is dated 12th of Rajab 1069 A.H. (8th April 1659 A.D.), which falls between the dates of his accession to the throne and formal coronation, and the seal impression which it bears is indicative of his position as a prince and not as a king.

3. *Nishan* : A mandate issued by a member of the royal family.

4. *Sanad* : An order issued by a grandee of the Court, such as the prime minister, the Sadr-us-Sudur, etc.

5. *Tasdiq* : Attestation of a previous grant.

6. *Parwan-i-Taqarruri* : A letter of appointment. I have seen only the letters of appointment to the posts of *Qazi*, *Khatib*, teacher of the Quran and *Muazzin*. Such *Parwanas* bear the seal impression of the *Sadr-us-Sudur* and the *Tughra* signifying its source of issue.

7. *Parwana-i-Rahdari* : A passport.

8. *Tashih Nama* : A muster certificate.

9. *Dastak* : An order for the payment of revenue arrears.

10. *Ibra Nama* : An instrument declaring the release of one from the responsibility of payment of dues.

11. *'Ilan-i-Marā'āt* : An instrument issued by an official of the Court announcing royal concessions.

12. Letters of official nature.

13. *Ishtihar-i-Giraftari* : A warrant of arrest issued by a State official.

14. *Bai Nama* : Sale deed.

15. *Mahsar Nama* : A public attestation in favour or against some person or persons. It used to be signed by common people and submitted to the court.

16. *Nikah Nama* : A marriage deed.

A systematic effort for the collection of ancient deeds and their study may bring to light many other classes of documents not known to us. The historical importance of this record cannot be exaggerated. It supplies the original and authentic information about the

Muslim administration and their fiscal policy not to be met with in contemporary historical works, and also throws side-lights on the social and cultural aspects of the country during the Muslim rule. Written as these documents are on loose sheets of paper. They are easily liable to damage, and they are fast disappearing owing to their delicacy and negligence of the old uneducated families possessing them. The preservation of this valuable record demands an early attention, and it is extremely desirable that a suitable action should be taken for its collection and safe deposit in public institutions within reach of scholars.

The most important of the Mughal official documents is the *Farman* which was issued in the name of the ruling king. Apart from the text the prominent features of it are as follows :

(a) Dedicatory religious formula on the top. The early Mughal *Farmans* have the formula *Howal Ghani.* Akbar changed it to *Allaho Akbar* about the time when he founded the Ilahi-religion. Aurangzib substituted " Bismilah " for it. The *Farmans* of the later Mughal emperors have *Bismillah* or any other pious ejaculation.

(b) Tughra below the dedicatory formula. This contains the name and titles of the reigning king written in ornamental style.

(c) Seal impression over the text of the Farman to the right. The impression from the seal, termed as the Great seal, contains the name of the ruling king in the centre within a circle, and round it the names of some of his ancestors up to Timur.

(d) Endorsements on the reverse. These contain the relative extracts from the state records, notes regarding the checking of the entries on the *Farman* and the filing of its copies in the different departments concerned etc.

(e) Seal impressions on the reverse. In stating the order of the seals on *Farmans* Abul Fazl says that the latter were made into several folds beginning from the bottom, and the first fold towards the edge was cut off where the Vakil (the highest official of the state) stamped his seal. Below it or opposite to it other officials put their seals according to their ranks. The Mughal *Farmans* are found to bear several seals of the state officers on their reverse, and have their right corner at the bottom cut off. The order of the seals stated by Abul Fazl does not seem to have been followed during the reign of Akbar's successors.

A *Sanad* is defined by Abul Fazl as a written statement of accounts, and he says that they were stamped with the imperial seal or with the seals of the grandees. Traditionally the term *Sanad* is used for a state document issued by an official in connection with the confirmation of a grant previously made or the bestowal of a new one. It bears a seal impression of the authority issuing it, such as the prime-minister or the *Sadr-s-Sudur*. The seal impression is usually to be found on the margin to the right, but none on the reverse. The right corner of the *Sanads* at the bottom, as well as of other documents, is also found cut off, and probably this was a conventional practice indicating a certain stage in the course of their issue. Lengthy documents written on two or more sheets of paper pasted together also bear seal impressions of the issuing authority or in place of them signatures of a responsible state official on their joints to vouch for the addition of extra sheet or sheets.

The documents of the collection under notice are described below :

I. FARMAN OF THE EMPEROR HUMAYUN

It is dated the 7th of Jumada II of the year 946 A. H. (20th October 1539 A. D.) and bears the seal impression of Muhammad Askari under whose order it was issued. It refers to the grant of a village in the Sarkar of Sambhal (now the headquarters of a Tahsil, in the district of Moradabad, U. P.) to one Shaikh Sadullah. Muhammad Askari, better known as Mirza Askari, was the third son of the Emperor Babur. He had the Sarkar of Sambhal conferred upon him as *Jagir*, and this historical fact receives support from the document.

An examination of the instrument shows that it does not conform to the details related above, and since it belongs to the period prior to the establishment of the Mughal rule in India, it may be treated as a specimen representing the form of the royal mandates prescribed during the earlier ages *i.e.*, the so-called Pathan or Sultanate period. As such the document possesses a great antiquarian value. The following are its striking features an compared to the *Farmans* of Akbar and the subsequent Mughal Emperors.

(*a*) It has on the top the dedicatory religious formula

Hu Wal-*Gh*anī

which is found on the early Farmans of Akbar also.

(*b*) There is no *Tughra*, but below the dedicatory formula there are two headings, indicating the document to be a *Farman* of the Emperor Muhammad Humayun issued under the order of Muhammad Askari. The headings, which are written in two lines one over the other, run as follows:

Bafarmān Muḥammad Humāyūn Bādshāh *Ghāzī*

In compliance with the mandate of Muhammad Humayun Badshah Ghazi

Ḥukm *dhī Shā*n Muḥammad 'Askarī Bahādur *Ghāzī*

The dignified order of Muhammad Askari Bahadur Ghazi.

(*c*) It bears the seal impression of Muhammad Askari only, which is, however, of the same type as the Great Seals of the ruling Mughal Emperors. The seal contains in the centre within a circle the name of Muhammad Askari, the son of Zahir-ud Din Muhammad Babur, and round it the names of his ancestors *viz.*, Umar Shaikh Sultan Abu Said, Sultan Muhammad Miran Shah and Amir Timur.

(*d*) On the reverse there is no endorsement or any seal impression of any state official.

(*e*) Unlike the *Farmans* of the Mughal Emperors this document consists of a small sheet of paper measuring only some 10″ × 8″.

II. FARMAN OF AKBAR

It is dated the month of Rabia II of the year 966 A. H. (1559 A. D.) and refers to the grant of 400 bighas of land in the village of Bawanipur, Khitta (district) of Sambhal, to Shaikh Buddan and Shaikh Ahmad. It is one of the earliest *Farmans* of the Emperor Akbar, and consequently some of the distinctive features which are to be noticed in the subsequent documents of this class are wanting in it. There is no *Tughra*, but in place of it is a heading indicating the document as the *Farman* of Jalal-ud-Din Muhammad Akbar Badshah Ghazi. Nor is there any endorsement on the reverse, but several seal impressions of the state officials are to be found there. One of these impressions is from the seal of Bairam Khan with its legend

Kamtarīn banda Muḥammad Bairam

(The meanest slave Muhammad Bairam). On the accession of Akbar to the throne Bairam Khan, entitled Khan-i-Khanan, was raised to the

office of the prime-minister, and had the whole civil and military powers vested in him. The court intrigues soon created some misunderstanding between him and Akbar, and about the middle of the year 967 A. H. (1560 A. D.) the former severed his connections from the emperor and made a revolt against him. This *Farman* was issued a little more than a year before that event. The seal impression of Bairam Khan with its modest legend lends a great historical interest to the document.

The seal impression of the Emperor Akbar, which the *Farman* bears, contains his name in the centre and those of his ancestors round it. The legend is in *Naskh* characters, and it perhaps represents the impression from the seal which was prepared by Maulana Maqsud, the seal engraver, and has been referred to in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.

III. PARWANA-I-RAHDARI (PASSPORT)

This is a general order issued by Khan-i-Khanan Abdur-Rahim Khan to custom officers, ferrymen and husbandmen on the road from Jalalabad to Kabul, prohibiting them from demanding any toll from one Ali Koka and his companions who are related to have been deputed to Kabul on some state business. It is dated 27th of Shawaal 997 A.H. (1589 A.D.), and bears the dedicatory formula *Allaho Akbar* and below it the heading

Ḥukm-i-*Kh*ān-i-*Kh*ānān Mīrzā *Kh*ān Bahādur Sipahsālār (order of Khan-i-Khanan Mirza Khan Bahadur Sipahsalar). The seal impression of Khan-i-Khanan contains the legend *Kh*an-i-*Kh*ānān Murīd Akbar *Sh*āh (Khan-i-Khanan, the disciple of Akbar Shah). Abdu-r-Rahim Khan was the son of Bairam Khan, to whose title of Khan-i-Khanan he succeeded. His surname was Mirza Khan, and he held the post of *Sipahsalar* during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir. The seal impression and the heading of the document contain his title, surname and official designation, but make no mention of his real name.

IV. TASHIH NAMA (MUSTER CERTIFICATE)

The document bears this title, and it testifies to the number of horses and arms and armour as detailed therein. It was issued in favour

of one Sayyid Murad, who held the rank of two hundred and fifty. It is dated 10th of Safar of the 11th year of the reign of Muhammad Shah (1729 A.D.), and bears two seal impressions, one of Sayyid Akbar Khan and the other of Harji Mal.

Abul Fazl in his valuable work the ***Ain-i-Akbari*** makes a reference to the branding of horses maintained by ***Mansabdars***, but there is no mention that arms and armours were also presented on the occasion of the muster of horses for the inspection of state officers. A detail of the procedure adopted in this connection is wanting in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, nor is there any allusion to the Muster Certificate. Possibly the practice of supplying such a certificate to the ***Mansabdar*** concerned was introduced subsequent to the reign of Akbar.

V. Ilan-i-Murā'āt (A Document Announcing Royal Concessions)

This was issued by Rājā Raghnāth for the information of the agents of *Jagirdars* and *Karoris* (tax gatherers) of the Pargana Garhmukhtesar, Sarkar and Suba Dar-ul-Khilafat Shahjahanabad. It is dated the first year of the reign of Aurangzib and confirms the previous grants made in the *Farmans* of the Emperors Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan with the conditions laid down below:

(*a*) Land in the possession of the grantees, who are alive, is exempted from the state taxes.

(*b*) Land awarded to the descendants of the deceased grantees by way of inheritance out of the grants made to the latter is also exempted from the state taxes.

(*c*) Land reverted to the state on the death of the grantees is allotted to their descendants for cultivation, provided they cultivate it themselves.

(*d*) Land reverted to the state on the death of grantees, whose descendants are unable to cultivate it themselves, is to be made over to common tenants for cultivation on payment of the usual state taxes, the aforesaid descendants not being troubled on that account.

The document shows the principles that were adopted in respect of previous grants on the change of sovereignty during the Mughal rule, and its historical importance needs no comment.

IDENTIFICATION OF UDAYANA OF KAUS'ĀMBĪ WITH UDĀYIN OF MAGADHA

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UDAYANA king of Vatsas or Vaṃsas of Kaus'āmbi was a contemporary of the Buddha. But he must have been a very junior contemporary of the great master, as the various Indian literary traditions represent him as marrying Vāsavadattā, the daughter of Pradyota of Ujjain, and also Padmāvatī daughter of Ajāts'atru of Magadha. Padmāvatī according to the drama *Svapnavāsavadattam* was the sister of king Dars'aka, son and successor of Ajāts'atru. Now both Pradyota and Ajāts'atru were contemporaries of the Buddha. And Ajāts'atru, the father-in-law of Udayana was himself a junior contemporary of the Buddha, whose greater part of life was spent in the reign of Ajāts'atru's father, Bimbisāra. The Buddha died in the seventh year of Ajāts'atru's reign. According to the Buddhist traditions Udayana survived the Buddha.[1] The traditions regarding his marriage with Padmāvatī will make us believe that he survived even Ajats'atru, as the traditions do not show the latter being alive at the time of this marriage, his son, Dars'aka being then on the throne of Magadha.

The Purāṇas give the following succession list of the kings on the Magadha throne.

Bimbis'āra	...	...	28 years
Ajāts'atru	...	...	25 years
Dars'aka	...	...	25 years
Udāyin	...	...	33 years

[1] See, *Cam. History of India*, p. 187.

In contrast with this we have the following succession list in the Ceylonese Buddhist chronicles, *Dipvaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa.*

Bimbisāra	...	...	52
Ajāts'atru	...	...	32
Udaya Bhadda	...	...	16

Divyāvadāna as well as the Burmese Buddhist traditions also place Udāyin immediately after Ajāts'atru. According to Jain traditions also Udāyin is placed immediately after Ajāts'atru. The absence of the name of Dars'aka in the Buddhist and the Jain lists makes us think that Dars'aka was on the throne of Magadha for a short period, and not long after the death of Ajāts'atru the throne of Magadha was seized by Udāyin.

The following reasons make us think that Udāyin of the Magadha list is the same as Udayana King of Vatsas or Vaṃsas of Kaus'āmbī.

1. Udāyin and Udayana are slight variants of the same name.

2. They appear to belong strictly to the same period. This is apparent from the place given to Udāyin immediately after Ajāts'atru in the Buddhist and the Jain lists of the kings of Magadha. And, as discussed above, Udayana was a junior contemporary of Ajāts'atru and survived him.

3. Udayana in literary traditions is regarded as a gentle, lovable and a virtuous king.[1] Udāyin also, as noted by Jayswal, " has especially been singled out by the *Garga-Saṃhita* for the epithet good (धर्मात्मा).[2] "

4. In the Purāṇas Udāyin is not called as the son of Dars'aka. In many other cases the successor has been clearly called as the son of the previous king.

5. In the *Matsya Purāṇa* the successor of Ajāts'atru instead of being called Dars'aka is called as Vaṃsaka :

अजातशत्रुर्भविता सप्तविंशत्समा नृपः ।
चतुर्विंशत्समा राजा वंशकस्तुभविष्यति ॥ १० ॥

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[1] The drama *Svapnavāsavadattam* well emphasizes Udayana's virtues. For instance at one place it is remarked about him :

स खलु गुणवान् नाम राजा य अप्रागन्तुकेनाप्यनेनैवं प्रशस्यते । Act I.

[2] *J.B.O.R.S. Vol.* I, Pt. I, p. 75.

It is difficult to say whether Vaṃs'aka is a corrupt reading for Dars'aka or it represents some genuine historical tradition.[1] Vaṃs'aka recalls the Vaṃsas of Kaus'āmbī.

6. Hiuen Tsang also mentions that Dars'aka was the last king in the line of Bimbisāra.[2] According to this tradition recorded by Hiuen Tsang Dars'aka's successor Udāyin must belong to some other dynasty.

7. Purāṇas inform us that Udāyin changed his capital and founded Kusumapura. Change of capital often signifies a change of the ruling dynasty.

8. Literary traditions also indicate that the marriage of Udayana of Kaus'āmbī with the royal family of Magadha was arranged more for political reasons. Udayana's minister Yaugandharāyaṇa's ambition was to increase and consolidate the power of his master. This may have in course of time led to the conquest and annexation of Magadha by Udayana. Dars'aka, the successor of Ajāts'atru, had, perhaps, a short reign. This, as suggested above, may account for the absence of his name in the Buddhist and the Jain lists of Magadha kings.

If our surmise that Udayana conquered Magadha is correct, then, this must have taken place in the latter part of his reign. This may account for the fact that the Ceylonese Buddhist Chronicles give Udaya Bhadda only 16 years of reign against 33 years of Udāyin in the Purāṇas. It may be likely that while the Purānas give the total period of his reign including his reign over Kaus'āmbī before his conquest of Magadha, the Buddhist texts give only his reign period over Magadha after Ajāts'atru.

The subsequent traditions as recorded in the Purāṇic and the Buddhist account when put together, seem to indicate that after the death of Udāyin or Udayana, Magadha again passed through a period of decay, in which there were a few short lived kings, until under Nandivardhana or according to the various Buddhist traditions S'is'unāga—the two appear to be identical—there was again a change of dynasty and Magadha rose into a first grade power.

[1] *Matsya Purāna* after Vaṃsaka gives Udāsi. If Vaṃsaka represents Udayana, then Udāsi, which apparently stands for Udāyin, may have been subsequently added to bring the information in line with the other Purāṇas.

[2] Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 102, f.n.

THE EASTERN GAṄGA ERA

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In the *Proceedings* of the 2nd Indian History Congress, held under the auspices of the Allahabad University in 1938, a short paper of mine on 'The Initial year of the Eastern Gaṅga Era' was published. In the last para, I wrote that though several scholars accepted my view, scholars like Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University still expressed a different view and held that the period *A.D. 550-557 or even the first half of the 6th century A.D.* better corresponded to the epoch of Gupta Era than the period A.D. 494-498 as stated by me and several other Scholars. Dr. Mazumdar even stated that the Ganga Rule ended in the 10th Century, though this view is clearly opposed to historical, inscriptional and other evidences. (Vide his *Outline of History of Kaliṅga*, reprinted from Dacca University Studies).

However, in editing the Plates of Hastivarma in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXIII, p. 63, the same scholar stated thus : " the epoch of the Gaṅga Era would fall between 470-570 A.D. This is in accord with the latest theory on the subject, *viz.* that of Prof. R. Subba Rao who is the first to work on the subject with the help of some positive data. He fixes the epoch of the era at A.D. 494."

In *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXII, p. 75 while editing the Indian Museum Plates of Gaṅga Devendravarma of 308 year, Dr. Chabra states, " The year refers itself to the Ganga Era, the initial date of which has been much dicussed but not yet been quite settled. Recently, Mr. R. Subba Rao has outlined a history of the Gaṅgas of Kalinga. According to his calculation, the Gaṅga years 308 and 310 would correspond respectively to A.D. 802 and 804 which may not be far wrong, if not exact. This date may moreover be borne out by the

Palæographical evidence." (In a footnote, he refers to *J. A. H. R. S.* Vol. VI, pp. 196-197 and *A. R.* on *S. I. Ep.* 1931-32, p. 45 when the origin of the Eastern Gaṅga era has been discussed and almost the same conclusion has been reached).

Again, Dr. R. C. Mazumdar in a recent article on "The Epoch of the Gaṅga Era, published in the *Indian Culture*, Vol. IV, pp. 171-79 has stated that it has not yet been possible to ascertain its epoch or origin. After discussing the views of several scholars and rejecting them, he states: "To Mr. R. Subba Rao belongs the credit of bringing to light positive evidences of a satisfactory character, which may perhaps lead to the solution of the vexed problem. But unfortunately, Mr. Subba Rao's deductions and inferences do not appear to be quite correct."

The object of this paper is to bring uptodate the several views of scholars on this subject and to point out the defects in Dr. Mazumdar's view and to affirm the correctness of my theory.

1. Fleet's view that the epoch of the era would fall in the 6th century is now rejected by all scholars as obsolete and groundless.

2. Mr. G. Ramdoss' view that the era was founded as a result of Samudragupta's invasion of Kaliṅga after 330 A.D. is also rejected by all scholars as being based on mere assumptions and on incorrect astronomical data.

3. The views of Robert Sewell, late R. D. Banerji and R. C. Mazumdar which state that the era was founded in the latter half of 9th century A.D., in the 1st half of 8th century A.D., and in the latter half of the 8th century A.D., respectively are also rejected as they are not based on positive data.

4. My own views, first stated in 1930 in my *Kaliṅgadesa Caritra* and *History of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga* that the era was started in A.D. 493 or 494, are now accepted by the following scholars into or with slight change of two or three years:

Messrs: (*a*) D. C. Sircar, (*b*) J. Ghosh, (*c*) Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu, (*d*) Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, (*e*) Arch. Survey, (*f*) B. V. Krishn Rao.

5. Dr Chabra states that my views *cannot be far wrong* though they are not exact. Dr. Mazumdar, while giving credit to me for supplying positive data which will lead to solution of the problem.

states that my theory is not *quite* correct. There is a difference of more than half a century between our two views regarding Gaṅga era.

Dr. R. C: Mazumdar's points are :

1. The date of Mandasa Plates of Gaṅga Anantavarma is S'. 976 or S'. 967 but not S'. 913 as stated by Mr. Ramdoss. The 15th regnal year would correspond *fairly well* to S'. 976.

2. If the date of the Mandasa Plates is taken as S'. 913, then there is no Anantavarma at that time. Vajrahasta II had no such title as Anantavarma.

3. The Donor of Mandasa Plates, *viz.*, Dharmakhedi who issued a grant in Anantavarma's reign in S'. 976 or 967 also issued a grant (Simhapura Plates) in the reign of Devendravarma in the Gaṅga year 520. There is no difficulty in indentifying these two Gaṅga Kings with Vajrahasta Anantavarma (S'. 960-992) and Rāja Rāja Devendravarma (S'. 992-999). The Gaṅga year 520 would thus fall between S'. 992 and 999 and the epoch of the Gaṅga era would lie between S'. 472 and 479 or A.D. 550 and 557.

4. The Chicacole Plates refer to Madhukāmārṇava, son of Anantavarma. Mr. R. Subba Rao identifies him as the son of Vajrahasta Aniyanka Bhīma and states that Vajrahasta had the title of Anantavarma. If this is accepted, the epoch of the Gaṅga era cannot, of course, be so late as 550 A.D. But it cannot be accepted, as it is a mere assumption. The only natural interpretation of the only known positive datum would lead to the inference that the initial date falls between A.D. 550 and 557.

5. Lastly, Gaṅga Indravarma of 87th year of Acyutapuram Plates granted lands to Durgas'arma of Gautama Gotra. The E. Cālukyan Viṣṇuvardhana granted lands in his 18th year which corresponds to 633 A.D. to the two sons of Durgs'arma of Gautama Gotra (vide his Chipurapalli C. P. Inscription). If the initial date of of Gaṅga Era is 550 A.D., then Durgas'arma would receive grant in 637 A.D. and his sons 4 years earlier than himself. This would also place the epoch in the 1st half of 6th century and probably between 550 and 557 A.D.

6. He does not like to discuss the astronomical data as he is not equal to the task and as there is risk in relying on it. I must answer his points one by one :

1. Anyone reading carefully Mr. Ramdoss' views published in *J. B. O. R. S.* Vol. XVII, pp. 175-188 and *J. A. H. R. S.* Vol. IX, pp. 13-22 must be convinced with his arguments. The mode of *Anka* reckoning of dates must be admitted by any one acquainted with Kaliṅga or Oriya history. The style of Mandasa plates and the absence of Imperial titles like Tri Kaliṅgādhipati to the king Anantavarma should lead any one to think that the king referred to is the earlier Anantavarma and not his grandson. The 15th Anka year or 13th actual year therefore corresponds to S'. 913. If Dr. Mazumdar's argument is to be accepted, the 15 regnal year cannot correspond to either S'. 976 or 967. His statement that it corresponds *fairly well* cannot be accepted for want of precision.

2. Taking the date of the Mandasa Plates as S'. 913, and considering the usages and practices of the Ganga kings as revealed in both C. P. and Stone inscriptions and studying the genealogy carefully, the king who ruled in S'. 913 and who had the title of Aniyanka Bhīma Vajrahasta must be recognized as an Anantavarma—a title which was borne alternately by all kings from his time onwards. Similarly, the title of Devendravarma, was borne alternately by the kings. In proof of it, Aniyanka Bhīma Vajrahasta II Anantavarma had a son Madhukāmārṇava Devendravarma. His successor Anantavarma Vajrahasta had a son Devendravarma Rāja Rāja and a grandson Anantavarma Codagaṅga. Thus, it is not improbable to believe that Vajrahasta II had the title Anantavarma.

3. The reply for this is that there is no difficulty either in identifying the same two kings with Anantavarma of S'. 913 and his son Madhukāmārṇava who issued a grant in Gaṅga year 526. The grant of Dharmakhedi of 520 Gaṅga era refers to his reign. The starting date of the Gaṅga era, according to Gaṅga chronology provided in the most reliable C. P. charters of Vajrahasta III, would then fall in the period suggested by me, *viz.*, A.D. 494-497.

4 & 6. Dr. Mazumdar states that the Gaṅga era falls within the first half of 6th century and *probably during the period A.D. 550 to 557*. If it is so, it not only fails to satisfy certain astronomical data given in the Gaṅga C. P. charters but also does not provide for the existence of King Madhukāmārṇava Devendravarma of G. E. 526 whereas he is a historical king who actually ruled according to all C. P. Grants of Vajrahasta III immediately before him. It is proved

from inscriptions that Madhukāmārṇava, son of Anantavarma, of Chicacole Plates dated 526 Gaṅga era had also the title of Devendravarma and no other king of that name and title existed at a later period. He lived in the transition period between the early and later Gaṅga reigns and it was at this stage that the Khedi kings used both Gaṅga and S'aka years.

5. Lastly, the synchronism suggested by Dr. Mazumdar does not decide the issue. It was suggested by myself 10 years ago in my book *Kaliṅgades'a Caritra*. It was a suggestion merely and it will oppose the learned Doctor's theory rather than help it.

Conclusion : *(a)* As all scholars have admitted, all Vajrahasta III's Plates state that Aniyanka Bhīma Vajrahasta II (S'. 901-936) had 3 sons of whom the 1st Kāmārṇava ruled in S'. 937, the 2nd Guṇḍama ruled from S'. 937-940 and the 3rd Madhukāmārṇava ruled from S'. 941 to S' 960 and that Vajrahasta III was crowned in S'. 960 or A. D. 1038.

(b) The Chicacole Plates of Anantavarmadeva's son Mahārājādhirāja Madhukāmārṇava, *dated 526 G. E.* state that his capital was Kaliṅganagara.

(c) The Simhapura C. P. grant of Dharmakhedi states that he was the son of Bhamakhedi and that he made a grant in Gaṅga-Kadamba year (same as Gaṅga year) 520 in the reign of Devendravarma, son of Anantavarma whose capital was also Kaliṅganagara.

(d) The Mandasa Plates of Dharmakhedi, son of Bhamakhedi dated S'aka year 913 belong to the *Samasta* year 15 (actual year 13) of King Anatavarmadeva Maharaja. This would give S'. 901 as the date of accession of this king.

From these inscriptions, the following facts arise :

From B and C. Within a space of 6 years, the difference between 520 Ganga year and 526 G. K. year, we get Anantavarma's son Madhukāmārṇava and Anantavarma's son Devendravarma both ruling from Kaliṅganagara. So, Madhukāmārṇava must have also been called Devendravarma and both the grants refer to the same reign. There is no Madhukāmārṇava—Devendravarma after this period as proved by inscriptions.

From C and D. Anantavarma and Dharmakhedi of both plates must be the same persons 520 G. K. or G. year must be near about Saka 913: If it is the same, then G. E. states in S'. 913 minus G. 520 or S'. 393

or A. D. 471. But since S'. 913 belongs to Anantavarma's 13th year and since he had 35 years' rule and since G. 520 belongs to his son's reign, it follows that the Gaṅga era would start not earlier than 493 A. D. It also follows that this Anantavarma who got up the throne in S'. 901 is the same as Aniyanka Bhīma Vajrahasta II mentioned in all the Plates of Vajrahasta III as ascending the throne in S'. 901 and ruling for 35 years. Since a grant was made in G. year 526 by Devendravarma Madhukāmārṇava and since he ascended the throne in S'. 941, it follows that the G. E. started in or about S'. 941 minus G. 526 or S'. 415 or A. D. 493 in case the grant was made in his first ruling year. If it is made in his last ruling year, G. S. will start in A. D. 512. Originally, in my books, I fixed the year *A. D. 493-94* as the first year of the G. E. on ground that the grant was made early in his reign, but on astronomical calculations made by certain Scholars, the year A.D. 496-97 has been accepted by me provisionally. Recently, the Pondura grant of Vajrahasta II of G. E. 500 belonging to his 29th ruling year was published in our *J. A. H. R. S.* Vol. IX, pp. 23-30 and from calculations made, the initial year of the Ganga Era will be A. D. 509: and this date cannot be extended to 550-557 A. D. as suggested by Dr. Mazumdar.

FOUNDATION OF GUHILA POWER IN VĀGAḌA

By Golap Chandra Ray Chaudhuri M.A., B.L.,
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THE designation Vāgaḍa was applied in mediaeval inscriptions to the territory occupied by Ḍungarpur and Bānswārā in Rajputāna. Its early history is practically unknown. In the tenth century A.D., it was included within the limits of the Paramāra dominions, and continued to be ruled by princes of this line till the close of the first decade of the twelfth century A.D. The Ṭhākarḍā (Ḍungarpur) inscription of 1212 V.S. (1155 A.D.), shows that in the middle of the twelfth century A.D. a part of the principality passed under Mahārāja Sūrapāladeva, whose ancestors are known to have been ruling in the country round about Iṅgṇoda in the Dewās State in Central India after supplanting the Paramāra ruler of Dhārā from that region.[1]

From the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. a Guhila dynasty was firmly established in the Vāgaḍavaṭapadrakamaṇḍala to which the present rulers of both Ḍungarpur and Bānswārā claim to belong. Tradition is almost unanimous in assigning the honour of laying foundation this dynasty to a prince of Mewār. But as regards the identity of the founder or the date of the foundation there is no such agreement.

According to one set of tradition Māhap, the elder son of Rāval Karan (variously represented as the son of Samarasiṁha or Ratnasiṁha) of Mewār, who was disinherited for his indolence and incapacity, became the progenitor of the royal line of Vāgaḍa. According to another version Samarasiṁha himself being pleased with the devotion of his younger brother abdicated the throne of Mewār in his favour and eventually became the founder of the Guhila principality in Vāgaḍa. It may be noted here that according to these traditions

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, xix, pp. 36, 45.

the elder line of the Guhila princes became rulers in Vāgaḍa and the Rānās of Mewār belong to the younger branch.[1]

These traditions have been rightly rejected in the light of the epigraphic evidence which shows conclusively that Vāgaḍa came under the sway of the Guhilas long before Samarasiṁha or his alleged descendants. Some modern scholars think that Sāmantasiṁha of Mewār, who ruled in the last quarter of the twelfth century, was the real founder of the royal line of Ḍungarpur and Bānswārā. They also accept as true the implication of the above mentioned traditions that the rulers of Vāgaḍa belong to the elder branch of the Guhila family.[2]

Indeed the earliest epigraphic record of a Guhila prince found within the territorial limits of Ḍungarpur and Bānswārā belong to Sāmantasiṁha. This inscription has been found at Solāj in Ḍungarpur and is dated 1236 V.S. (1179 A.D.). Our attention is also invited to two significant passages of the Achalgadh Inscription of 1342 V.S. (1285 A.D.) and the Kumbhalgadh Inscription of the time of Rānā Kumbhā.[3] They clearly show that the principality of Mewār lost for a time by the Guhilas, and was regained by Kumārsiṁha, younger brother of Sāmantasimha, after expelling a prince styled Kitu, identified with the Cāhamāna Kīrtirāja, son of Ālhaṇadeva of Naddula. It is further stated in the Kumbhalgadh Inscription that Kumārasiṁha obtained Āghata after propitiating a Gurjara King, identified with Bhīma II Calukya. An inscription found at Āhar (Udaipur) of the time of Bhīma II, dated 1263 V.S. (1206 A.D.) informs us that Mewār actually formed part of the dominions of the Cālukya king (svabhujyamāna-Medapāṭamaāḍalantaḥpātinaḥ).[4] It has been suggested that the prince who lost Mewār must have been Sāmantasiṁha, who there after moved to Ḍungarpur, leaving the task of recovering the ancestral kingdom to a younger brother. As the Solāj inscription of Sāmantasiṁha is dated 1236 V.S. (1179 A.D.) the loss of Mewār must have taken place before this date.[5]

The Jālōr inscription of the time of Sōngirā Chāhamāṇa Mahārāja Samarasiṁha clearly shows that his father Kirtipāla must have

[1] Tod., I, 207 (Ed. by Abalakanta Sen) ; Muhasta Naiṇa Si Ki Khyāta, Ed. by Rāmanarayaṇa Dugaḍa, pp. 28, 78 ; *The History of Rājputana*, Vol. III, pt. I, pp. 26 ff.

[2] Ojha, *The History of Rajputana*, Vol. III, pt. I, pp. 26, 39, 84ff.

[3] *ibid.*, pp. 34n, 48n.

[4] *ibid.*, p. 48n.

[5] *ibid.*, p. 49.

died before 1239 V.S. 1182 (A.D.).[1] Or in other words the occupation of Mewār by Kīrtipāla must have taken place before 1182 A.D. Two inscriptions at Bāmṇerā (Jodhpur), two at Sāṇḍerāv (Jodhpur), all dated in 1258 V.S. (1202 A.D.) and one inscription found at Ūthmaṇ (Sirohi), dated 1256 V.S. (1200 A.D.) refer themselves to the reign of a prince styled Sāmantasiṁha. He has been identified with his Guhila namesake.[2] It may be noticed that Bāmṇerā and Sāṇḍerāv formed part of the dominion of the Naddula Chāhamāṇa Kelhaṇa, and Sirohi was under the Paramāra maṇḍalika Dhāravarṣa. Both these princes seem to have been feudatories of Cālukya Bhīma II. It does not seem probable that Sāmantasiṁha attacked the vassals of the Cālukya king unsupported by the resources of Mewār. If therefore Sāmantasiṁha was the prince who lost Mewār, he must have lost it between 1258 V.S. (1202 A.D.) and 1263 V.S. (1206 A.D), the date of the Āhar Inscription of Bhīma II. It is not altogether impossible that Sāmantasiṁha succumbed to an united attack of Bhīma II and his feudatory the Naddula Cāhamāṇa Kelhaṇa, who is probably to be identified with prince Kīṭu mentioned in the Kumbhalgaḍh Inscription. The latter joined the expedition not only because he was obliged to perform the ordinary duties of a vassal, but also because of the loss of Bāmṇerā and Sāṇḍerāv suffered by him.

It is, however, certain that Sāmantasiṁha could not retain his new conquests in Vāgaḍa for a long time. Bhīma II wrested it from him in or before 1185 A.D., and found a vassal ruler in a member of a junior branch of the Guhila clan. An inscription of the time of Bhīma II, dated 1242 V.S. (1185 A.D.) informs us that Guhila mahārājādhirāja Amṛtapāladeva, son of mahārājādhirāja Vijayapāladeva, was ruling in Vāgaḍāvaṭapadrakamaṇḍala apparently as a feudatory of the Cālukya king.[3]

Neither Sāmantasiṁha nor Amṛtapāladeva were destined to be the founder of the Guhila dynasty of Vāgaḍa. In the bardic chronicles the rural line of Ḍungarpur-Bānswārā begins with Sīhaḍadeva. Two inscriptions of his time have been found dated 1277 V.S (1221 A.D.) and 1291 V.S. (1234 A.D.).[4] The latter inscription specifically

[1] *Ep, Ind.*, XIX, p. 58.
[2] *ibid.*, p. 64.
[3] Ojha, *History of Rajputana*, Vol. III, pt. I, p. 50n.
[4] *ibid.*, p. 50j.

informs us that Sīhaḍadeva was the ruler of Vāgaḍavaṭapadraka-maṇḍala. From the time of this prince we do not find any break in the genealogical list. It is not unreasonable to assume that Sīhaḍa with whom the bardic chroniclers begin their *khyāta* was the real founder of the Vāgaḍa line of the Guhila kings. From an inscription of his son Jayasiṁha, dated 1306 v.s. (1249 A.D.) we are informed that Sihaḍa was the son of Jayantasiṁha.[1] This Jayantasiṁha is probably to be identified with Jayantasiṁha or Jaitrasiṁha of Nāgahrada, whose reign extended from 1270 v.s. to 1309 v.s. (1213-1252 A.D.).[2] The close relation of Jaitrasiṁha with the ruler of Vāgaḍa seems also to be attested by the fact that a grandson of his talārakṣa proved his valour in the battle field of Utthūṇaka (Arthūṇā in Bānswārā) while fighting with Jaitramalla, identified with Jayatuṅgadeva of Malwa, in the cause of Jesala, probably to-be identified with Jayasiṁha, son of Sīhaḍa.[3] It is, however, not known whether Sīhaḍa was the eldest son of Jaitrasiṁha or not.

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 77.
[2] *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, pp., 66, 99 ; XXII, p. 287n 12.
[3] *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, pp. 285, 288.

9. ANTHROPOLOGY

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

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LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am grateful to the authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference for the honour they have done me in electing me to the Presidentship of the Anthropology section of this Conference. Though I have followed with keen interest recent researches in these subjects and have been lecturing on various aspects of Anthropology at the Mysore University, my original studies have been mostly confined to things of the past, to History, Archæology and Pre-history.

Perhaps the title of this section is itself a matter for re-consideration because I find that in the past it has been called Anthropology and has included Ethnology, Mythology, Folklore, Sociology, etc. The term Ethnology refers to the study of contemporary human groups in respect of their physical, cultural and social characteristics. It makes use of the facts collected by the ethnographer in his monographs, makes a comparative and critical study of them and attempts to draw scientific inferences. Ordinarily it does not go farther back than the immediate past. But it is found that occasionally attempts have been made, as in the presidential address of this section at its last session, to give historical explanations for present-day facts. Thus Ethnology is sometimes developed to include the facts of racial, social and cultural history. There has been a distinct tendency in recent years to expand Ethnology into the more comprehensive and more methodical science of Anthropology. I strongly plead that the section do return to its old title of " Anthropology."

We are aware that, in recent years, another great subject Sociology has been developing and forging ahead basing itself upon a study of society—past and present, primitive and civilized. It has been gradually drawing into itself the social aspects of Ethnology and social Anthropology. Since these subjects are closely connected with each other, it is sometimes very difficult to mark out their boundaries and differentiate them.

If Ethnology studies human groups, social Anthropology, primitive society, and Sociology—contemporary society, it is a particularly difficult operation to differentiate them from each other in India; for here not only has the primitive past left its distinctive impress upon the civilized present, but also primitive society and civilized society live in contemporaneity and are linked together by a number of intermediate stages. Whether Indian society is primitive or civilized, it has inherited so many of the ancient traits and has to such a large extent grown out of the past that its student in India has got to be a Sociologist, a social anthropologist, an ethnologist and a social historian. At this stage of social studies in India and in view of the limited scope of the other sections of the Conference, the scope of this section would, I believe, be best expressed by the title "Anthropology and Sociology." This would include the study of Ethnography, Ethnology, physical, social and cultural Anthropology relating both to the past and the present and the scientific study of the Indian social structure and its problems. The scope would be quite wide enough and would not duplicate that of the other sections of the Conference.

With such a wide scope for the subjects of this section, one would feel tempted to enter into a discussion of the numerous problems that yet remain unsolved in the Anthropology of India, physical, cultural and social. But since the time at my disposal is limited, I shall confine myself to a brief discussion of only some of the problems of physical Anthropology.

The study of racial questions and the reconstruction of racial history is one of the most interesting branches of our subject. Though earlier writers had published short notes, it was Sir Herbert Risley who made his pioneer studies nearly forty years ago and gave a start to physical Anthropology in India by publishing his book *The People of India.* This seven fold classification of our countrymen was almost classical until recent years.

1. Turko-Iranian: Tall, fair eyes dark or grey, hair on face plentiful, head broad, nose very long; Baloch, Brahmi and some Pathans.

2. Indo-Aryan: Tall, fair, eyes dark, hair on face plentiful, head long, nose narrow and prominent; uniform type found in the Panjab, Rajputana and Kashmir.

3. Scytho-Dravidian: Medium height, broadish head, broadish nose; Marathas and west Kanarese.

4. Aryo-Dravidian: Longish head, lightish brown to black complexion, medium to broad nose, shortish stature; U. P., Behar.

5. Mongolo-Dravidian: Broad head, dark complexion, plentiful hair on face, medium stature, medium nose; Bengal and Orissa.

6. Mongoloid: Broad head, dark yellowish complexion, scanty hair on face, short stature, broadish nose, flat face, oblique eyes; Nepal, Assam, Burma.

7. Dravidian: Short stature, very dark complexion, hair plentiful, dark eyes, long head, very broad nose; Madras, Hyderabad, Central Provinces, Central India, Chota Nagpur.

But subsequent investigation has modified many of Risley's conclusions. Ramaprasad Chanda and Dr. Ghurye disclosed that the Mongolo-Dravidians and the Indo-Scytho-Dravidians were only the Indian cousins of the broad-headed Alpine Caucasians. Rivers, Thurston and Seligman discovered that the jungle tribes of India were descended really from various different races. Richards and Elliot Smith argued that the Tamils were close cousins of the Caucasian Mediterranians. Brown and others established the existence of a Negrito branch in the Andamans. Hutton and others pointed to the existence of Melanesian blood among stray primitive peoples strewn about in Assam, Behar and Malabar. The study and discussion of the Mohenjo-Daro skeletons by Keith and Guha and the restudy of the North Indian peoples by Eicksted and Guha has pointed to the existence of a distinct North-Indian section of the Brown branch of the brown Caucasian race. These and other researches though started by Risley's theories have greatly altered our knowledge and given new classifications.

Of the recent writers on the subject, Eickstedt and Guha have done very valuable work and deserve the fullest consideration. Eickstedt's conclusions have been published in numerous articles in

English and German and in the volumes on the Castes and Tribes of Mysore and of Travancore. After a detailed all-Indian study he has described the races of India and suggested a new set of names for them. His classification may thus be summarized:

I. Negrid:
  1. Negrito: Andamanese.
  2. Melanesian: Some Assam and Behar tribes.

II. Weddid (Ancient Indians):
  1. Gondid: Tallish and slender—Central Indian type.
  2. Malid: (*a*) Many South Indian hill tribes.
     (*b*) Veddas of Ceylon.

III. Mongolid:
  Several groups including Central Indian Paleo-Mongolid.

IV. Europid:
  A. Melanid group—Black brown colour, curly hair, steep forehead, triangular low ridged nose, medium height, a dark branch of the white race.
    (*a*) Southern Melanid: represented by the lower Tamil castes.
    (*b*) Kolid: Central India.
  B. Indid Group:
    (*a*) Indid: Consisting of the main body of the people of India: slim, graceful body, thin bones, medium height, long head, long face, brown skin, black wavy hair, protruding narrow forehead, triangular nose, weak chin.
    (*b*) North Indid: Tall body, coarse features, black hair and eyes, light brown colour.
  C. Brachid:
    (*a*) West Brachid: Bombay
    (*b*) East Brachid: Bengal
    (*c*) Tall Brachid:
    (*d*) Orientalids: recent immigrants from Western Asia.

Eickstedt's valuable studies of the somatic features of the Indian people were followed by the detailed investigations of Dr. B. S. Guha who may now be said to occupy the position of the latest comprehensive writer on the subject. His facts were published with detailed anthropometrical calculations in the *Census of India*, Ethnology volume in 1935, while his conclusions were more popularly presented

in his article in *The Field Sciences of India*. His racial analysis may be summarized thus :

A. Negroid :

1. Negrito : Short stature, round head, woolly peppercorned hair, dark brown skin, prognathic.

These people live in the Andamans.

2. The Melanesians: A medium statured, frisly haired, dark-brown micaticephalic race is found thinly sprinkled about among the jungle folk of Malabar, Bihar and Assam.

B. Proto Australoid :

3. Among the Veddas of Ceylon and some small aboriginal groups of southern and central India a smallish, dark skinned, prognathic, wavy haired people are found who may be called protoaustraloid. Baron Eickstedt distinguishes two groups among them namely the Weddid and the Gondid.

C. Mongoloid :

4. Tibetan type inhabiting the hilly parts of Kashmir adjoining Tibet.

5. The long-headed Mongolian on the eastern borders of Assam.

6. Round headed Monogolian on the southern borders of Assam.

D. Indo-European (?) :

Guha does not use this word. It is introduced here in order to signify the main race. The above named six types do not belong to the so-called Indo-European race. Six Indo-European types are distinguished, three of which are also minor in importance namely numbers 7, 8 and 9. Numbers 10, 11 and 12 are very important.

7. *Chalcolithic*—A powerfully built, large-brained race with prominent eye-brows projecting back of the head, robust body, light complexion and coarse general features found sprinkled in the Punjab, both five thousand years ago and now.

8. *Protonordic*—The group nearest to the Nordic race in India. Large brain, medium long head, grey or blue-grey eyes, chestnut or red hair, rosy white complexion

high pitched nose, well built long face and a powerful lower jaw. This type is now found among the Red-Kaffirs and other hill people of east-Afghanistan; microscopic mixed up traces of it are seen in the Konkan coast and elsewhere.

9. *Oriental*—With fair skin, black eyes black hair and nose markedly long and acquiline. A minor type found among the Pathans, some Punjabis and some sub-Himalayan regions.

10. *The Basic Indian type*—Medium stature, a long high cranium, a narrow vertical fore-head, weak eye-brow ridges, pointed weak chin, moderately prominent nose with spread-out nostrils, full lips, largish mouth, bright black eyes, slightly wavy hair, moderately present on the face and body and varying shades of brown skin from a rich to a dark tawny brown. This type forms the largest part of the South-Indian population and a considerable part of the North-Indian population. This is the basic type of India. Guha does not recognize a distinctly Tamil type, the Melanid of Eickstedt.

11. *The north-west Indian called by Guha the Indus type and by Eickstedt the north-Indid type.* This has a delicately made medium—sized body with sharp, well—cut, refined features, fine narrow high—pitched nose, low long head, a well-arched forhead and a brown skin with smooth wavy hair. It is closely akin to the Mediterranean race of Europe. It forms a very large proportion of the population of north-west India and of some upper classes in the other parts of India. Guha thinks that the taller and coarser elements in the north-western population are minor and are due to later immigrations.

12. *The Broadheaded type called Alpo-Dynaric by Guha.* It has a rather round, broad face, a long prominent nose, sometimes arched, a flattened vertical occiput, a broad high head with a somewhat receding forehead, shortish or medium stature, round horizontal dark eyes, profuse straight hair on the face and body, pale olive,

light brown or tawny brown skin. The branches of this race are spread over the west of India, the Kanarese country and Bengal.

I have stated this analysis at length though partly in my own words since it is likely to be the foundation on which work of the next generation will be based. It deserves the closest scrutiny and examination. It serves as a basis for future investigation.

Some amount of confusion is no doubt caused by the fact that each investigator has coined his own nomenclature and used it. Risley's names are popular, but they have to be given up since they connote linguistic and cultural groups and cannot be purely somatic terms. Guha's terms are somewhat more correct and more explanatory. But some of them lack uniformity and scientific form. It is time that the scientific bodies do come to an understanding about the terms to be used. I suggest below a modified scheme based on the suggestions of Eickstedt and Guha. The names ending uniformly with *ic* which is familiar as in Nordic.

As for real differences among modern writers, they appear to agree about most of the main divisions though there might be differences about some details.

Among the facts that stand out and appear to be likely to become unshakeable three may be specially mentioned:

First—That nearly all the known branches of races of the world have their representatives in India though sometimes in very small numbers.

Secondly—The Indo-Aryan or Nordic race, which Risley thought occupied the Punjab, Kashmir and Rajputana is represented in India by a small sprinkling of tribes in the North-west hills; and the main body of the people of North-west India are as distinct from the Nordics as the South Indians are.

Thirdly—That the bulk of the population of India is made up of three allied branches of the Caucasian race each distinguishable from the others, each largely occupying distinctive tracts though mixed up considerably in the course of history. Their common characteristics are medium hight, slightly wavy black hair, bright black eyes, brown skin, well developed nose, rather light weight, graceful body.

As a basis of our future studies both in Somatology and Prehistory, we are now in a position to co-ordinate the work done till now and understand racial classification in India thus:

A. Major races:

I. *Indo-Europic race*—This consists of the great bulk of the people of India. Its branches have been settled in India from pre-historic times. Three branches are distinguishable:

1. *Indic*—Eickstedt's Indid, Guha's Basic Dolicocephalic and Risley's Aryo-Dravidian. It is the largest single sub-race in India. It is a distinct branch of the brown section of the so-called Caucasian or Indo-European race inhabiting large parts of North India and South India.
2. *South-Indic*—Eickstedt thinks the Melanid type of the lowest Tamil castes appear to have arisen owing to an ancient admixture with the Malic hill type. Risley calls it Dravidian; Guha does not give it an independent place. For purposes of discussion it may be called South-Indic.
3. *North-Indic*—Eickstedt's North-Indid, Guha's Indus; Risley's Indo-Aryan. It is a fairer branch of the brown race with more refined features than No. 1 and taller. It is found commonly in North-west India, but is spread over the rest of India, particularly in the higher castes.
4. *Brachic*—Eickstedt's Brachid, Guha's Alpo-Dinaric and Risley's Scytho-Dravidian and Mongolo-Dravidian. These are round-headed brown people occupying Western India and Eastern India.

B. Minor races:

II. New Indo-Europic—Small groups coming in more recent times.

5. *Indo-Nordics*—Long-headed, fair-haired and fair-eyed. (Red Kaffirs.)
6. *Orientalic*—Round-headed, long-nosed, black-haired.

III. Proto-Australic—very small numbers.

7. *Gondic*—Central India.
8. *Malic*—of the South Indian hills.
9. *Veddic*—of Ceylon.

IV. Negric—very small proportion.

10. *Negritic*—Andamans, etc.
11. Melanesian—Assam, Nāgas, etc.

V. Mongolic—small numbers mostly on the borders.

12. *Paleo-Mongolic*—in the Central Indian tribes.
13. *Tibetic Type.*
14. *Assamic Type.*
15. *Burmic Type.*
16. *Oceanic Type.*

The racial history of India has to be built up on the basis of this classification. But numerous questions have to be answered before that can be done. If the old Indus people are the forefathers of the modern North-Indic people, what about the Aryans? The Aryan invasion of India requires re-study. We are now forced to accept one of three conclusions:

(i) The Aryans who invaded India after 2000 B.C. were somatically exactly similar to the bulk of the population which existed in the Punjab before that date and at the time of the Indus Civilization the difference between the Aryan and the non-Aryan being purely in some aspects of culture. Both belonged to the same branch of the same race. The words "*anāsāḥ*" nose-less and "*kṛṣṇaḥ*"—black—do not apply to the great majority of the people whom the early Vedic Aryans fought and conquered though the word "S'is'nadevāḥ" (phallaus-worshipers) may apply.

(ii) The Aryan invasion took place before the Indus Civilization developed in which case the early Vedic period would have to be posted to a date c. 3500 B.C. This would upset our present notions of the relations between the Vedic and the Indus Civilizations.

(iii) The Aryans who imposed their dominion over the brown race people were small in numbers and became indistinguishably absorbed in the North-Indic population though some aspects of their culture like language and religion became so widely absorbed by the conquered population that they have endured to the present day.

Perhaps the first of these three conclusions is the least objectionable.

Another problem of race is connected with the Dravidians. The discovery we have now made is that the Basic Indian or Indic section which forms the largest part and the basis of all Indian population

is a distinct section of the brown branch of the Indo-Europic race to which the North-Indic section also belongs. The South Indians are not the people whom the Aryans conquered. But it is the North Indian ones. The Tamils or so-called Dravidians were not conquered by the Aryans. The Dravidians belong to a branch of the Indo-Europic or Caucasian race clearly distinguished from the Astraloid and Negroid races. Their geographical position suggests that they have been in India from times earlier than the rise of the Chalcolithic culture of the North-west to which Marshall has assigned the date the 5th millenium B. C. So their immigration to India probably took place earlier than *C*. 5000 B.C. or earlier. If there was an invasion on a large scale it was by the North Indic race people with a copper age culture somewhere about 4500 B.C.

The coming of the brachic or broad-headed people is a problem unexplained in history. Their occupation of the middle belt suggests that they came before the North Indic or South Indian folk and after the Indic. It has of course been suggested that they entered from the west possibly through Baluchistan and Gujarat.

Before these Indo-Europic races came to India the peninsula was inhabited by the proto-Australic race, branches of which appear to have migrated from India to Ceylon.

To this dim past may be ascribed also the coming of the Negritos and perhaps of the Menlanesian folk who must have lived in the caves and jungles of India along with the proto-Australics for tens of thousands of years before the Indo-Europics or Caucasians of the Indic type entered the country.

The existence of fair-skinned persons of broad-headed castes among the Tamils, of long-headed families among the Bengalis and the Mahrattas, of the Chalcolithic type among the Punjabis and of similar admixtures in all parts of India goes to show that racial migrations of a minor character have been continuously taking place in the historical period from one part of India to another and from outside into India.

Yet another problem for which a solution has to be sought in India is the origin of the Man and particularly of the Indian racial types. It has been held by some authorities that the prehistoric extinct races of epes whose remains are found on the Sivalik hills particularly Sivapithecus bear many traces closely resembling man.

Sir Arthur Keith's theory that some of the fundamental racial characteristics of the human races were developed even as early as the ape—stage and have been inherited from distinctive races of apes, tempts us to institute a comparative study between the Sivapithecus and the Indo-Australoid and the Indic races, in order to find out if either of these two had its origin and development in or around India. Further the tradition of the existence of monkey races in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and of pigmy races in Megasthenes and Indian popular tradition lead us to seek for the remains of extinct sub-human and pigmy races in India. Pre-historic Archæology has to develop a great deal more before we can find out the truth about these problems. But it is well worth our while to start the investigations.

Science progresses with doubt and curiosity. There would perhaps be people who have doubt's about some of the methods of Physical Anthropology and expect the scientist to subject some of the fundamentals of his science to re-examination. India has been called an " Ethnological Museum " and here scope is offered for a re-study of the basic principles of racial classification. I suggest two of the many points which may thus be tested : First, the question of the shape of the cranium, particularly the cephalic Index. The caste system with the rather strict enforcement of endogamy promises that castes which have migrated from one part of India to another retain their original racial traits. Is this borne out by a study of the emigrant and immigrant castes ? Very often as in the case of the Kayasthas of Bengal and those of the Punjab of the Sarasvats of West India, of the Kanarese and the Mahratta families naturalized in the Tamil land of the Tamil and North-Indian families settled down in western India and Bengal, the head form is more like those of the surrounding population than like that of the caste in its original home. Here is something which appears to support the conclusions of Dr. Boas when he said that there was a distinct American somatic type towards which European immigrants gradually changed. Here is a case for re-study. Either the endogamic nature of caste will have to be shaken or it will have to be conceded that the head form does change under the influence of environment.

It will of course be conceded without serious opposition that somatic features do change according to food and environment. But the question is what is the time taken for the change in the various

features? While Sir Arthur Keith points to certain features which have endured from the early pleistocene times, *e.g.* Negroid features in the African apes and African man from the days of the Australopithecus and the Rhodesian man. Dr. Boas mentions changes which take place in a few generations. Food experts like McCarrison account for the large size of the wheat-eating Punjabi and the small bones of the rice-eating Bengali and Madrasi. Perhaps some features take a long time and some a shorter time to change. Which are these and how long do they take to change? Thickness of the lips, width of the nostrils and skin colour, weight and stature are explained away by many writers as changeable in comparatively short periods of time. The general question needing verification is what is the period of time that food and climate take to change the several somatic features. Particularly with reference to India do long heads change into round and round heads into long? If so, what is the length of time taken for the change? Assuming that the large bulk of our population belonging to the Brown Race have been living in their own localities for over several thousand years and some of them perhaps for ten or twelve thousand years, how far could the slight somatic differences observable in them be attributed to evolution from a common early Brown race type. Further, the influence of the internal secretion glands on somatic features may also be a matter for study by specialists.

I have stated above a few of the problems that suggest themselves to me which appeal to me as worthy of investigation. Of course, there is much work to be done in making more detailed studies of the ethnic groups of India taking larger numbers of subjects and carrying on studies from district to district. What has been done till now is the study of a comparatively small number of subjects in each area. Detailed study of the kind I suggest would need a large network of scientists organized and controlled by a central directing Board. If Dr. Guha had not been given the opportunity in connection with the last Census many interesting discoveries would not have been made. I think the coming Census is a golden opportunity for starting such an investigation which would of course take many years to complete. Once it is started, the Universities and scientific bodies could take active interest in the solution of these and other problems in the racial history of India.

YOGI GURUKKALS OF NORTH MALABAR

By M. D. Raghavan,

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The Yogis or Yogi Gurukkals of North Malabar, as they are more popularly known are a sect of holy men with a reputation for the S'akti cult which they zealously observe. They also serve as professional priests for the performance of S'akti pūjā in the houses of Nayars and Tiyars. Celebrated sorcerers and exorcists that they were, many of them are school masters in elementary schools. They bury the dead in the sitting posture like Sanyāsins. That they once held sway over the minds of the people, and were distributed over wide tracts of land, is clear both from the traditions current among the people, and from the account that Baldaeus has left about them in his *Description of the Malabar Coast.*

Baldaeus tells us that " in Kanara, between Kannanore and Mangalore, there are to be found certain order of pretended holy religious men living constantly in the pagodas. These appear quite naked and make a noise by the ringing of a bell they carry along with them to call their devotees. Some of the Yogis carry iron collars about their necks, walk constantly with iron fetters and chains, and have iron nails with the point inwards in their wooden slippers or sandles. Some have been known to tie themselves with ropes to a tree till they expired in great torments ."[1]

A community which systematically practised such rigorous discipline and religious austerities could not long endure, and this combined with their strict exogamous code, has no doubt resulted in their dwindling numbers. The sect is now represented by a few families in parts of North Malabar, such as Cherukunnu in Chirakkal, Peravur

[1]*An Exact Description of the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel in the East India*—Philip Baldaeus—translated from the High Dutch printed at Amsterdam in Vol. III, page 896, 1672, *cf.* also Joguis, *Dictionary of the Religious Ceremonies of the Eastern Nations*, Calcutta, 1787.

in Kottayam, and Iringal in Kurumbranad taluk. In their sacerdotal character they survive today in South Kanara District [1] where twelve Yogi mutts were reported to have been established, of which now three remain, the most important being the Kadiri mutt adjoining the Mañjunātha temple. Survivals of their once active life in Malabar are recalled in such names as Choyyadam, or Yogi Maḍam, a household of old associations in Kadirur, in the vicinity of the town of Tellicherry. S'akti cult is still observed by this household more as a rite of propitiation of the spirits of the Yogis, and rock cut recesses which are to be seen in the compound today are pointed out as the caves in which the Yogis retired for penance, or in which they entered Samādhi or eternal rest. Similar rock cut caves which are seen elsewhere in the district carved out of the solid laterite rock, have long been a puzzle to the archaeologist. There being no surface indication of such subterranean enclosures, they are accidentally discovered in the course of digging pits for cocoanut plants, or cutting laterite for building stones, when the ground gives way underneath and the workmen shocked by the sudden subsidence of the earth, drop their tools and run in terror of evil spirits. The antique pottery vessels, and other ceremonial objects such as the iron stylus, and the miniature grinding stone and roller etc., found in these caves in association with fragmentary pieces of bones, would appear to be indicative of consecration of secondary burials, where a selection of bones is given a ceremonial burial after a prior inhumation or cremation, a practice which prevailed widely in the past ages in various parts of the world. The funeral practices of the Yogis, however, being admitted to be different from those of ordinary mortals, the dead being buried, and not cremated, the entire human skeleton would normally be expected to be found, and not mere fragments, if these rock cut recesses had served to enclose their bodies on their attainment of Samādhi. It should, however, be remembered that but a small proportion of these antiquities have been brought to light, and these have mostly been deposited and rifled by the time news of their discovery reached the archæologists or official authorities. The possibility of the entire skeleton being found, cannot accordingly be altogether ruled out, until a systematic survey is undertaken and the contents subjected to careful study.

[1] *Gazeteer of the South Kanara Dt.*, with supplement 1938, pp. 380.

Similar caves with arched doorways found in the hills of South Kanara district are "believed to have been made by the Yogis, for in them have been found agnikuṇḍams, tris'ūlas, metal cases, tongs and knives used by these people. Such caves are also found in the hill known as Posodi-Humpa near Rumbla, near the Jogi mutt at Vittal, and near the mutt at Kadre, and also at Kuta-Sadri, Koteswara and Soda in the S. Kanara district." [1]

A lighter side of the life of the Yogis has been handed down to us in a folk song singing the romantic love of a Yogi Vīran, or a great Yogi for a young maiden Bala by name, obviously of a different community. They first meet at the bathing tank. A romance ensues, which after great trials of fortitude on the part of the girl, has a happy ending in their union as man and wife. The Yogi is revealed as a man of learning who correctly narrates the past and predicts the future, a prediction which is fulfilled.

[1] *Gazetteer of S. Kanara Dt.*, 1938, p. 381.

THE CULT OF SUN-WORSHIP IN INDIA

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Sun-worship seems to have formed an essential part of all the earlier religions of the world. It assumed very great importance in the cult of Mitraism the elements of which survive in many of the present-day religions. Prof. Gilbert Murray remarks: "We have immense masses of evidence about the religion of Mithras, at one time the most serious rival of Christianity, which sought its hope and salvation in the blood of a divine bull."[1] A French scholar, Louis Figuier is of the opinion that the worship of fire and the adoration of the sun exist in different nations, ancient and modern. He writes: "The worship of the sun still exists among all the Negro tribes which inhabit the interior of Africa; it may even be said that it is the only religion of the African tribes, and this religion has existed among them in all times. The ancient inhabitants of the new world had no other worship than that of the sun. This fact is established by the historical archives of the Indian races which we possess, such as the Aztecs or the ancient inhabitants of Mexico, and the Incas or the ancient Peruvians."[2] "Did not" asks Louis Figuier "all these primitive people, whose customs extend back to the origin of humanity, when they rendered religious homage to the sun, obey a mysterious intuition, a secret voice of nature?"[3]

Here we are concerned with the manifestations of this cult of the sun in the religious literature and ritual of the Hindus.

Mitraism, Mazdaism, Raism of ancient Egypt and Sūrya Namaskāra in India testify to the wide prevalence of this cult in

[1] *Five Stages of Greek Religion.*

[2] Louis Figuier, *The Day After Death*, p. 121.

[3] *Vaishnavism, Saivism, etc.*

ancient times. In India Mitraism was known as the cult of Mihira and according to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar " Mihira is the sanskritized form of the Persian Mihr, which is a corruption of Mithra, the Avestic form of the Vedic Mitra " and " Magas who were descended from the Persian Magi " were the priests of the Sauras, an independent sect of sun-worshippers. According to Salamon Reinach, " From East to West the progress of Mithraism is that of a river, which, flowing from a source of crystal purity is joined by a crowd of tributary streams ; the more its volume swells, the more are the foreign elements that float with its current and sully the limpidity of its waters."[1] That Mitra was regarded as the source of light and life in ancient Persia is evidenced by the following hymn of the *Avesta* ; " Mithra, whose foot is ever lifted, is a wakeful god, and watcheth all things unceasingly. He is strong, but he heareth the complaint of the weak : he maketh the grass to grow, and he governeth the earth. He is begotten of wisdom, and no man deceiveth him : he is armed with the strength of a thousand." The sun god was destined to play a great part in the history of religious ideas.

To the Aryan mind, the sun was not merely a physical orb in heaven but a spiritual being, a deity radiating not only physical light but the light of Knowledge. The sun is the visible symbol of the Supreme Spirit who is immanent in the universe and yet transcends it. When one worships Sūrya he is actually worshipping *Sūrya Nārāyaṇa* who is the indweller in the sun. (cf. *Dhyeyaḥ sadā savitṛ maṇḍala madhya vartī*).

Vivasvān, the sun, is represented in Vedic literature in various aspects. In *Ṛg Veda* I, 31, 3, Agni is disclosed to the sun. In I. 46. 13, the Aśvin spirits are looked upon as co-dwellers with the sun, and are invoked to come to sacrifice. "Ye dwellers with Vivasvān come, auspicious, as to Manu erst ; come to the Soma and our praise." In I, 53, 1, it is mentioned that god Indra has his dwelling place in the sun. In I, 58, 1, Agni—the God of light and heat—is said to come to us as the herald or messenger sent by the sun. In I, 139, 1, we read that " when our thought is raised and centred well on Vivasvān our holy praises reach God. In X, 10, Yama and Yami, husband and wife are mentioned as the children of the sun. These are the first human pair, and originators of the human race. The

[1] Salamon Reinach, *Cults, Myths and Religions.*

biblical account of Adam and Eve is perhaps traceable to this.[1] So, we, the human race are born from the sun; and therefore the sun is not simply the physical orb that we see, but the spiritual begetter of mankind. (See also *Atharva Veda*, XVIII, 3, 15). In X, 17 verses 3 to 6, the sun is said to be the abode where the pious who have passed before dwell. Pūṣan knows all these realms; may he conduct us by ways that are most free from fear and danger. Giver of blessings, glowing, all heroic, may he, the wise and watchful, go before us." With this may be read the Upaniṣadic eschatological account of souls liberated from Samsāra pass through the sun. In *Ṛg Veda* X, 72, the sun is said to be one of the eight sons of Aditi, the divine mother. Hence the sun is known as Āditya or the primordial energy of God (the creative impulse). We are told that with seven sons Aditi goes to meet the gods, and casts the sun Mārtāṇḍa away. This perhaps embodies the theory of the origin or the formation of the sun from the original fire-mist. The other sons of Aditi probably are intended to be the functionaries for the formation of other systems akin to the solar, in the vast expanse of the siderial universe.

Such is the Vedic background for the cult of sun-worship. To this Vedic deity is offered daily oblations and the Gāyatrī formula is most devoutly uttered at the time imploring the sun to grant wisdom (not merely light and life) as the highest gift which man can obtain (*dhīyo yo naḥ pracodayāt*). The prayer that is offered is not so much to the physical sun merely made of helium and hydrogen, sulphur and sodium,' phosphorous and platinum but to the sun as the visible symbol of the Supreme Being. A cognate belief is that of the Zoroastrian, the distant cousin of the Indo-Aryan. Zoroastrianism regards the sun as a symbol of Ahura Mazda. In the *Ṛg Veda* (VII, 63) Sūrya is regarded as the eye of Mitra-Varuṇa. In the Zoroastrian Gāthas, *Yasna* XXXVI, 6 and LVIII, 8, "tell us that the most majestic of all lights, such as that of the sun, forms the most beauteous body of Ahura Mazda. In *Yasna* I, 11, the brilliant sun is called the eye of Ahura-Mazda (*hvarecha kshaeta . . . doithrahe's ahurahe mazdao*)"[2] Thus both to the Vedic Aryan as well as the Zoroastrian the sun is not an independent object of devotion and worship but only

[1] Max Müller is, however, of the opinion that the conception of Yama as the first man is a "later phase of religious thought."

[2] R. E. Dastoor, *Zarathustra and Zarathushtrianism*, in the Avesta, p. 174.

a symbol of the supreme deity. According to Dr. M. N. Dhalla, the High Priest of the Parsis of Northwestern India, "Mithra being primarily the lord of light, it was but a step from the physical to the moral sphere that he should be depicted as impersonating truth.' [1]

We now come to the Purāṇic references to sun-worship which testify to the wide prevalence of this cult in mediaeval India.

The *S'ukla Yajurveda* is known as *Vājasaneyi Samhitā*, because the sun came in the form of a horse and revealed that Veda to Ṛṣi Yājñavalkya. His address to the sun in *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* III, 5, 15ff, reads thus:

" *Namas savitre dvārāya mukter amita tejase* "

Here the sun is said to be the gateway to the Empyrean beyond.

" The Glory of the moon and the sun I am ; " (*prabhāsmi Ṣaṣi sūryayoḥ*) says Kṛṣṇa in the *Gītā*.

Here it may be useful to refer to the Āditya Hṛdaya (the secret of the sun) in the Yuddha-kāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, where the sun is spoken of as the Light and Spirit of the world, the lord of the universe, the protector of men and gods, the same view as was held of Mitra, the beneficent deity, the guide and friend of the whole world in Vedic religion and Zoroastrianism. Here we find the sun completely identified with the spirit of the universe and Agastya exhorts S'rī Rāma who belongs to the solar race to adore the sun and pray to him for victory in the battle.

Agastya tells S'rī Rāma :

" *sarva-dev-ātmako-hy-eṣa tejasvī ras'mi-bhāvanaḥ*
eṣa dev-āsura-gaṇān lokān pāti gabhastibhiḥ
eṣa brahmā ca viṣṇus' ca s'ivas skandhaḥ prajāpatiḥ
mahendro dhanadaḥ kālo Yamas somohy-apāmpatih "

Here is Griffith's translation of the same :

Agastya came and gently spake ;
" Bend, Rama, bend thy heart and ear
The everlasting truth to hear
Which all thy hopes through life will bless
And crown thy arms with full success.
The rising sun with golden rays,
Light of the worlds, adore and praise ;
The universal king, the lord

[1] M. N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Theology*, p. 106.

By hosts of heaven and fiends adored.
He tempers all with soft control:
He is the God's diviner soul;
And Gods above and fiends below
And men to him their safety owe.
He Brahma, Vishnu, Siva is he."

This is the apogee of sun-worship in its purest philosophical form and is typical of sun-worship in Hinduism. In modern times, Sūrya Namaskāra is coming to be regarded as a form of physical exercise and popularized by the Rājā of Aundh. It is said that this form of exercise is an epitome of all the important Yogic Āsanas, regarded as disciplining the body as preliminary to religious meditation.

References to sun worship are found in the minor Purāṇas like *Agni Purāṇa*, *Garuḍa Purāṇa* and *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. In the great epic, *Mahābhārata*, says Dr. Farquhar "we meet for the first time the sect of sun-worshippers, the Sauras. When Yudhiṣṭhira leaves his chamber in the morning, he encounters one thousand Brahmin sun-worshippers who have eight thousand followers." Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar is of opinion on the basis of the evidence available "that the sun cult, probably made up of a mixture of the indigenous and foreign forms, prevailed in the beginning of the sixth century and was professed by great princes." (*Vaishnavism, Saivism*, etc.)

Regarding sun-worship in India, Count Hermann Keyserling, on his visit to Benares, makes the following reflections in his *Travel Diary of A Philosopher*: "It is glorious when the sun rises above the horizon, and the faithful on the ghats bend towards the giver of life in their thousands in one single gesture of adoration. Hinduism has no sun god; that which is material, he has never honoured as spirit. But Hinduism commands to pray before the sun because it is the foremost physical manifestation of divine creative power. What would man be without sun? He would not exist at all; the whole of his being is sun-produced sun-born, supported by the sun, and withers when the mainspring of life turns away." . . . "Thus all sun-worshippers are right before God. For the man who believes in myths, there are no facts in our sense; he knows nothing of the sun of the physicist. He prays before what he feels as the immediate source of his life. The man of later days, whose emancipated intellect raises the correctness in the first instance, must of course

deny sun-worship; for him there is only the fact of astronomy, and this is undoubtedly no divinity. The spiritualized being does justice once more to the ancient faith. He recognizes in it a beautiful form of expression of a true consciousness of God. He knows that all truth is ultimately symbolic, and that the sun expresses the nature of divinity more appropriately than the best conceptual expression" (p. 222).

SOME CONTACTS AND AFFINITIES BETWEEN THE EGYPTO-MINOAN AND THE INDO-SUMERIAN CULTURES

(INDO-SUMERIAN = DRAVIḌO-SUMERIAN)

By Rev. Fr. H. S. David, B.A., Hons. (Lond.)

A. Linguistic Contacts :

1. Per-Aha = He-of-the-" Great-House " ∴ Pharaoh. Now, in Dravidian, ' Per ' = Great, and ' Aha ' = house. Tamil ' aham.'

2. Sir A. P. Evans: *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, Vol. I, Figure 207, C. 2 has a female face with two hieroglyphic signs, one a bent leg ≡ kāl, the other a dart = ī. Hence Kālī, the ancient Draviḍian and Minoan Mother-Goddess.

3. The Minoan hieroglyphic signs Aṅkh = girdle, derived from Draviḍian aḥk or aṅḥk = contract. Hence Tamil aṅki = a jacket. Similarly kenb = angle, akin to Tamil ' Kent ' : ' Kōn.'

4. Elunda, a mountain in East Crete, the origin of the Greek ' olmpos,' is akin to Tamil ' Elunta ' = risen.

B. Other Contacts :

5. Silphium, an umbelliferous plant now extinct in Europe, could have been introduced *into Crete* only from North Kashmir, which falls into the province of the Indus Valley Civilization.

6. The Svastika or ' Nalam ' is found in Crete as a Minoan sacred symbol as well as in Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa.

7. A mother-of-pearl shell found in the Ligurian cave has its nearest habitat in the Persian Gulf.

8. Early Nilotic ivory carvings are comparable with Malabar Draviḍian ivory carvings.

9. The ' Libyan Sheath' is analogous to the Draviḍian Koḍukku, or loin-cloth.

10. The Minoan 'fixed rudder' and slightly raised prow are integral parts of the Draviḍian Catmarams or rafts.

11. The Minoans, like the inhabitants of Nandur (Mohenjo-Daro), took immense delight in hydraulic devices.

12. The Meander patterns of E. M. III and Egyptian Sixth to Eighth Dynasties have similarities with those of the Indus Valley.

13. Brick walls found in earliest Minoan constructions and at Minur (Prabhaspatan) in Kathiawar, amidst abundance of rocks and stones, attest to the Sumerian fancy for bricks.

14. The ancient Cretans, like the Draviḍians, used palm-leaves for writing.

15. The Neo-lithic clay figures of Knossos have Sumerian affinities, as also the Minotaur, two-headed Minoan composite animals, and bull 'rhytons' especially as inlaying was originally a Chaldean art, on account of the handy supplies of bitumen.

16. Two Babylonian cylinders, dating from Hammurabi, were found at Platanos and Candia in Crete.

17. The Sumerian clay tables are used for documentary records in Crete in M. M. I. A.

18. The early Nilotic culture is closely connected with the Sumerian. *cf.* the vessel with straight hull, abruptly rising prow and stern, must and square sail in Evans: *op. cit.* Vol, II. p. 26 and Suppl. Pl. XII. e.

19. There is a remarkable correspondence between the original exterior walls of the royal tomb at Naquada and the typical plans of Chaldean and Assyrian, presumably Sumerian monuments.

20. The early Sumero-Egyptian stone maces; the ivory handle of a flint knife from Gebel-el-'Arak on which men wearing the 'Libyan sheath' appear along wịth the hero Gilgames in Sumerian guise with his two lions.

BUDDHISM IN ANCIENT KERALA

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THERE is a tendency in recent years to exaggerate the influence of Buddhism on the History of Keraḷa. In the Census Report of 1931 it is stated " In Travancore Buddhism secured a large following and became the prevailing religion from one end of the country to the other during the time of As'oka. . . . Most of the appurtenances of modern Hinduism such as temples, worship of images, ***utsavams*** and religious processions were all borrowed from Buddhists. S'āstā, the name often given to Buddha in Buddhist scriptures was admitted into Hindu pantheon. The famous S'āstā temples at Sabarimala, Takali, and at other places in Travancore were originally none other than temples dedicate to Buddha." Dr. F. W. Thomas, in his presidential address at the 9th Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum, has stated " after the earliest Hinduism or Vedic Aryanism there came a period when Buddhism was strong in the land (Travancore) as is evidenced by the designation S'āstā originally applied to Buddha, but now to the deity." The present paper attempts to examine the extent to which Buddhism was prevalent in ancient Keraḷa and to discuss the question whether S'āstā, a Hindu deity commonly worshipped in Keraḷa is really a Hinduized Buddha.

The paper is divided into three sections :

1. The antiquity of Buddhism. 2. The extent of its expansion and prevalence among the masses and 3. its cultural results as seen in modern religious and social practices.

The evidence supplied by (*a*) archæology including inscriptions, (*b*) Sanskrit literature (*Mūṣikavaṁs'a*), (*c*) Tamil literature (*S'ilappadikāram* and *Maṇimekalai* and (*d*) popular tradition is examined

with a view to ascertain the light they throw on the various points under discussion. The paper then proceeds to discuss the question whether S'āstā is Hinduized Buddha.

In the light of the evidences mentioned above the following conclusions have been drawn. As'oka's missionary efforts had no direct results on Keraḷa, but as a result of the political and social intercourse between Keraḷa and the kingdoms on the other side of the Ghats, Keraḷa came under the influence of Buddhism in the centuries preceding the Christian era. But Buddhism never became the prevailing religion in Keraḷa. It had a large number of adherents in Vañji (Cochin State) and in central Travancore. The rest of Keraḷa was practically unaffected by Buddhism. Buddhism continued to have followers in Keraḷa in the 10th century A.D. but their number could not have been appreciable. The strength of Brahminism was so unassailable that Buddhism could not take root in the soil of Keraḷa.

S'āstā was originally a forest deity but was in course of time incorporated into Hindu Pantheon. There are no adequate grounds to believe that S'āstā is Hinduized Buddha. But in localities where Buddhism prevailed, when Buddhism came to be absorbed by Hinduism the Buddha was identified with the popular local deity, S'āstā. In this connection it is interesting to note that in a temple at Nilamperoor in central Travancore a Buddhist image is worshipped as God Visṇu.

THE TEMPLE STATES OF KERAḶA

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The Travancore Temple Proclamation of 1936 and the Malabar Temple Entry Act of 1931 have brought the temples of Keraḷa into the limelight. Regulated as they are by the *Āgamas* and *Nibandhas*, like the temples in other parts of India, they are peculiar in many ways. *Mudras* are considered more important in worship than *Mantras*. The festivals possessed more than a mere religious significance. They were occasions for the ventilation and redress of grievances among the people. For these temples had a two-fold aspect. They were not only places of worship, they were also—and this constitutes their most unique feature—states, having all the attributes of sovereignty.

Appropriateness of the Title

Like all modern states, these temples had a well-defined area under their jurisdiction. This was called *Samketam* or *Tattakam*. As the affairs of the temple were managed by the members of the village in which the temple was situated and as the *Grāma* or the village *Samketam* was identical with the *Kṣetra* or temple *Samketam*, it may be said that it is the village that should be regarded as the state and not the temple. But, in the first place, all affairs were transacted and all deeds executed in the name of the deity. All orders and documents began with the following words: ***Tevar tirunāl perāl uralar ullirinnu annu ninna (samudāya) mahuṣam. . . .*** (Issued or done in the name of the deity by the then agent, with (the approval of) the managing committee sitting (in session) inside. The temple festival, again, appears, from one point of view, as the annual

renewal of allegiance. For, all those who had gone out of the village were expected to return to it for the festival; and such of them as did not come back were considered dead and their relatives performed their obsequies. Moreover, the pronouncements of the *Veliccapads* or oracles, who were looked upon as the deities themselves when they were possessed, on matters referred to them were final. In these circumstances, there seems to be nothing inappropriate in calling them temple-states.

SAMKETAM OR TATTAKAM

The size of these states varied. Some of them were so small as to comprise only one or two square miles, like the *Samketam* of Calicut Tali or *Tattakam* of Pallavur. The greatest of these *Samketams* was Peruvanam, whose authority extended over four to five hundred square miles.

PERUVANAM

Peruvanam was what will be usually called by writers on Political Science an Imperial State. The now extinct Trikkanamatilakam, with its seven massive walls, one round the other, Iriñjālakkuda, at present the subject of dispute between Travancore and Cochin, Trichur, famous for its grand *Pūram* festival,—these and a number of other temples, all together 108 in number, were under its controlling authority. Its records, now in the possession of Travancore and Cochin, who have not yet made them available for research, will constitute a mine of information about temples and temple constitutions in Kerala.

YOGAM

The governing bodies of the temple consist of the *Yogam*, *Uralan* and *Samudāyam*, and *Koyma*. The *Yogam* or *Sabhā*, consisted of the heads of the Namputiri familes residing in the village surrounding the temple. Thus, the Iriñjālakkuda Yogam consisted of forty-two members, and that of Guruvāyūr, famous for the Satyāgraha for temple entry in 1932, of fifty-four. The *Yogam* was the supreme authority in the temple.

THE YOGATIRIPPAD

It was presided over by the *Yogatirippad*. He was originally elected by the *Yogam* every year; later on he came to hold his office for life. According to Vilvamangalam, the *Yogatirippad* had to be an ascetic himself.[1] His induction into office, called *Avarodham*, involved elaborate religious ceremonies. The last *Avarodham* of a Yogatirippad in Kerala, was that which took place in 1762 at Trichur. By this time, however, the *Yogam* had been practically deprived of all its administrative powers by the *Koyma*, and the *Yogatirippad* reduced to the position of a high-priest doing *Puṣpāñjali* or offering flowers.

The powers of the Yogam : (i) Appointment of officers : In the heyday of their power, the *Yogaṁs* had appointed all the officers of the temple and the *Samketam*, like the *S'ānti* or high-priest, and *Des'avalis* or Nayar officers, ruling the various *Des'ams* or administrative divisions.

Durgā and S'āstā temples have oracles called *Veliccappads*, for they are supposed to bring to *Veliccam* or light the intentions of the deity. The *Yogam* could not, of course, appoint the *Veliccappad*; for, it was for the deity to choose its appropriate medium, whether male or female, Brahmin or non-Brahmin. But the *Yogam* had the responsibility of declaring whether it was the true deity that manifested itself and recognizing the person concerned as the *Veliccappad*.

(i) *Taxation* : The *Yogam* collected not only rent from the lands belonging to the temple, but it also levied taxes from the people living within the *Samketam*. The rules of Elangunnappuzha Samketam, for example, provide for the collection of land taxes, house taxes and even profession taxes. They even make it obligatory to register in the books of the temple all transactions concerning immovable property.[2]

III Administration of Justice :

How great an importance was attached to the administration of justice may be imagined from the fact that the annual festival of the

[1] *The Keralakṣetra Māhātmyam* (a Sanskrit work printed in Malayalam characters), p. 103.

[2] Padmanabha Menon, *History of Cochin* (In Malayalam), Part I, page 198.

deity was not celebrated before all wrongs and grievances were enquired into and redressed. Before the flag was hoisted at the beginning of the festival—and in some places before it was hauled down at its close—the temple authorities called out whether there was anyone who had any complaint to make, whether the people within the *Samketam* were all happy, whether the temple property was kept intact and properly managed, whether rent, taxes and other dues were promptly collected, and so on, concluding these enquiries with the words—thrice repeated—" May the flag be now hoisted ? " At the close of the festival, before the flag was pulled down, the ceremony was repeated, concluding with the words " May the flag be now hauled down ? " It is said that once the grand festival of Peruvanam lasting for thirty days was suspended, for it was reported on the eve of the *Kodiyettu* or flag-hoisting that a Namputiri girl remained unmarried though it was more than a year since she attained puberty —it being the rule that all Namputiri girls of the *Samketam* were to be given in marriage within a year of their attainment of maturity. Even the *Koyma* or the temporal chief, after he had established his hold on the temple, was not allowed to go scot-free. If he did not make amends for his transgressions, the festival was not celebrated.

The *Yogam* had absolute powers of life and death. Thus, for killing a man in 1725 within the *Samketam* of Calicut Tali, one Chattu was not only condemned to death, but his lands were confiscated and the roof of his house removed by the elephant.

(iv) Inviolability of the Samketam

As a sovereign state the temple *Samketam* could not be violated. No one who took refuge in it could be forcibly seized. Even after the temples had lost all political power, the *Samketam* continued to be scrupulously respected, so much so that vanquished princes and fugitives from law very often fled to it for safety.

(v) Regulations of Domicile, etc.

The *Samketam* had the absolute power of regulating the settlement of aliens. Thus, in the Pallavur *Samketam*, toddy-tappers and Muhammadans were not allowed to settle ; and toddy-tapping, sale of intoxicating liquors and barter were prohibited.

All ordinary activities in the *Samketam* were suspended during the temple festival. For the festival of the deity was considered the all-important thing. Thus, at Kavasseri, on the eve of the *Kodiyettu*, the *Uralan* proclaimed; " Between Trippalur and Attipotta, Anakkappara and Mattumala (the boundaries of the *Samketam*) the Kāḷi is taking her sword and putting on her anklets; so no one is to leave the village, no one is to engage in repair of roofs or fences; no one is to pound rice or hire himself out or have tom-toms and music in his house."

(vi) Miscellaneous Functions

Some temples had special functions, Kaccankuricci, near Kollengode, was responsible for supplying Soma and Karingali for sacrifice. Chovaram maintained a register of all those who had performed sacrifices. At Panniyur was kept the standard measuring yard. From Guruvāyūr was reckoned the beginning of the New Year; for the temple is so constructed that the rays of the rising sun of the first day of *Meṣa* fall on the feet of the deity. Peruvanam in the days of her glory furnished every one with timber for building houses from the state forests.

URALAN AND SAMUDĀYAM

In course of time, the *Uralan* in small, and the *Samudāyam* or committee of *Uralans* in large villages came to usurp the authority of the *Yogam*. These were originally elected every year by the *Yogam*. The Inconvenience of the annual election gradually transformed them into life-offices, and the ambition and ability of successive holders led to their being converted into a hereditary right. In Peruvanam this process went so far that the *Urayma* or rights of the *Uralan* came to be vested jointly in three persons, the heads of the three families into which the original family split up as the result of a partition. Later on, in some places, on account of the encroachment of the *Koyma* or temporal power, the *Uralan* was reduced to the position of a servant of the central government like the *Koyma-Uralan* of Udaya Ravi Mārtāṇḍa Varman.[1]

[1] *The Travancore Archæological Series*, IV, pp. 86-88.

KOYMA

The intrusion of the *Koyma* or secular chief in temple affairs was due to various causes. In some places, there was dissension among the temple authorities. Thus, the intrigues and jealousies among the members of the Peruvanam triumvirate led to the establishment of the authority of the Rājā of Karur at that place. At Vaikom, famous for the first Satyagraha for temple entry in 1926, sheer inability on the part of the *Yogam* led them to place themselves under first the Ayirur, then the Travancore Rājā. At Guruvāyūr, natural causes were at work. Of the original fifty-four houses, fifty became extinct, and the survivors thought it wise to appeal to the Zamorin for help. The most potent cause, however, was the *Kurmatsaram* or civil war amongst the Namputiris. Originating in the rivalry of two neighbouring villages, Panniyur and Chovaram, it spread, like the Ionian-Dorian conflict in ancient Hellas, throughout the length and breadth of Kerala, and the temple *Yogams* found themselves compelled to shelter themselves under the protective wing of some powerful chieftain. It is quite possible that some of the subordinate officers of the temple themselves took advantage of the times to usurp an authority, which had not been originally theirs.

Wars and alliances among the chiefs subsequently led to many changes and developments in the *Koymaship*. In the first place, it came to be transferred by conquest. It is in this way that the Zamorin became the *Koyma* of Tirunāvāi, the seat of the once celebrated *Mamamkam*, and the Travancore Rājā obtained the right of interference at Iriñjālakkuḍa. Secondly, a distinction was drawn between the *Aka-Koyma* or internal sovereign, who was responsible for all internal matters including worship, and *Pura-Koyma* or external sovereign, who supervised the temporal, interests of the deity.

With the consolidation of the petty kingdoms under powerful chiefs evolved the idea of *Mel-Koyma* or suzerain overlord. The introduction of Austinian ideas of sovereignty which followed the establishment of the British power in the west coast finally put an end to the independent political career of the temple. Strangely enough, it was in the native states of Travancore and Cochin that these doctrines were first adopted. As *Mel-Koyma*, a number of temples under private management were brought under the government

by Munro as Resident-Dewan in Travancore and Cochin between 1811 and 1819. In British Malabar, the East India Company at first fought shy of temples and religious institutions. They even handed over the temples of the Bettet Rājā and Chennat Nayar to the Zamorin and the Palghat Rājā respectively, when these come into their possession by escheat. But circumstances have since compelled them to give up this policy of non-intervention, and in the Malabar Temple Entry Act of 1938 we have the pendulum swinging to the other extreme.

The powers of the *Koyma* were not limited to mere supervision as the theory of suzerain overlordship might lead us to immagine.[1] He presided over the meetings of the *Yogam*, in place of the *Yoga-tirippad*, who was divested of all his ancient political functions. The *Koyma* had the final voice in the appointment of all officers; he received a double share in all honorariums and perquisites. He was even empowered to levy extraordinary cesses to meet unexpected emergencies without consulting the *Yogam*. The most important duty laid on his shoulders, for all these privileges, was the defence of the Samketam and the maintenance of its authority.

Passive Resistance

This account of these temple-states will not be complete with out a reference to the methods of passive resistance and starvation or *Paṭṭini* which the Namputiries resorted to when confronted by a foe more powerful and at the same time obdurate. These were employed on a large scale for the first time, so far as our records permit us to trace it, at the beginning of the 6th century A.D., when Peruvanam had fallen on its evil days, by the Namputiris of Iriñālakkuḍa against the aggression of the Tekkedattu and Vatakkedattu Nayars, who had usurped all authority at Trikkanamatilakam. In their devotion to the deity—or shall we say their pride of power?—they conceived the idea of building seven concentric walls, all round their temple. The seventh wall could not be constructed without encroaching upon the Iriñjālakkuḍa *Samketam*. And they ordered the work to be pushed on, in spite of their protests. Thereupon, the Iriñjālakkuḍa *Yogam* resolved upon passive resistance. With their followers, they proceeded

[1] Nilakantan Namputirippad v. Padmanabha Ravi Varma, 1895 (*I.L.R.* XVIII).

to the rising wall and lay flat upon it. But the proud Nayars were not to be baulked. Afraid of shedding Brahmin blood, they bodily removed the Bramins and shut them up in prison. To the others, they showed no consideration whatever. Bricks were mercilessly laid on their backs, and the wall rose with the blood of these heroes to reinforce the cement.

Paṭṭini

The Brahmins did not give up the struggle. They resolved to employ the last, but believed to be the most formidable, weapon in their armoury. That is the *Paṭṭini.* It is not exactly a fast, such as that which Mahatma Gandhiji has familiarized us with. Those who take part in it are not moved by any feelings of love. They are also not prepared to fast unto death, if need be. The *Paṭṭini* is a quasi-religious ceremony—incantation one may call it—starvation or rather the fire generated by hunger—the *Jāṭharāgni*—being used as a spiritual or psychic weapon. When this terrible ceremony is decided upon, a leader conversant with all its details, called the *Paṭṭini Nampi,* is chosen, and a *Paṭṭinippura,* literally a hall for *Paṭṭini* is erected. It may be said by way of paranthesis that there was a permanent *Paṭṭinippura* at Trichur, Vatakkunathan temple. Under the guidance of the *Nampi* various *Homas* are performed for bringing about the ruin of the offender. While these are going on, preparations will at the same time be afoot for a right royal feast, with all the sixty-four items of the menu. At meal time, the Brahmins engaged in performing the ceremonies assemble in the dining hall and seat themselves before the leaves spread for each of them. After every thing is served and the guests are ready to begin the *Prāṇāhuti,* which immediately precedes the taking of food, some one belonging to the *Yogam* calls out in a loud tone: " Remember our grievances; no one shall eat before they are redressed." Forthwith the guests leave the hall and the food that has been served is given away to the S'ūdras. Tradition has it that it has the result of the *Paṭṭini* performed by the Iriñālakkuḍa people; a quarrel broke out between the Nayars of Trikkanamtilakan and their enemies took advantage of it to destroy the offending wall and its authors. The last occasion when this was resorted to seems to have been in 1565, when the Elangunnappuzha *Samketam*

was violated by its *Koyma*, the Rājā of Parur, who killed a number of people and plundered their houses. Here also the Brahmins were victorious. The Parur Rājā had not only to pay compensation for the damages inflicted by him, but to reimburse the *Yogam* for the huge expenditure it had incurred for the *Paṭṭini*.

TWO FOLK FESTIVALS OF COORG

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The Arms Festival or Āyudha Pūjā in Coorg

The worship of arms and other implements in Coorg has nothing to do with the inauguration of military campaigns or the propitiation of the tools connected with the handicrafts. It is very closely related to the processes of agriculture. Since growing crops in Coorg have to be protected from the depredations of wild beasts, hunting expeditions into the surrounding forests have become very necessary, after the hard labours of ploughing, sowing and the transplanting of rice plants are over. The arms are, therefore, taken up by the ryot to protect his crops, after a ritual, known as Āyudha pūja. The Coorgs refer to this festival as Keil Poludu or Keil Murta—a word which is translated as Sheaf Day, but which I would like to derive form Kalari, the ancient military schools of Malabar. As many of the chief features of the social economy and religion of the Coorgs seem to be derived from the West Coast, this might be a more correct guess. For example, the Coorgs worship Aiyappa, S'āstạ and Bhagavatī and their legends derive these and other gods and goddesses from Malabar and Wynad. Their Huttari festival too is directly derived from the Malabar Oṇam. The arms festival also may have been derived from the Kalaris of the West coast, because some of the heroes of ancient Coorg are said to have had their training in these military schools on the West Coast.

The actual date of the Keilmurta is fixed by the Kaṇiyān or Malabar astrologer, who is consulted for this purpose by the Takkya or village headman. The Kaṇiyān tells him not only the auspicious day

for the Mūrta, and for the cutting of the dance-pole and creepers; he gives him the lucky direction in which the hunting party should proceed and even the name of the lucky person who will secure the game.

On the morning of the Keil Mūrta, the entire armoury of the family—spear, matchlock, knife, sword, bow and arrow—including precious heir-looms handled by the ancestors, are collected and burnished with assiduous reverence. They are then arranged tastefully in the central hall and at the appointed hour, dots of sandal paste are placed on every article and incense burnt before the arms. Food offerings are made and the members of the family partake of a magnificent feast.

In the evening, about 4 p.m., all the male members of the family gather before the altar of arms and stand before it, wearing new clothes, in a worshipful pose. The oldest male member of the family then takes a gun from the altar and addressing his immediate junior, " Here, take this! slay the tiger and the wild boar; kill the enemy and protect the friend; obey the king and remember God " gives it into his hands. He receives it and prostrates at the feet of the giver. Thus the gun is passed on from person to person.

Men from every family then stream out into the Village mand or common and many feats of strength and marksmanship are performed there, amidst the shouts of the crowd. The Takka takes aim first and shoots at a coconut and other marks. The others follow. There are contests for lifting round heavy stones and throwing them and also for running races. Some of the Coorgs jump over a rope. Plantain trees are fixed upon the ground knee-deep to test the strength of arms and the sharpness of blades.

On the following day or on another auspicious day selected by the Kaṇiyān, the youths assembled for a village hunt, the first of a series after the long monsoon months. As on Wednesdays and Saturdays, the gods are supposed to be hunting game in the forests, man does not dare interefere with them. The first village hunt is called Ūru Beṭe. There are fixed rules for the division of the game. The dogs too get a share equal to that of the owner, if they help in the kill but only male dogs are entitled to a portion. The dog's share is appropriated by the owner. On the night of the hunt, they hold a big dance in the village common.

The day after Ūru Beṭe, they have the Nāḍu Beṭe which is a huge and interesting affair, since many villages take part and the competition is very keen for the honour of registering a 'bag.'

After thus initiating the Hunting season, the Coorgs arrange regular hunting by the youths of each village, twice or more during every fortnight.

The Tiger Festival in Coorg

When a tiger is killed, the Coorgs form a procession and carry the carcass to the sound of trumpets and tom toms to the village green. If the place is too distant, either the head of the tiger or its tail was taken. It was then placed on a specially erected platform and the *Tiger festival* was gone through.

Rev. Richter in his *Manual of Coorg* published in 1870 calls the Tiger festival, a wedding! He says, "According to the time honoured Coorg fashion, the lucky sportsman is wedded to the departed soul of the tiger." This is due to a misunderstanding of the significance of the word Maṅgaḷa, which is used by the Coorgs for any festival, including marriage, ear-piercing ceremony etc. The Tamils also use Kalyāṇa in the same sense and so we have the curious translation, thread-marriage, for Upanayana, but no one concludes that the boy is married to a thread.

The person who killed the tiger is entitled to wear from that day the grand moustachios or chop whiskers, formerly reminiscent of royalty. He takes his bath in the morning, puts on new clothes, and proceeds to the village green, accompanied by the entire village. The gun with which the triumphant shot was fired is decorated with strips of red cloth and carried in procession, muzzle forward. If a woman is the successful person, she is entitled to wear a red cloth over her head and if the man has killed the tiger by any means other than shooting, he is also given a red coverlet for his head.

He is then seated under a pandal erected near the platform on which the remains of the tiger lie and the following song is sung:

Hear O Friend this song I sing!
In this land midst forest thick
A hungry tiger sat open mouthed.
Hearing this news the young men all

Gathered with guns and arms and dogs
And encircled the fearful lair
Where under a cool and spreading tree
Inside a dark and deep hollow,
The Tiger sat and thought :
These little mannikins
" With guns and dogs are coming."
It saw the hunters nearing
It sat up and searched the quarters.
When it heard the barking dogs
Sparks did fly from both its eyes.
Like thunderclaps it yelled
And spoke to itself thus :
' This day seems a bad day.
Either the matchlocks of this boy
Is decked with red and green
Or his women weep and wail.
I will tear to thousand bits
" The rascal who comes near me."
Thus it thought and thus it leaped
A fearful lightning leap.
The good boy, Aiyanna
Boldly stood in front and shot
Right under the tiger's eye.
And the beast did roar and fall
From sky to earth it fell.
Its eyes just shone and closed
Its breath just gasped and stopped.
Then the boys advanced in glee
I come first and I come first
To touch the beast that fell
To touch the tiger's tail
Desiring much more than this
The youth of all the Nad [1]
Did drag the tiger's frame
To the flower strewn village mand.[2]

[1] (District)

[2] (The village green)

Then Aiyanna, royal elephant,
Feasted and drank in glee,
Sent man or note to far and near,
Not that day but next day,
Village, Nad, and family,
Each and all did gather.
The good boy, Aiyanna,
Bathed a golden bath.
Wore the newest clothes,
Straight was his Coat,
Splendid was his headdress,
Bangles on both his arms,
Men and women go in front
Trumpet, flute, go in front
Song and tom tom go in front
He and all his fellowmen
All his kinsmen, countrymen
Danced and sang all around him.
In the centre of the Nad
In the flower strewn mand
Right in front of fearful tiger
Facing East, he sat, the hero.
Then, O friend, do hear this tale
Aiyanna's mother, Nanjavva
Hushed with joy and filled with pride
Stood facing her brave child
Showered rice upon his head
Gave him milk in cup to drink
Gave him gold to fill his lap
And the good boy, Aiyanna
Touched her tender feet
And placed the dust upon his head.
One and two and three and four,
Every person there gathered
Showered rice upon his head
Gave him milk from cup to drink
Gave him silver to fill his lap.
Every person gathered there,

Said of Aiyanna the hero:
"As we heard this day
Let us hear every day'
Thus they said in joy and pride
And departed to feast and drink.

Rev. Richter himself describes a Tiger Festival which he witnessed in 1870: Under a screen, on a wedding (!) chair, his face towards the carcass sat the hero of the day, clothed in Coorg warrior costume and covered with flower wreaks and gold ornaments. Behind him stood his armour bearers, in front the sacred house lamp on a heap of rice poured on a brass dish. First each member of his house men, women, and children, then all his friends, one by one, stepped up to the bridegroom (!), strewed a handful of rice from the brass dish over his head, gave him from a brass vessel a sip of milk to drink and in making obeisance dropped a silver coin into his lap. A Coorg dance round the tiger concludes the tamash and the night wears away with singing and feasting," (page 42. 1870 edn.).

The Coorgs assign to the person who killed a tiger all the honours usually given to a married person. The ceremonies of giving milk and gold or silver are also observed during marriage or any festive occasion in the life of the Coorgi. But, we do not find in Coorg any trace of the fear of the dead tiger which has induced other peoples to take various precautions while hunting the tiger or disposing of its remains or honouring the hero. The Angami Nāgas for example will never say, "I have killed a tiger." They will only say, "The Gods have killed a tiger." But the Coorgs take the tiger hunt to be the consummation of a good day's sport and honour the hero publicly and without any qualm of Conscience.

SPIRIT DANCES OF KERAḶA

BY M. D. RAGHAVAN,

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THE subject of the ritual dance of Keraḷa is so vast that it would require a volume by itself to give it adequate treatment, and its significance in the life of the people can be but briefly indicated here. Though the worship of spirits is common in South India, nowhere does it prevail on a more extensive scale, nor is it conducted on so systematic a manner as in Keraḷa, the land of rituals, the Karmabhūmi.

A faith in the potency of spirits for good or for evil is the dominating factor. The spirits worshipped differ in different parts, every des'am or local unit having its own deities and spirits propitiated at the annual religious carnivals, or tıra as they are popularly known in North Malabar, held at the local shrines called the Kāvu.

Kāvu literally means a grove of trees, and these little shrines are ordinarily placed in an open clearing with abundance of trees surrounding it. The Kāvu has had its origin probably in the totem trees, and the beliefs connected therewith, the grove in course of time developing into the Kāvu of today.

In architecture a kāvu is a small masonry structure with a single chamber inside, and a narrow circumambulatory passage all round, the whole surrounded by high wooden railings which form the outer wall of the shrine, roofed over by copper sheets, or small flat tiles. Bigger shrines have more than one structure of the kind, with masonry platforms or tara as they are called, erected in the yard.

Mostly attached to, or under the management of ancient households, the deceased and deified heads of the family add to the number of spirits impersonated at these annual festivals. One deity alone ordinarily appears on the scene at a time, the entire celebration being

spread over the whole night, from dusk to dawn, though the preliminaries begin the previous day. In the bigger shrines, the festival is of longer duration.

The dancers, who belong to the heredictory professional classes of spirit dancers and exorcists get a mastery in the art, scarcely surpassed in other spheres of folk life. It is a living art enlivened by appropriate music, the resplendent costumes, the make-up and open-air carnivals recreated in the numerous shrines all over the land. The gods of Keraḷa and the souls of the dead speak through the lips of the impersonator as in North Malabar, who for the moment is the very deity, or through the medium of the Veliccapad as is the practice in the South. As an institution, the Veliccapad is strong in South Malabar temples—otherwise known as the Komaram, he is the representative of the deity in the temples of South Malabar. The komaram plays but a minor part in the North Malabar temples where the deities themselves as impersonated, express their appreciation of the propitiatory ceremonials, and bless their devotees. In North Malabar temples also, the propitiation of every principal deity is preceded by an introductory performance called a vellāṭṭam[1] in the previous evening. The vellāṭṭam of every deity has a make up of its own, and functions as a prelude to the propitiation of the deity. The diversity of deities and the variety of their functions produce a rich and varied art. The decorative motifs are a study in themselves, disclosing as they do an observance of stylistic canons and of forms of presentations indicating a long tradition of expression. The resplendent costumes and gorgeous colours harmoniously and artistically blended are a feature of the impersonations in North Malabar temples, creating a rich pageant which stands supreme among the ritual art of South India,—a pageant which is equalled, if not surpassed only by the splendour of the Kathakali, which it so closely resembles. Every line and every symbol bespeaks tradition and a profound sense of design and method. The student of folk art and culture has much indeed to interest him in these displays and to ignore them or to dismiss them as of no moment, is altogether to miss what really is a most alluring factor in the cultural, religious and social life of Keraḷa, a factor which acts in some degree as a unifying force amid the diversities of

[1] Vellāṭṭam—a solemn dance, a term apparently formed of the two words—Vēla and āṭṭam.

Kerala society; for the association between these annual festivals and the community is both sacred and intimate. Both the cultured and uncultured strata of society rub shoulders at these annual shows, which are looked forward to as the great event of the year, and at which different castes have different functions allotted to them. The festivals are as much enjoyed for the agreeable side of social life which they present, as for the spectacular sight of the deities, and ritual ceremonials equally spectacular.

While the number and character of the deities vary from temple to temple, all Kerala unites in the propitiation of Bhagavatī, the supreme deity of the peoples, before whom all other gods and goddesses pale into insignificance. Worshipped in diverse forms and under different names, the cult of Bhagavatī gives the religion of Kerala and its folk culture an individuality all its own. Among the many forms of Bhagavatī are Thamburāṭṭi, Podi, Cāmaṇḍī, Kāli, Bhairavī, Bhadrakāli, S'ri Kurumba or Cirumba etc. The legend of Dārika Vadham, or the slaying of the Asura king Dārikan by Bhagavatī, is the basis for the cult of the goddesses, who is generally invoked with ceremonial chanting of the legend in the form of toṟṟam, as the invocatory songs are called, sung in a liturgical intonation with the object of inducing possession.

Dārikan was born at a critical time in the history of the Asuras when the latter had all but perished in the Devāsura-yuddham or the war between the Devas and the Asuras. At his birth, the worlds trembled, the sun dimmed, trees fell, and the oceans raged. Taking his name after his mother Dāruvati, Dārikan reigned as the monarch of the Dānavas, a sect of the Asuras and grew in might and power. By dint of austere tapas Brahmā was persuaded to confer on him the boons that he would not be defeated or slain by day or night, by stone or iron, inside or outside. In addition to these boons, Brahmā bestowed on him the divine mantrams of Visvārsmani and Sikhārmani. Fortified as he thus was by these boons, Brahmā realizing their defective nature volunteered to bestow another boon, that he would not be conquered or killed by any one of the opposite sex. This offer he haughtily spurned, as unworthy of the great Dārika. Thus he reigned supreme and in the plenitude of his powers, he did not stop short of hurling insults, and threat at God Paramas'iva. Enraged at this insolence, S'iva, laid his plans to destroy him. His wrath assumed

the form of a demoness, Kandan Kāḷī, whom S'iva commissioned to encounter and kill Dārikan. On her way, she summoned Vedāḷam, chief of the Bhūtas to her aid. Thus reinforced, she encountered Dārikan. In spite of her best efforts, she is discomfited in a series of combats and beats a hasty retreat to Mount Kailās, and narrates her experiences to S'iva. The latter discloses to her that he is safeguarded by the boons of Brahmā and the mantras, and that so long as he was thus protected he would be invulnerable. Persuaded by S'iva to try and get possession of the two mantrams, she goes to the fortress of Dārikan disguised as a beggar woman dressed in rags with hair dis-levelled and a short broom and winnow in her hand. Reaching Dārikan's abode as the women were singing hymns and chanting mantrams, they hasten to offer her rich gifts, which she declines remarking that she is charmed by the melody of the songs, and that she would like to learn the mantrams they were chanting. The women innocently let her into the secret of the mantrams, which she quickly grasps. Returning she summons her troops and leads them to fight Dārikan. The latter meets Kāḷi's forces, and is beaten in successive encounters. Bereft of his powers, he hides himself in the recesses of his fortress, where Kāḷi pursues him, and drags him out by his long locks. On a Sunday in the austerism of attam, at dusk, when it is neither day nor night, she fells him on the door step of the Vaḍakkina or the northern room of the castle, and kills him by apply-ing the claw of her left big toe to his right ear, thus encompassing his end, without violating the conditions of the boons conferred on him by Brahman. Severing his head, and taking it on the point of her sword, she triumphantly marches to Mount Kailās, laying it at the feet of Mahādevan S'ivan. Having thus accomplished the purpose for which she was created, S'iva is faced with the problem as to how best to dispose of his mighty daughter. Apprehensive that her glory and prowess would be detrimental to his own suzerainty, he held out to her the promise of a happy existence and the rank and status of Kula-para-devatā or the supreme deity, if she would only betake herself to the world of mortals on the earth, or Bhūmi. Much against her own inclinations which were to serve him on Mount Kailās, Bhagavatī agreed to go down to the world of mortals, and she chose for her domain, the land between the Western Ghats and the sea, Keraḷa, the land of rituals, the Karmabhūmi.

A legend of great sacredness, *Dārika Vadham pāṭṭu* is jealously guarded by those who possess manuscript copies of it. An ideal story for dramatic expression, it gives free scope to the impersonator of Bhagavatī to act her part and to display her emotions and feelings, which are skilfully displayed in a series of dances. In some of the principal shrines of North Malabar, Bhagavati's fight with Dārikan is enacted in the form of dances with such vivacity of feeling and emotion that the well-modulated steps and movements convey the incidents of the legend with greater eloquence than words, marking the performance as in the highest degree dramatic. The dance of the Bhagavatī in these rituals easily takes precedence as the most skilful and artistic in the whole range of the ritual dances of Keraḷa.

Among the favoured forms of the Bhagavatī cult is her propitiation in a temporary maṇṭapam, a shed of flat roof covered by plaited cadjan, the capacity and size of the pandal being in varying proportions. While a pandal supported on 108 posts ranks as the ideal, pandals of lesser proportions are permissible with 64,32,16,8, or 4 posts, the size of the pandal varying with the means of the devotees. Within the pandal is erected a *sanctum sanctorum* profusely decorated with bunches of ripe arecanuts, and cocoanuts, and festoons of sprouting cocoanut palm leaves. Such a ritual propitiation in a decorated pandal is associated with the cult known as Kalam pāṭṭu, the essence of which is the elaborate drawing on the ground in coloured flour of the form of Bhagavatī accompanied by the chanting of *Dārika Vadham* toṟṟam, both of which occupy a whole night.

Much the same cult obtains among the Nambudiries in the southern parts of Keraḷa, under tha name of Bhagavatī pāṭṭu. A figure of Bhagavatī is drawn on the ground and songs sung in glorification of the goddess. Jīva-pratiṣṭā being thus done over the figure, the Veliccapad or the komaram getting possessed performs a weird dance holding a jingle in one hand and a sword in the other, during the course of which, he makes known Bhagavatī's commandments and her benedictions. The more popular form prevailing in the Southern Keraḷa particularly in Nayar households is termed pāna. A ritual offering to goddess Kāḷi, it is also styled Kāli Nāṭakam or the drama of Kāḷi. A covered pandal supported by 64 pillars is erected, with an enclosure in the centre, sacred to Bhagavatī who is symbolized by a

branch of the pala tree[1] with three sprouts. Performing pūja, the komaram executes a rhythmic dance offering flowers to the goddess as he dances. A libation being made of saffron and lime in water, the mixture is poured over his person, stimulating a blood offering. This is followed by the invocating singing of the toṟṟam, narrating the origin of Kāḷi and her encounter with Dārikan. The Veliccapad getting possessed begins a dance in which the whole assemblage joins in a tumultuous uproar, in the midst of which the enclosure is pulled down, which brings the performance to an end. The ceremony of pāṇa here described is a communal offering in which the whole village participates.

Bhagavatī is not always the demoniac figure that she is in popular conception. Assuming different forms for different occasions, she is portrayed as prasanna-rūpi, or the bright figured one, and ānanda-svarūpi or the embodiment of good-cheer, attributes which stand out as she appears in her form of Valia Tamburāṭṭī or the great goddess, in which form she is worshipped in many a Kāvu in North Malabar, including the well known shrine of Cirakkal Kāvu in a suburb of Tellicherry. In her role of the great goddess, she is the most impressive and gorgeous of all the *dramatis personae* in the pageant of spirits and gods that are given a local habitation and a name. Her triumphant aspect and the youth and grace of form, invest her figure with a pleasing appearance. Much skill and art is displayed in her toilet, which is most elaborate as is evident at a glance of her face artistically painted with a rich vermillion tint in curvilinear designs, lips reddened with kumkumam, a richer redness than what the lip stick gives.

At the Cirakkal kāvu, Bhagavatī is conceived in a dual form, as Valia Tamburāṭṭi or the great goddess, and Ceria Tamburāṭṭi or the lesser deity,—the latter being popularly considered as the daughter of Bhagavati, whom she accompanies. There is nothing really small about Ceria Tamburāṭṭi who in her gorgeous make-up and brilliant apparel is as glorious a figure as Valia Tamburāṭṭi herself, and as much pains are taken in her general make up, as over the figure of the greater goddess.

[1] The pala is sacred to the goddess Bhagavati, and while the branch of the pala tree is symbolic of the goddess herself, it is not without a significance of its own, as a survival of the tree worship of the early days. As Dr. Achyuta Menon informs me the planting of the branch of the pala tree has had a ceremony of its own, the branch being taken in procession to the consecrated spot in the pandal, pointing to a definite cult of the tree. *cf.* also K. R. Pisharoti—Kerala Theatre, *Ann. Univ. Jour.* Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 91-113.

As the Valia Tamburāṭṭi is propitiated by the solemn chanting of the toṟṟam, the lesser goddess advances with majestic gait, conducted by an attendant holding her hand on each side. Mounting the tara or masonry platform, she dances a whirling round dance. Dismounting she rushes forward and begins a vigorous elliptical dance over the space kept clear for the purpose between the tara and the entrance to the shrine surrounded by the surging crowd of devotees, including the Ooralans or the trustees of the temple.

The dancer in this ritual dance performs a vigorous dance, dancing as she marches forwards and backwards now to one side now to the other, every now and then dancing on one leg and raising the right and left foot alternately, the weight of the body resting on one foot. She dances with frenzy and in quick movements, to the defeaning music provided by the asura vādyam, or the stimulating music produced by the rhythmic beating of a number of long cylindical drums accompanied by the instruments of the Kuzhal, the ottu or the drone, and a pair of large cymbals. The popular soft tune of the Nāgasvaram band, is ineffective and inappropriate to such ritual performances.

In the meantime, the Valia Tamburāṭṭi will have been duly invested with the muḍi, or the towering head gear over 20 ft. high made of sprouting cocoanut palm leaves over a bamboo frame work. To the sound of the firing of detonators, the pageant moves along with the Bhagavatī in the centre with her muḍi towering high in the air, an array of virgins on either side uniformly dressed in white, each holding in their arms a kiṇṇam or wide-mouthed bell metal vessel, with offerings of a cut cocoanut, flowers, fruits and betel leaves, with the Ceria Tamburāṭṭi immediately behind, decorated kalas'ams, borne on the heads of devotees uniformly clad, bringing up the rear, closely followed by crowds of worshippers.[1] After thrice circumambulating the extensive premises of the temple, the procession halts in front. Bhagavatī then takes her seat on a pītham or a heavy wooden stool, and pronounces her appreciation of the ceremonials, and her oracles giving her benedictions to the temple trustees and the devotees, who present themselves before the goddess for the purpose. The towering crown is now carefully lifted and removed.

[1] Tāla ṗoli, as this mode of propitiation is called, is sacred to the Bhagavatī, the girls taking part in the culls being supposed to be rewarded by getting proper husbands in due course.

The Kalas'am, an impressive factor in the procession merits particular description. A bamboo pole ranging from 4 to 6 feet high with tiers of interlaced wood work at stages, and narrowing in dimensions towards the top, the whole well-fixed to a separate head piece enclosing a vessel, constitutes the Kalas'a-taṭṭu, or the frame work of the Kalas'am. The interlaced patterns are gaily decorated with tender flowers of the areca palm from the bottom to the top, and with other embellishments such as a gilded parrot surmounting the pole, and garlands of erikku flowers and festoons of sprouting coconut palm leaves, the assemblage of Kalas'ams forms a most striking feature in the tālapoli pageant. These kalas'ams, which have an elaborate cult of their own for over a week at the respective houses which make the offering, are conducted with music to the temple premises on the previous evening, to take part in the solemn procession of the Valiya Tamburāṭṭi the next morning. An outstanding feature in the procession, the cult of the decorated pole is no doubt another survival of the tree cult, a cult which must once have been very vigorous in a land of hills and valleys, where the people lived as they still mostly do, a simple life in harmony with nature, the grove of trees in the vicinity of which they lived developing into the Kāvu, or the sacred grotto of spirits and goddesses? A group of such kalas'am-bearers halting at the junction of cross roads *en route*, and footing a vigorous measure to the rhythmic beating of the drum, dancing on one leg alternately on the right and left, and entertaining themselves and beholders, was a familiar and picturesque sight which has altogether disappeared at the present moment.

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD IN SOUTH INDIA

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A question has been often asked whether burial or cremation was the earliest practice, and no satisfactory answer has been given. One opinion is that cremation was the custom of the North Indian Aryans and burial that of South Indian Draviḍians. Apart from the controversial question of Aryan versus Draviḍian, it would be interesting to know on the evidence of archæology and literature of the Tamils what customs were in vogue in the south of India regarding the disposal of the dead bodies. Though archæological excavations on a large scale have not been undertaken in this part of our country, still the finds so far unearthed have demonstrated beyond doubt what once were the funeral customs of South Indian people. Among those finds what are called dolmens claim largely our attention. These are generally built of stone in shape rectangular. In some cases they are found with stone circles all round and in others such circles are conspicuous by their absence. This monument is usually covered on the top by a stone slab. These are scattered all over South India including the Andhra districts. Though dolmens may be tombs or monuments consecrated to the dead, still all dolmens cannot be regarded to have served the purpose of burial monuments. Investigation of dolmens in the Pulney Hills has shown that some have been utilized as dwelling places and some more as fortified shelters (see *Memoirs of Archæological Survey of India*, No. 36 by Fr. Anglade and Fr. Newton). It has been surmised that these mounds were largely used by the early tribal settlements of Kurumbar or Kurubas as they are known in Andhra districts. These seem to have been a pastoral people, living in pastoral tracts and tending cattle and sheep. The Kurumbar were an occupational caste engaged chiefly in making

blankets of wool, though in their crude fashion. It is surprising that modern civilizing influences have not affected them, and whether in a state like Pudukotta, or in an Andhra district like Bellary, they still pursue their hereditary calling much to their advantage and also to the advantage of the indigenous industries. To come to the subject, the dolmens are associated with these early tribes of South India, and curiously the Tamil term *kallarai* for a tomb still current in the Tamil districts demonstrates that it is a relic of the old custom of burying the dead in a chamber of stone which we now call a dolmen. If we turn to the S'angam literature of the Tamils, we find that funerary practices of the ancient Tamils were more than one, and that both the customs of burial and cremation existed side by side so much so that it is impossible to say which preceded which.

Every town and village in ancient South India contained a burning ground, and this was called S'uḍukāṭṭukoṭṭam.[1] Besides the various sections pertaining to the different modes of disposal of the dead bodies, there were in this koṭṭam shrines to gods and goddesses like Kāḷi who were supposed to be guardians of the place. Another feature of this koṭṭam was the erection of tombstones with inscriptions furnishing details of the name of the dead person, his caste, profession and the cause of his death. In the S'uḍukāṭṭukoṭṭam of a town as described in the *Maṇimekhalai*, the corpses are taken to the place till midnight with tom tom and other paraphernalia distinguishing the one dead from the other. In the case of recluses who died, their glory was hymned. It is said that that koṭṭam was the haunting place of evil spirits, jackals and owls besides Kāpālika mendicants who decked themselves with wreaths of skulls and bones.

The *Maṇimekhalai*, a S'angam epic of the second century A.D. refers to as many as five ways of disposing the dead. First[2] is cremation or burning of the corpses. This is what Sanskritists would call *dahana*. Secondly[3] the bodies are to be thrown on the open waste land. This is a case of neither burial nor cremation. This is one form of *tyāga* as is seen in early smṛti and epic literature. In fact three modes of disposal of the dead are mentioned in Sanskrit literature—*khanana*, *dahana* and *tyāga*. (See, Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita,

[1] Canto VI, 11, 30-126.

[2] சுடுவோர் cp. *Puṟam* 240, L.8.

[3] இடுவோர்.

Ās'auca kāṇḍa). We hear in the *Mahābhārata* that dead bodies in the field of battle were left then and there for the jackals and kites to make a meal of. But there has been another form of *tyāga* which in the place of execution was resorted to. It was a recognized legal expedient. When Asamañja had to be killed for his unholy acts, he was banished. Similar fate overtook Lakṣmaṇa who had to disobey Rāma's orders when the latter was engaged with Rudradeva and when the sage Durvāsas appeared on the scene. Rāma banished him who got ultimately drowned in the river Sarayū (*Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara). Thirdly[1] the dead were buried in deep pits dug on the earth. This apparently answers to *khananam*. Fourthly[2] the bodies were placed in low enclosed chambers in the earth. Lastly[3] was the custom of burying of them in pots or what is known as sepulchral urns.

The fourth method is rather intriguing. The expression தாழ்வயின் அடைப்போர் sounds very similar to that of the fifth தாழியிற் கவிப்போர். Evidently, the fourth must mean yet another kind of sepulchral urn. If the *Puranānūru* can be cited as an evidence of this practice of burial in pots, several stanzas which unmistakably refer to this custom seem to indicate that burial in pots was an honour shown in the case of a few—nobles or heroes or chieftains (st. 228, 238 and 256, and 364). The *Puṟam* stanza (228) refers to the broad Tāḷi intended for Colan Kuḷamuṟṟattu Kiḷḷivaḷan when he left this earth for heaven. The very expression கவிக்கும் தாழி is used. This is the fifth mode of disposal of the corpse mentioned in the *Maṇimekhalai*. In stanza 238 of the *Puṟam* reference is made to the burial ground and the buried tāḷi of the type mentioned in the earlier stanza (228). Another reference for burial in tāḷi is furnished by stanza (256) where the commentary uses the significant expression முதுமக்கட்டாழி (mutumakkaṭ-ṭāḷi) meaning simply a dolmen (see also 264 last line). *Mutumakkal* may mean the aged or the revered.

In vain we have to stretch our imagination to discover the origin of this custom. In popular parlance, as has been noted by previous writers, this monument is known as Pāṇḍavakkuḷi, literally the pit of the Pāṇḍavas. This has no meaning. Perhaps bhāṇḍakkuḷi—a pit of pots—has become converted in course of time to Pāṇḍavakkuḷi. But

[1] தொடுகுழிப்படுப்போர்.

[2] தாழ்வயினடைப்போர்.

[3] தாழியிற்கவிப்போர்.

more appropriate is *māṇḍavar kuḷi* which means the pit of the dead (*Pudukkottah History,* p. 45). Whatever may be the origin or origins, one thing is certain. It is that corpses were usually buried in pits or pots, and the latter was perhaps reserved for the aristocratic class of people, and the former for the commonalty. This custom has not entirely gone out of practice. Corpses of babies and young children are still buried in pits dug out on the earth. So also corpses of ascetics (sanyāsins which institution is becoming very rare nowadays) are also buried in pits of earth, reminding us that once upon a time this was largely in vogue.

Apart from the methods described in the *Maṇimekhalai* and other S'angam works in the disposal of the dead in ancient South India, the literature designated as *Uḷa* furnishes another mode of disposing not the dead but the living corpses as one should call them. It is rather strange that such a practice existed. Either it is a flight of the poet's imagination or was an actual fact. In praising the Coḷa king, the poet Oṭṭakkūttan pays a tribute to the ruler that when men and women became too old and cripple, they were ordered to be thrown into pots so that in course of time by sheer exposure they might meet with death. The poet, who speaks of முதுமக்கட்சாடிவகுத்த,[1] flourished is late as the 12th century A.D. And it would be certainly a curious practice if it was resorted to in that century when the civilization and culture of the Coḷas were at their heights. About this time a Jewish traveller from Spain, Benjamin of Tudela records embalming of the dead, a custom prevalent in Quilon. He says:[2]

"The inhabitants do not bury their dead, but embalm them with certain spices, put them upon stools and cover them with cloths, every family keeping a part. The flesh dries upon the bones, and as these corpses resemble living beings, every one of them recognises his parents and all the members of his family for many years to come."

Is Oṭṭakkūttan's reference to this form of disposal of the dead? It still awaits an answer.

[1] *Vikramacolan Ula*, ll. 13-16.

[2] (K. A. Nilakanta Sastri—*Foreign Notices*, p. 135).

A NEW THEORY OF INDIAN RACIAL ORIGINS

By C. Hayavadana Rao,

Bangalore

Baron E. von Eickstedt, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Breslau, has recently propounded a theory of Indian Racial origins that is worthy of close study. It is part of an Introduction he has contributed to a book on *Travancore Castes and Tribes* by Mr. L. A. Krishna Iyer, M.A., and published by the Travancore Government. It is important to study the views of the Baron because it is based on a comprehensive review of anthropological research so far carried out in India and the many differing views expressed on the results obtained from it for over fifty years now. It is worthy of note that as the result of this survey, he rejects Sir Herbert Risley's classification of the races of India in words that deserve to be quoted. "The abstractness of this system," he says, "which pays so little heed to the facts, or to the works of forerunners, is indeed surprising, because Risley had from the beginning of his Indian career in Midnapur, had the best opportunity to observe all real form-groups. That he could not recognize natural units and therefore had to take refuge to artificial calculations (like many anthropologists of the day), is shown by his denial of Mongoloid elements in Inner India." This and other similar criticism has been urged before against Risley's classification shows that the position has to be closely re-examined when the whole of the remaining data has been worked out. Baron Eickstedt, whose work in India during 1926-1929, is so well known, suggests a classification of the races of India based, as he says, "on living material of the natural type groups and their distribution." He claims for it "that it tries to be in strict accordance with the rules of biological working and nomenclature." What is of great interest is that he suggests that this classification is "an outcut of a more

extensive investigation into the history of research and nomenclature of the races of whole world" in certain works to which he gives full references.

In the briefest outline, this classification of Indian races recognizes three great and main biotypological groups *i.e.*, three main races and groups and sub-races or sub-groups. These are thus described by him; (i) The Indid Race, with the sub-races of Indids proper, the north Indids, and the Brachids including the sub-groups of Brachids, the Mahratta West Brachids, the Bengal Orissa East Brachids and a tall Brachid group in the Doab. Among the Indids proper, there are particularly the Keralid type in Malabar, the very mixed Singhalid type, and a Central Indian type. (ii) The Veddid Race with the sub-groups of the light-coloured, square built North-Gondids, predominant in the North Deccan; the light graceful, and slender South Gondids, predominant in Central India; and the very dark contact-form of the Malids in South India, to which the very mixed Veddas proper of Ceylon more or less belong. And (iii) the Indo-Melanids, or shortly Melanids. They are located in the plains of South India, particularly among the Tamils as the Karnatic sub-race, and in the north among the Hosts of the north-western forest region as the Kolid sub-race. Some types of this race are also located among the lower castes of the Doab and elsewhere. In Baron Eickstedt's opinion, a Mongoloid element is obvious among various races of the North-Western Deccan. It appears to be connected, in his opinion, with modern or earlier Munda speakers and points to the Palae-Mongolid racial element. This latter element is not evenly distributed among the corresponding tribes of India, but single traits appear here and there, according to Mendelain heredity. This is evidence of very recent admixture. This result harmonizes with the conclusions of racial history, after which the inroads of Palae-Mongoloid tribes must have occurred between 3000 and 1000 B.C. South India, on the other side, shows in the Baron's opinion, a biologically harmonized and therefore historically a very old component of the Negrid main type. This element has, in his view, brought about a fully harmonious contact form, *viz.*, the Melanid Race, this in particular among the middle class Tamil population, but not among the lowest and highest classes, which show recent admixture in the upper classes, or remnants of the Malids in the lower strata. These Malids are

mountain dwellers of predominantly Veddid type but with a completely harmonized dark component (Paniyar, Kurumbar, Kāḍar etc.). Though he postulates various stages of typological concentration, none of them, in his opinion, show any admixture of modern Negroes or Negritoes. At the same time, he suggests that all of them show more or less the influence of an old Proto-Negroid component since long entirely sucked up. In the Baron's view, the Indid Race is, by number of expansion, the most important in the Indian population. It is, he says, the inheritor of the culture of Mohenjo-Daro and the representative of the Dravidian and typical "Indian" soul. Its north-western wing and its central section have been submitted to strong foreign influences from Central Asia before as well as after the Aryan period. The Aryan influence prevailed, according to him throughout in the linguistic sphere, but hardly in the cultural one. With the Aryan language came probably some of the elements of the Nordic Race, which have been since entirely amalgamated, and later the so-called Scythians, the Huns etc., finally the Islamic invasions brought a strong proportion of the Orientalid Race, the centre of which is Arabia. According to Baron Eicksedt, the Indid Race is at its root related to the second great race in India, Veddid, which represents the original form and archetype. The constant pressure of the Indids from the north led, in very remote times, to the creation of the Melanid; the pressure of the Veddids to the creation of the Malid type. The language of the supposed proto-Negritoes and the original Veddids must be considered as lost. On the other hand, adds Baron Eickstedt, the Palae-Mongoloid-Mundarian invasion from the North-East led to a far-spread linguistic Mundaryanization of all the Veddids. At about the same time—about the 2nd million B.C.—the originally Dravidian Indids, whose descendants adopted the Aryan language, pushed over the Melanids, who, in their turn adopted Dravidian idioms, for which they are now the typical representatives. So, race and language of India, do not, in any way, coincide. Races remained but languages were pushed southward, much as in Europe, where Northern Indo-Germanic languages were pushed over the original Japhetic languages in the Centre and East. Distributing results of the idea of a Dravidian "race" are therefore easy, says Baron Eickstedt, to understand. The Dravidian speakers of today are no more, in his opinion, the same as four millenniums ago. At

that time, they were, according to him, of the Indid Race; today they are prevailing, in his view, of the Melanid Race.

The synthesis of the Indian racial problem as set down by Baron Eickstedt deserves careful and close examination. Criticism is easy but to be acceptable ought to be based on an intelligent appreciation of the position assumed by him. His classification is the first of its kind to be attempted, being based on living material of the natural type groups and their distribution. It tries to be in strict accordance with the rules of biological working and nomenclature. The fundamental fact is that it revives the old theory of pressure from North towards the South; another is that it postulates " root " relationship, between the " Indid " and " Veddid " races, *i.e.*, between Indo-Aryans and Pre-Dravidians, to use language commonly understood by Anthropologists in India today. Then, again, it postulates a supposed proto-Negrito Race, which has to be accounted for. Finally, the question remains as ever before, what are the main racial types to which the peoples of India should be affiliated. However this question may ultimately be answered, there is no doubt whatever that Baron Eickstedt has immensely enhanced the value of Mr. Krishna Iyer's volume by contributing this " Introduction " to it.

10-A. FINE ARTS: SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY O. C. GANGULY,
Calcutta

IT is my duty to record my gratitude for the honour which the organizer of this Conference has extended to me by asking me to preside over this Section—an honour which has twice fallen to my lot, an honour, I should say, a privilege, which carries with it onerous duties and obligations,—obligations which fall equally on the shoulders of the President as well as on the scholars who will contribute papers and participate in discussions and deliberations of this Section. For the success of the Section will be judged not so much by what I may be able to say—but what new and valuable contribution to the study of Fine Arts that the scholars participating in this Section will be able to make,—what tributes our Art Scholars have chosen to bring for this periodical worship in the Shrine of Art. Art in India occupies a very peculiar and unfortunate position in the activities and researches of scholars and educationists. It is the step-child of Archæology and the Cinderalla of Education. In popular misconceptions, Art is confounded with Antiquity and its relation to Archæology is very often misunderstood. In one sense, Archæology is the science of the study of the History of Art. And no Archæologist could gather the raw materials and data for an adequate History of Art—unless he had a training to understand and appreciate the Forms of Beauty and the fundamentals of Plastics—the Form-Problems of the Shapes of Things, a sensitiveness and a power of response to the significance of Forms as such, and of the æsthetic use made of Forms by artists in all ages and countries,—so as to appraise their

significance, values, purposes, and motifs. I have always claimed that the Archæologist must have the training and equipment, and the sensitive vision of an æsthetician,—that is to say, should have and use a sympathetic and discriminative eye to annalyze Forms and to interpret the Language and Palaeography of Forms,—for, he has to study, appraise, and interpret the works of Art of a past epoch not only through sylistic estimates, or chronological sequences, or of identifications of symbols, or of iconographs,—but he must also be an adept in the morphology and the history of Forms—so as to gauge the human mind in his depth and rhythm or expression in an endless variety of Form-Expressions—in different and divergent epochs and periods of Culture. The history of Art is not complete, if it is restricted to objective knowledge of the date, place, subject matter, and producer, with analysis of sources and influences, on the one hand, and exact technical knowledge of the processes, on the other. The standards and values attached to the products of art by the original patrons and artists, the method of appraisal and analysis of art at definite periods in the past are fully as important. Antiquarians as a rule attempt to leave out the "subjective" factor of æsthetic values and to confine themselves to factual problems in the history of art. The study of the æsthetic problems is an essential factor in building up a correct History of Art. Indian Art has been particularly unfortunate in the Archæologists who have paid attention to its remains and who have systematically denied to Indian Art any æsthetic values —except what it may have borrowed from Greek Art. In pioneer studies, Egyptian Art had its Maspero—an archaeologist singularly gifted with æsthetic visions and sensibility; Chinese Art was fortunate in having as its interpreter Oswald Siren, a connoisseur of Italian Painting of singular gift and inspiration. Even the Art of Cambodia has had the good fortune to attract a gifted connoisseur of wide æsthetic experience. I refer to Dr. Golloubew whose valuable tributes to the qualities of Chinese Sculpture, Persian and Indian Painting, before he assumed the duties of an Archæologist, is known to a very few.

This is an appropriate occasion to take stock of the new accessions to our knowledge of the history of Art in India and the discovery of new materials and data which have widened the horizon and the continent of Art during the last few years.

In the sphere of Painting—not only many new specimens and data have come to be discovered,—specimens not only belonging to the historic periods—but also to the pre-historic times.

The Rock-Paintings of the Singanpur Frescoes in Chota Nagapur, calling for comparison with analogous rock-paintings of the Libyan Desert in Central Africa (in their peculiar treatment of animal and human figures in hunting scenes) brought to light by Professor Leo Frobenius,—no longer stand by themselves but have acquired new perspectives—and new depths—suggesting both earlier and later phases—in the discovery of a large mass of Paintings in Pre-historic style—*viz.* the Paintings in the Rock shelters in the Mahadeo Hills, in Central India bounded on the North by the valley of the Nerbada. Other and related rock-paintings have been discovered in various sites of the Nerbada Valley, some of fine æsthetic quality and of remarkable quality of draughtsmanship and technique—which invest them with a quality of beauty as works of Art, demanding the—attention of artists and art-connoisseurs,—and snatch them away from the jurisdiction of Science, as mere anthropological documents. These rock-paintings, in pre-historic style—though sometimes not very old—(some are as late as early mediæval periods)—stand in a group, or, school by themselves, in their peculiar pictorial language and conventions to be distinguished form paintings the historical periods, of characteristic Indian forms and culture, on the one hand, and to be distinguished from the pre-historic pottery paintings of the so-called Indus Valley Culture, on the other. The study of Rock-Paintings of the pre-historical School—has not yet been properly organized and documented—on the models of the German Forschungs Institute für Kulturmorphologie.

Likewise,—new materials and data have been discovered which offer a new perspective and a new context to the remarkable series of painted pottery coming from Mohenjo-daro. These pre-historic paintings on potshered display various types and patterns of geometric, vegetable, and animal motifs, (particularly of long horned Ibex),—no longer stand by themselves,—but are demanding comparison with analogous painted potteries discovered at Nal in Baluchisthan—at Nihawand, and at Chesme-i-' Ali in Persia, and the pre-historic painted potteries of about 3000 B.C. discovered by Dr. Anderson in Honan and Kansu Provinces in China. The Jhukar Culture of Chanhu-daro brought to light by the excavations of the American

School of Indic studies and the Boston Museum—have yielded polychrome painted potteries—which have revealed the later phases of Indus-Valley Culture and for which affinities have been sought in analogous painted potteries from Tell Halaf in Northern Assyria,—affinities which appear to throw doubts on the indigenous character of the Jhukar potteries. The Chanhu-Daro finds appear to reach down to the date of the Vedic Culture attributed by European scholars. Whether the Indus Valley Culture can or cannot be related to Vedic Culture,—the art products of Mohenjo-daro, Harappa, Chanhu-Daro, and of recently excavated pre-historic site at Rangpur in the Limbdi State of the Kathiawar Peninsula by Mr. Vats, the large body of painted potteries, mostly in fragments—represent a large mass of pictorial motifs of fine technique of supreme æsthetic flavour attesting the cultivation of *beauty* on the Indian soil by a group of human beings of exquisite taste and refinement, and endowed with visions of fine sensibility and temperament—living a cultured life on Indian soil long before the dawn of History.

Of the records of the cultivation of Painting in India during the historical periods the many gaps between the outstanding land-marks are being rapidly filled up by many new and interesting discoveries. The frescoes at the Ajanta, Bagha, and the Sigiriya Caves can no longer be regarded as the sole remnants of the Schools of Classical Indian Painting. Between the Ajanta frescoes and the 8th century Brahminical frescoes on the ceilings of the Elura Caves—has come—the exquisite " Pārvatī-Kalyāṇa " frescoe (discovered by Dr. Kramrisch in 1936) at the Vaiṣṇava Cave at Bādāmi with a dated inscription of 578 A.D. Last year, Mr. S. Katchadourian, a talented artist from Iran, has discovered a remarkable series of Brahminical frescoes in Cave III at Bādāmi. They represent not only the earliest Brahminical paintings discovered uptill now,—but they are the earliest records of painting in India which can be definitely dated.

The lovely Miniatures of the Pāla manuscripts of Bengal and Nepal of the 9th, 10th, and 11th centures are justly regarded as a continuation and a new development of the Buddhist schools of paintings represented by the Ajanta frescoes. But Professor Tucci has discovered in some of the Tibetan monasteries—frescoes very much analogous to the Schools of Ajanta.

New discoveries have also added to our knowledge of the so-called Jaina, or Southern Rajasthani or Gujrati School of paintings. Large numbers of illustrated Jaina Manuscripts, many of them dated, have been known and studied for several years. Mehta's discovery of the dated *Vasanta Vilāsa* Scroll, and my own little discovery of the Illustrated *Vāla gopālastuti* datable about the middle of the 14th century, have not only demonstrated the non-sectarian character of this charming school of mediæval Miniature Painting, freely employed to illustrate Hindu Brahminical themes, S'aiva as well as Vaiṣṇavaite, as also Jaina religious subjects,—but have helped to fill up the many gaps of the records of Indian painting of the 14th century. To Dr. William Norman Brown (to whom students of Indian Paintings are heavily indebted) is due the credit of bringing to light several illustrated Jaina Manuscripts bearing dates equivalent to 1127, 1141, and 1260 A.D.—so that after the close of the Buddhist Paintings of Pāla periods of the 10th and 11th centuries,—we have now dated records of the history of Indian painting executed during the 12th and 13th centuries. The continuous practice of the Western School of painting is now established covering a period of five centuries from the 12th, the end of the Buddhist School, to the 16th century, the beginning of the Rajput and the Mughal Schools.

Too much engrossed in chronology of kings and of political history, our Indian scholars have paid very little attention to the records of the history of Indian Painting—a record of the finest phases of Indian Culture and the most valuable recent discoveries and contributions to the study of Indian Painting have been made by European Scholars. It is gratifying, therefore, to make honourable mention of the discovery of Mr. M. R. Mazumdar, a scholar from Baroda—who has brought to light and studied various new documents of the Western Indian School—particularly an Illustrated 15th century MS. of *Gīta-govinda*, and an Illustrated *S'iva-Mahima Stoṭra*, and *Sauundarya Laharī Stotra.* They help to demonstrate the part taken by the pictorial artists in illuminiating the jewels of Jaina as well as of Hindu-Brahminical Culture.

The discovery of various fragments of Pallava painting at Kāñcī, at Sittanavasal, the Coḷa frescoes at Tanjore,—and som Pāṇḍya frescoes at Chidambaram have led to a realization of the fa

that painting has been consistently practised in the South, and though related to the established earlier classical traditions the local schools, in the South, as yet too little available for systematic study and analysis, in the fragmentary survivals have developed interesting characteristics and peculiarities which have quite attractive flavours of their own. The magnificent frescoes on the ceiling of Sangīta-maṇḍapa at Jina-Kāñcī (Tiruparuttikuram) and some damaged frescoes at Somapalle in the Chittoor District, and at Lepakshi in Anantapur, recently brought to light by Mr. C. Sivaramamurti—give us a tantallizing glimpse of the pictorial glories of Vijayanagara Culture—and help us to realize how much have been lost and how little have survived the destructive march of times and the ruinous hand of vandalism. I have a depressing feeling that if adequate steps had been taken by archæologists to preserve the remains that were yet surviving, say 40 years ago, a good deal of the wreckage would have been available to-day—for an adequate presentation of the history of the Dākṣiṇī, or the Deccani School of Painting. The Anegundi frescoes—now surviving in miserable remnants in black and white, with their colours lost and obliterated—is a typical example of this kind of loss which is due to lack of adequate attention on the parts of those on whom lay the duty of taking adequate measures for protection. Even if adequate photographs and tracings were obtained a few years ago—we would have much more materials, data and apparatus for a study of the fragments which were impossible to preserve, than we actually possess to-day. More attention has been given to inscriptions and buildings—than to the frescoes and remnants of paintings with the result that valuable documents for the history of Indian Painting have been lost under our very eyes during the last 40 years. Even now adequate records in the shape of photograhs and tracings are not being kept, and whatever materials are available to students of Indian Painting to-day will not be available a few years hence. Our archæological archives, as also our archæological publications are very poor in the matters relating to the history of Indian Painting. Despite the very valuable study given by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, of the Jina-Kāñcī frescoes—they are still awaiting a proper record in adequate photographs and colour reproductions—in order to help us to realize the high quality of these excellent pictorial masterpieces of the Vijayanagara School.

In the Jaina Maṭha at Sravana Belgola—there is a magnificent series of Wall-paintings, very well known to archæologists, and of which I had the privilege of taking some photographs three years ago, and which are crying for a monograph with adequate reproductions —in order to make them available to students and lovers of Indian Painting.

Indian Painting has not been the favourite of Indian antiquarians and they are very meagrely represented in the activities recorded in our archæological reports. They do not always lend themselves to antiquarian disquisitions and researches and are somewhat looked down upon by archæologists engrossed in deciphering coins and inscriptions. Yet the documents of Pictorial Art are in many instances valuable documents of history and of social conditions, and are the repositories of valuable informations relating to recial types, jewelleries, costumes, textile designs and motifs, furniture and various other details of Culture—history and are the mirrors of the psychological factors of Indian Culture which did not and could not express itself in any other forms. From another point of view,-the Pictorial Records are much more valuable than the Sculptural Monuments—as they are free and fluent expressions of the social mind, and the social habits of the people, untramelled by the canons which hold in chain the formulations of sculptural expressions.

The records and specimens of various periods of Indian Wall-Painting—and Frescoes offer a new field of scientific investigations—in the matter of analysis and identity of the materials and chemical properties of the Indian pigments used by old Indian Painters. This identity and analysis of pigments used in Ancient Indian Paintings are of no mere academic importance and idle scientific enquiry—but have great practical use to the modern artists, as they help to discover the secrets of the palette of the old Indian Artists which can help to recover for the modern practitioner of the Painter's crafts—the identity and compositions of the colours used—in order to secure for his products and works of Art, permanancy, durability, brilliance, and the other technical virtues of the pictorial products of ancient India. The frescoes of Ajanta, Bagh, Sigiriya, and Sittanavasal are captivating in the brilliance and quality of the freshness of their colour-effects which have resisted and survived the atmospheric effects of centuries—such as light, air, moisture, and other exposure factors.

In Bengal, the fashion and demand for modern frescoes for new buildings have made some calls on the skill of pictorial artists to collaborate with the builders for decorating the walls of modern houses built both for private individuals and public institutions of which the most important examples of wall-paintings are those recently executed for the Library of the Calcutta University, and the Isvarchander Vidyasagar memorial at Midnapur. The Calcutta University frescoes have been executed by Mr. Dhirendra Krishna Dev Varma—one of the Bengal artists who executed the frescoes at the India Office, London. Mr. Nanda Lal Bose of the Visvabharati University has himself executed two months ago some frescoes in the old Indian style for the Palace of His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda. These new experiments to revive the old Art of Indian wall-paintings have led to some scientific investigations to discover and use colours of permanent qualities and the chemical compatibility of the mixed and secondary colours. In this field of practical investigation, Mr. Bose has himself carried out some experiments at Shantiniketan,—painting some frescoes on a wall exposed to sun and rain. But the most valuable researches in this field have been made by Mr. S. Paramasivan, Archæological Chemist, Government Museum, Madras who has made a systematic analysis of the technique and pigments of various specimens of Wall-paintings at Ajanta, Bagh, Badami, Conjeevaram and Sittanavasal and has been able to obtain some very interesting results. He has not only given analysis of the compositions of the organic and inorganic materials of the pigments used by ancient wall-painters—but has also identified the nature of the mud-plasters and lime-plasters used as the painting surfaces by the old Indian Masters.

As regards the theories of ancient Indian painting, I very much appreciate the endeavours that a handful of Southern Indian scholars are making to recover from the study of ancient Sanskrit texts—the ideals, philosophy, and the theoretical views relating to ancient Indian Painting corresponding to the Rhetorical theories relating to Indian Poetry. I also wish that the Southern Indian Vernaculars should be thoroughly ransacked and combed in order to drag out and extract all available facts and informations which may help to study the history of pictorial practices and of the philosophy of the painters' art. In the meantime, adequate photographic records and, whenever possible, colour copies of new discoveries of remnants of old paintings

wherever available, should be made as quickly as possible, in order to preserve all available data before they have faded, or are lost, or destroyed.

In Bengal, the enthusiastic researches of Mr. G. S. Dutt, of Bratachari movement fame, have brought to light a large mass of vernacular paintings—indigenous to Bengal with surprising qualities and characteristics unknown to any other branches of Indian painting and which appear to be survivals and continuation of a very old Pre-Aryan or Aboriginal culture—which goes back to pre-historic times. The vernacular paintings of Bengal—to be clearly distinguished form the classical Pāla Miniatures,—bring to light a very ancient pictorial idiom of remarkable flavour, fluency and originality—which will occupy a valuable chapter in the *History of Indian Painting*, when it comes to be written.

In the field of Indian Sculpture,—the latest apparatus of studies is the large monograph (in Atlas size) on the Sanchi Relief Sculptures recently published by the Archæological Department with letter-press contributed by Sir John Marshall and Professor Foucher—which will offer to students of Early Buddhist Art, in a convenient form, in collotype reproductions on a large scale—of one of the most magnificent remains of an ancient school of Indian Sculpture—and which provide valuable documents for the history of Buddhism and Buddhist beliefs and doctrines, illustrated in decorative and iconographic motifs of the reliefs on the Gates and Railings of this Indian Stone-henge. Unfortunately, the iconographic notes are somewhat meagre and do not offer any new materials—and have left un-identified many important motifs and themes for which the rich literature of Buddhism provides adequate sources of identification and interpretation. From this point of view, the excellent monographs in two octavo volumes on the Bharhut Sculptures contributed by Dr. B. M. Barua of the Calcutta University offer a significant contrast. Though badly printed in small size volumes with illustrations in poor half-tone reproductions, Professor Barua's studies of this phase of Early Buddhist Sculpture—offer many new and original materials in their valuable interpretations and authentic relations—established from ancient Pali texts which have recovered for us the exact place which this ancient Buddhist monument held in contemporary life and thought.

In respect of new materials and data, the latest accessions to our knowledge of the old schools of Buddhist Art have been contributed by the discovery and survey of a large body Āndhra Buddhist Sculpture of the Amarāvatī school, dug up at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Goli, and the related sites. They have been the subject of a special *Memoir* written by Mr. Longhurst of the Archæological Department and have attracted a good deal of attention in India and in Europe, some pieces having found their way to some of the American Museums. Various Indian scholars have discussed iconographical motifs of individual pieces, while some of the foreign types representing retainers and grooms, have chiefly interested European scholars. But their supreme æsthetic qualities and values and their fluent plastic forms of remarkable life, and movement, and, above all, the peculiar flavour of their Indianness,—have excited very little enthusiasm or interest in the bosoms of scholars, Indian or European. Some of these reliefs undoubtedly represent a very high water-mark achieved by the master-sculptors who lived and flourished in the Andhradeśa and have left such moving masterpieces fit to take their place with the best schools of sculpture in any part of the world. Contemporary as they are with some phases of Gāndhāra Sculpture, the marble Reliefs of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, in their excellent feeling for forms, their original designs and decorative motifs, and their moving presentation of human forms in exquisite poses and gestures—put to shade the prosaic, disproportionate, and ugly forms of the stone-masons of Gāndhāra. This can be easily demonstrated by juxtaposing photographs of identical themes, such as the Nativity of the Buddha, treated both by the Andhra masters and the Gāndhāran stone-masons. Incidentally, as I have been able to show, the Master-sculptors of Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, in illustrating the Buddhist themes, have used texts and legends, quite different from those used by the Gāndhāra School, and the claim that the Gāndhāra School has in any way influenced the indigenous Masters of the Amarāvatī School is a hollow pretension —not even justified by the few common iconographic motifs.

The Great School of Sculpture of Mathurā, has acquired a new distinction by the discovery of a remarkably beautiful and exquisitely carved Ivory figure of *Yakṣiṇī*, discovered at Pompeii. Numerous hordes of Roman coins have been dug up at various old Coḷa and Pāṇḍyan sites in Southern India, but this statuette affords additional

direct evidence of Rome's cultural intercourse with India. If we had developed the same "nationalistic rancour" that some of our European scholars have revealed in their enquiry as to the origin of the Buddha Image, we might build on this slender evidence a magnificent bubble of "Indian Influence" on Roman Sculpture. We are certainly entitled to say that this piece offers a reasonable testimony of a contemporary Roman appreciation of Indian Art, just as we have in the Indian Room of Maria Theresa in the Schön-brün Palace at Vienna evidence of a contemporary Austrian appreciation of Mughal Paintings.

A new vista in the study of the Mathurā School has been opened up by the discovery of a series of broken Ivory Caskets, Cofferets and furniture, dug up by M. Hackin at Begram, a few miles from Kabul—a site of an old Buddhist monastery datable about the second century A.D. They consist of about 200 broken fragments and facades of Ivory Boxes and remnants of furniture—richly decorated with human figures, rendered in deeply incised lines, and sometimes in low reliefs. Some of their decorative motifs are undoubtedly *Yakṣiṇīs*, of the early Buddhist cults but many of them represent secular scenes of the *Nāyikā* types. They were undoubtedly executed by Indian artists, and offer very valuable examples of Mathurā Art of remarkable *bravura* and technique of a very high order not met with on the soil of India itself up till now. The quality and character of some of the incised drawings on these ivory caskets, give us an indirect evidence of the high quality of the Pictorial craft of the time which the records of early Frescoes in India do not reveal. Incidentally, these valuable documents establish the fact that the Guild of Ivory carvers of Sanchi, the *dantakārins* of the inscription, of the S'uṅga period, had their worthy descendants and representatives in the later School of Mathurā—which had extended its branches to the extreme limits of Kapis'ā and Gāndhāra—which must be regarded as integral parts of Indian culture-areas. The vitality and the original Indian character of these Ivory carvings executed at the very heart of Hellenistic culture, (?) is proved by the entire absence of any foreign influence and motifs.

In the field of Indian Architecture, while the various Departments of Archæology in India and in the Indian States, are publishing newly discovered Architectural monuments and collecting materials and data for the study of Architecture, a comprehensive volume dealing

with the principles and the evolution of the different Schools of Architecture, has been a great desideratum, as Fergusson's *History* has long become antiquated. Dr. Coomarswamy has indicated in two short essays the outlines of the History of Early Indian Architecture, and also given a valuable series of old Indian Architectural Terms derived from the *S'ilpas'āstras*, as well as from various passages of non-technical Sanskrit Texts, which have helped to relate, interpret, and describe elements of Indian Architecture in indigenous terms. Dr. Gravely and Mr. Ramachandran have also published two very interesting booklets on Temple Architecture as *Bulletins* of the Madras Government Museum. Ancient Sanskrit Texts have also been exploited by Professor K. R. Pisharoti, and Mr. C. Sivaramamurti to enhance our knowledge of Indian Architecture and to put it on a firm scientific basis.

But Modern India has yet to initiate a School of Indian Architecture to assimilate, to carry on, and to continue and develop the ancient and great traditions—and to form a new School of Indian Architecture worthy of its magnificent history. Mr. Sirish Chandra Chatterjee *Sthapati-Vis'ārad* has been valiantly working to form an All-India School of Indian Architecture, on the basis of ancient traditions.

The study of Indian Art, after passing through a fire of adverse criticism and clouds of controversies have now won enthusiastic appreciation from European and American critics and connoisseurs, though it is still looked at with some amount of suspicion and depreciation by educated Indians—who, still obsessed by European prejudices, have been unable to accept all the mainfestations and expressions of Ancient Indian Art as worthy revelations of Indian Culture. The principal reason for this has to be found in the fact that Indian Art has not yet been given a proper place in Indian Education, and an understanding and appreciation of the peculiar beauties and the original forms of Indian Art are still confined to a handful of specialists and have yet to earn wide appreciation and popularity. Indian Art is still a matter of antiquarian disquisitions and scholarly researches—and not objects of enjoyments and edifications, or a vital factor in Indian life and culture. And, in this respect, our Culture-history Professors are the worst sinners. I had occasion to visit the homes of several Professors of Culture-history and, as a

rule, I have been pained to notice that while their rooms are lined with valuable books and treatises, there could not be found any single reproduction or photograph, not to speak of originals, of any of the numerous master-pieces of Indian Art—which have won the enthusiastic admiration of European connoisseurs.

A good deal can be done and should be done by the Museum authorities to popularize the æsthetic claims of the selected master-pieces of sculpture by the publication of adequate reproductions in Photogravure and Collotype Processes and by publishing Colour facsimiles of the finest examples of Indian paintings of the various schools in the Collections of our Museums. Some of our Indian Museums issue post cards of sculpture, but invariably the process of reproduction is inadequate and the selections do not include outstanding master-pieces. Most of the European and American Museums issue, year after year, not only numerous Post cards in fine collotype reproductions, but large size reproductions and Colour Fascimiles of the best and finest Master-pieces and Art Treasures in their collections,—in order to make them easily accessible to students and connoisseurs. In European and American Museums, students from the schools and colleges are regularly taken to the Museums under competent guidance in order to afford opportunity to young minds at the most critical and impressionable periods of their life, to contact with works of Beauty, and significant master-pieces of national Art, and to derive informations and knowledge, from the records of Plastic Arts which cannot be derived from printed books or cyclopædias. Messrs. Markham and Hargreaves in their recent *Report* on the Museums of India have bitterly commented on the absence of the place of Museums and Art-Galleries in our Educational curriculum and syllabus. "In not a single Indian Museum," they remark "is there that intimate link between schools and Museums which is such a feature of the Museum service of the United States and several European countries." "Museums as a vital factor in the educational system have yet to be developed."

Some exceptions are offered in the case of one or two Museums which undertake popularizing methods—to make their treasures accessible to students and connoisseurs. Thus, the Madras Government Muesum under the guidance and inspiration of Dr. Gravely has issued a series of photographic Post cards and recently two popular

Hand-books on Indian Sculpture which are creditable efforts—to offer educational services to the public. The Bhārat Kalā Pariṣad Museum at Benares which contains a rich collection of master-pieces of Indian painting and sculpture has likewise published cheap series of Post cards and two profusely illustrated booklets devoted to Indian sculpture and painting. These are brave but sporadic efforts to popularize the claims of Indian Art. In the S'rī-Citrālaya Gallery at Trivandrum, and the State Gallery of Mysore, both built under the inspiration of Dr. Cousins, courageous attempts have been made to place before the public distinguished examples of Indian master-pieces of paintings, ancient and modern, and to develop a taste and a love for Indian Art in our coming generation and to realize the fact that nearly half the factors of Indian spiritual and social culture are imbedded in its Plastic Arts and it is impossible to obtain a comprehensive view of Indian Culture as such, by banishing the study of Fine Arts from the curriculum of Indian schools and colleges. Though the University of Madras has long ago established a Faculty of Fine Arts, it has not yet began to function, so far as I am aware. In the meantime the University of Calcutta has taken two practical steps—to give to Indian Art a respectable place in Indian Education. In the first place, a Museum of Fine Arts under the name of Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee Museum has been set up in the heart of the University—and, has, within the short space of two years, made a rich collection of Indian Antiquities chiefly of Sculptures and Terracottas, a collection which is rapidly growing by gifts from generous donors. In the second place, from the current year an optional course for the 'Appreciation of the Fine Arts' has been introduced in the Matriculation Curriculum, for which I have had the privilege of devising a course of studies. This is the first attempt made in any University in India, to encourage active interest in the study and understanding of Indian Art. The Madras University has made an analogous effort in the cultivation and understanding of Indian Music—and it is hoped that a place would be found to popularize an understanding and cultivation of the beauties of Indian Plastic Arts, on a *comprehensive basis.* I use the words "comprehensive basis"—with some emphasis and significance, for, I find that there is a tendency to study Indian Art in provincial sections and schools, confining one's attention to local expressions and products by ignoring the fruits and

flowers of Indian Art which have enriched other and numerous branches of the same stem,—the great Kalpa-Vṛkṣa of Indian Art. In the North, there is not an adequate interest, or curiosity to know of the beauties and peculiar qualities of Southern Indian Sculpture in stone, or in metal—while in South, there is little curiosity or interest tó understand or appraise the values of, say, the Bengali Pāla Paintings, the miniatures of the Pāla manuscripts, or the intriguing beauties of the many branches of Rajput Painting. We live, as it were, in provincial water-tight compartments. Our friends in the South appear to hide behind the Amarāvati Marbles and refuse to look at the Pāla Reliefs, or the copper-gilt Images of Nepal, which constitute one of the finest, if the latest, expression of the Indian genius in the realm of the Plastic Art. Likewise, our friends in the North, under the compelling prejudices in favour of the finest Western Indian and Jaina Paintings—forget the claims of the Pallava—Frescoes of Sittanavasal or of the captivating beauty of the Frescoes of Jaina—Kāñci. There are local prejudices against any cultivation of any branch of Indian Art—not closely related to one's local school or provincial culture-areas. The *lingua franca* of Indian Art bound together diverse and divergent local culture—expressions in one unified, comprehensive, and magnificent garland of Indian Art. Our political evangelists have been attempting to knit together the whole of India by one chain of an identical linguistic medium. But—in the great *lingua franca* of Indian Art we already possess an universal medium of exchange of cultural ideas—which in ancient times knit together the whole of India in one common bond of vital unity and the same medium offers, to-day, a dynamic instrument through which the many-faced minds of the different provinces and areas may hold intimate intercourse.

From another point of view, Indian Art and its best master-pieces offer a common medium of international understanding a common meeting place—where the best minds of the West and the East are coming in contact, in a spiritual intercourse. Indian Art is, therefore, not only a valuable heritage of Indians alone, but, of the whole of Humanity.

GANDHARVAS AND KINNARAS IN INDIAN ICONOGRAPHY

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THE figures of the Gandharvas, Kinnaras and other demi-gods are commonly found among the architectural decorations or as retinue of the main deity in ancient Indian temples and are represented in different forms with varying iconographical peculiarities. The Sanskrit texts bearing on them describe them with features which are absent in some of the icons discovered in different parts of India. It is a study of absorbing interest to the student of comparative mythology and philology to find similar figures with similar functions in Hellenic and Christian mythology namely Centaurs and cherubiums and to trace plausible etymological connection between the Sanskrit Gandharva on the one hand and the Gandar awa of the Avesta language, Centaur, Greek Kentauros, Iranian Gandarewa and Dravidian Kudirai (Tamil), Kudure (Kannaḍa) and Guṛṛamu (Telugu) on the other.[1] In the present paper we are concerned with the study of the characteristic features of the demi-gods Gandharvas and Kinnaras as represented in Indian sculpture and literature. The subject has not been properly dealt with in any of the existing works on Indian Iconography, and hence assumes a greater interest in our present enquiry. The materials bearing on this topic being vast in extent, it is not possible to do full justice to their exhaustive discussion in the limited space available.[2] But only a brief outline of the results of my study is set forth below under a careful classification of the published sources—literature, sculptures and paintings etc.

[1] See Jean Przyluski's paper on the *Asses, Horses and Gandharvas* contributed to the *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, pp. 613—620.

[2] The subject will be discussed in detail in my forthcoming *Memoir of the Archaeological Department*.

Though in later times the Gandharvas are regarded as a class, yet in *Ṛgveda* [1] rarely more than one is mentioned. He is designated as the heavenly Gandharva *(Divya Gandharva)* and his habitation is the sky or the region of the air and the heavenly waters. His chief duty is to guard the heavenly Soma which the Gods obtain through his intervention. The Gandharvas [2] as a class have the same characteristic features as the one Gandharva; they live in the sky, guard the Soma and know the best medicines. They are also feared as evil beings together with the Rākṣasas, Kimidins, Piśācas etc. In epic poetry, the Gandharvas are the celestial musicians or heavenly singers who form the orchestra at the banquets of the gods and they belong together with the Apsarasas, to the Indra's heaven sharing also in his battles. A hymn in the 10th Maṇḍala of *Ṛgveda* also describes them as celestial singers which points to the fact that the Epic thought is only an expansion of and a commentary on the Vedic conception of the Gandharvas. Their position and status in Hindu hageology are determined in the more systematic mythology according to which they constitute one of the classes into which the higher creation is divided. The Kinnaras who figure under the name *Kiṁpuruṣa* in Vedic literature (*ṚV.* VII, 89, 3), are another class of denizens reckoned among the Gandharvas as celestial choristers and are musicians attached to the service of Kubera.

Among the Jainas, the Gandharvas and Kinnaras constitute one of eight orders of the Vyantaras. According to *Vahnipurāṇa* (Hindu), the divine Gandharva is divided into eleven classes [3] (*gaṇa*) whereas in the *Abhidhānarājendra* of Vijayarājendrasūri (a Jaina lexicon) these celestial musicians are classified into twelve groups.

The Gandharvas are, according to the Hindu and Jaina literatures, the heavenly musicians who not only belong to the divine orchestra but also function as dancers in Indra's Court. The *Jinālaṅkāra* (J. Gray, London, 1894, p. 40) contains the verse [4]

तथ नच्चन्ति गायन्ति सेवेन्ति वादयन्ति च ।
देवा दससहस्सम्हि तु टत्था पोमोदितं ॥

[1] *RV.* IX, 86, 36; X, 139, 5 and Rv. IX, 85, 12; X, 10, 4 etc.

[2] *RV.* IX, 113, 3; 5. Br. iii, Ait. Br. i, 27.

[3] The names of the classes given in the *Vahnipurāṇa* differ from those enumerated by Jaṭādhara. See the *Vācaspatya*, under Gandharva.

[4] Quoted from the *Archaeological Survey Report*, for 1930-34, p. 132.

on which the *Jinālaṅkāraṭīkā* (Burmese edition, Rangoon, p. 260) glosses as follows: पञ्चारिखो देवपुत्तो तिगावुतं वेळुवपण्डुवुविणमादाय बहुगन्धब्बदेवे परिवारे त्वा गन्धत्वं कुरुमानो ठितो । showing thereby that the Gandharvas are the musicians and dancers of the gods. Similarly, in Hindu mythology they occupy the same position and perform the same functions. Compare for example the verse in *Abhinayadarpaṇa* of Nandikēs'vara (13th cen. A.D.):

नाट्यवेदं ददौ पूर्वं भरताय चतुर्मुखः ॥
ततश्च भरतः सार्धं गंधर्वाप्सरसांगणैः ।
नाट्यं नृत्तं तथा नृत्यमग्रे शंभोः प्रयुक्तवान् ॥

The region of the Gandharvas is located between the Guhyaka and Vidyādhara planes and its inhabitants are described in *Kās'īkhaṇḍa* quoted in *S'abdakalpadruma* as

गंधर्वस्त्वेष लोकोऽस्मी गंधर्वाश्च शुभव्रताः ।
देवानां गायना ह्येते चारणाःस्तुतिपाठकाः ॥

The Kinnaras are likewise celebrated as best singers in the Epic and classical poetry.

Having shown in brief the status and function of these celestial demi-gods, we proceed to examine their iconographical features from the representative literary texts available on the subject and the specimen sculptures discovered in different parts of India. According to the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, the Gandharvas should be depicted without a crown but embellished with a braid of hair (देवताश्चापि गंधर्वाः मुकुटेन विवर्जिताः ॥ ४ ॥ कर्तव्यास्ते महाराज शिखरैरुपशोभिताः ॥)

The *Mānasāra* an ancient work on temple architecture devotes one full chapter on the description of the images of the mythological beings such as the Yakṣas, Vidyādharas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras etc. It describes the Gandharvas as a band or party of musicians characterized by their erect posture, by their singing in a dancing pose with a lute or a churning stick or other musical instruments including the lute. Among the ornaments worn by the Gandharvas and Kinnaras are mentioned the following:

"The anklets for the feet, crown, small coin (string), ear-rings, bracelets, girdles, strings, bangles, headgears, bracelets with small bells and ear-ornament". (*vv.* 291-94).

"The Keyūra and the Tāṭaṅka (both armlets for the upper arm) in particular, ear ornaments, crest jewels, small fillets, the garland of stars and the half-chains and the gold strings round the two breasts" (295-98).

"The jewelled garland, the fine (silk) cloth, the bark cloth, the gold jacket (dress) and the garland made of gold, the long suspending chain, the crest ornaments, the ear ornaments and the hair pinnacle." (Chapter L, *vv.* 292-302).

According to the *Matsyapurāṇa* (Chapter 258), the Gandharvas should be portrayed as a retinue of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara as well as Indra. They should also be delineated as floating in the clouds with their wives the Apsarasas (Plate I) and offering garlands and bunches of flowers to the deity on whom they attend. Their chief iconographical characteristics being music and dance, they can be easily distinguished from their compeers the Vidyādharas and Yakṣas who are considered to be the chief repositories of secret learning. A comparative study of the sculptures from the representative Buddhist, Jaina, and Hindu sites such as Barahut, Sāñci, Ajanta, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Buddhist) etc., Mathurā, Mahoba (Jaina) and Aihole, Bādāmi, Mahābalipuram, Paharpur etc. (Hindu), reveals that the Gandharva figures are made to serve as *Cauri* bearers to the gods and are represented with a light body flying in the air. They have generally two hands, two eyes and the *Karaṇḍa-makuṭa* crown. They carry garlands and bunches of flowers. They are usually represented with their wives over images of Buddha, Tīrthaṅkara or the Hindu gods. The sculptures do not generally exhibit much difference in their conception and shape in the three schools of religious thought *viz.*, Buddhist, Jaina and Hindu, except in the workmanship and style discernible in them according to the local influence of the age and the manipulative taste of the artists. But one special feature observable in the Gandharva figures discovered at Paharpur is that they are dressed and decorated with various attributes and in a variety of ways not found elsewhere. In most temples they are treated as guardian angels of the four quarters the oldest example of which may be cited from the remains of Bārahut and Sāñci *Stūpas*. Nevertheless, they are presented simply under the appearance of great Indian Lords, wearing turbans and adorned with heavy jewels, ear-rings, necklaces and bracelets of precious



PLATE I
Sculpture of a Gandharvi on a Pillar in a Maṇṭapa, Melani Subrahmaṇya Temple, Vellore

(*To face p. 556*)



PLATE II
Kinnara Pair in Stone, Rajshahi, Paharpur

(*To face p.* 557)

stones (see, The *Beginning of Buddhist Art*, by A. Foucher, plate viii, 2).

The study of the Kinnara figures is still more interesting to the student of ancient Indian sculpture. According to *Amara* (I, v. 71) as explained by the commentator Kṣīrasvāmin, (कस्यचिन्नरमुखाश्वकायत्वात् कस्यचिदश्वमुखनरशरीरत्वात् ।) and Halāyudha's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (किन्नरः स्यात्किपुरुषो मयूराश्वमुखस्तथा ।) Kinnara is a mythical being with a human figure and the head of a horse or with a horse's body and the head of a man and is a synonym of Kiṁpuruṣa. Māgha gives a similar description of this curious figure in verse 38 of the fourth canto of his *S'is'upālavadha.*[1] In fact the sculptures at Mallam (Nellore dist., Madras Pres.) and Paharpur (Rajashahi, Bengal Pres.) exactly agree with this description of Kinnara (Plate II). The *Vācaspatya* draws a distinction between Kinnara and Kiṁpuruṣa by ascribing horse-head and human-body to the former and human-head and horse-body to the latter and quotes in his support a verse from the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, book VII, chap. 20, v. 13 in which Kiṁpuruṣa is mentioned along with and separately from Kinnara (नेदुर्मुहुर्दुंदुभयसहस्रशः गंधर्वकिंपूरुषकिन्नराः जगुः ॥ *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* (book III, 42nd chap. vv. 13-14), on the other hand, recognizes two classes of Kinnara—one with horse-body and human-head and the other with human-body and horse-head. It may however, be remarked that the *Mānasāra* which is a work of considerable interest for the study of Indian sculpture and architecture, describes the Kinnara with radically different characteristics. According to it, "the legs (of the Kinnara) should be like those of animals, the upper body like that of man, the face like that of Garuḍa bird, the arms furnished with wings, the crown decorated with a lotus, the complexion like the shaded flower and the sweet lutes should be kept around them." (chap. 58).

A similar description of the animal is found in the Sanskrit work *Rūpāvalīya* (11th cent. A.D.) a book of great authority for Sinhalese painters.[2] It is interesting to observe that both the variant descriptions detailed above are supported by the sculptures and paintings

[1] See Mallinātha's commentary on the verse :मुखं चुम्बंतं किन्नरं मानुषमुखमश्वांगं देवयोनिः विशेषं . . . . . श्लिष्यंतं मानुषांगत्वादालिङ्गातं तुरंगवक्त्रं . . . तुरंगवपुषःकिन्नरस्याश्लेषासंभवान् ॥

[2] See for further details the *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, by A. K. Coomaraswamy, pp. 80 ff,

found in the North as well as the South India and Ceylon. The sculptures from Barahut and Sāñci, paintings from Ajanta (Buddhist) and the stone figures at Conjeeveram, Rāmesvaram and Udayagiri (Hindu, South India) are delineated with human form, bird legs and wings, either as worshipping the Buddhist *Caitya* Tree or playing on a lute (Plate III). Some of the sculptures coming from Paharpur in Bengal and Mallam in Madras are, on the other hand, portrayed as stated above with horse features (Plate IV). The existence of these two kinds of Kinnara icons points to the adoption of different canons by the school of sculptors and painters in regard to the conception of these mythical beings which again are figured in a variety of ways making them composite figures with a fabulous combination of human, bird and animal parts of body.

It may further be remarked that these composite figures of demi-gods are profusely employed as decorative embellishments in temple architecture and serve to fill in a vacant space which would otherwise have given the structures the appearance of unartistic void. The earliest examples of the employment of *Gandharva* figures as decorative elements in temple building are noticed by A. Foucher in the Buddhist *Stūpa* at Sāñci (Eastern gate). Their decorative function is largely in evidence even today among the richly embellished figures carved on the processional cars of South Indian temples and the practice still continues to hold ground with the artists of modern age in introducing mythical, romantic and composite figures of various descriptions in their art productions. In fact, the *Mānasāra* lays down in the chapter on the *description of the cars and chariots* (Chap. XLIII) that the cars should be decorated with the (nude paintings of the) best of the heavenly women without any clothes on them and representing on their limbs all their emotions (*vv.* 159-60) and that the door-keepers, Yakṣas, Kinnaras, Nāga girls, Garuḍa (the king of birds) should be as well carved.

I have in the foregoing paragraphs, dwelt on the iconographical aspects of the *Gandharva* and *Kinnara* figures as briefly as possible reserving a detailed treatment of the subject for my forthcoming *Memoir* of the Archæological Department (Government of India).



PLATE III
Panel of a Kinnari on a Pillar of Kalyāṇa Maṇṭapa near Kṛṣṇa Temple, Udayagiri, Nellore Dt.



PLATE IV
Arjuna's Penance, Mahabalipuram, Chingleput District

(*To face p. 558*)

TWO UNIQUE SOUTH INDIAN MONUMENTS

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The culmination of the Pallava style of South Indian temple architecture is to be seen in the monoliths or Rathas of Mahabalipuram and the temples of Conjeevaram. The next stage in the development of temple architecture in the Tamil country is what is known as the 'Coḷa Style,' the outstanding examples of which are the great temples of Tanjore and Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-coḷapuram. The forerunners of the Tanjore temple of Rājarāja I, are to be seen in the all-stone temples, more than a dozen in number, belonging to the 9th or the early part of the 10th century, found in the Pudukkottai State. Mr. K. Venkata Ranga Raju, late curator of the Pudukkottai State Museum has contributed an excellent account of these early Coḷa-structures to the Coomaraswami Volume of the '*Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Calcutta.' In this general study of the early Coḷa monuments the peculiarities of two temples in the State are apt to be overlooked. It is a case of seeing the wood but missing the trees. We shall here consider the uniqueness of these two temples and determine their place in the evolution of temple architecture in the Tamil country.

I. The Vijayālaya Coḷīs'varam—Nārttāmalai

Architectural features: Situated on the eastern slope of the Melamalai in the Nārttāmalai group of hills, this temple is built of cut-stone slabs from basement to finial. Such temples are called in the old Tamil inscriptions *Kaṟṟaḷi* (Kal+taḷi = stone-temple). The central or main edifice is surrounded by a group of seven subshrines, also of stone, and the whole group is enclosed by a stone *Madil* or enclosure with an entrance in the east. The sub-shrines are now in

ruins. The main shrine which faces west consists of a circular *garbhagṛham* or sanctum surrounded by a square passage or *Prākāram*, enclosed by a square wall leaving a space just enough for man to pass through. The circular *Garbhagṛham* probably represents the *Praṇavam*. The whole is surmounted by a *Vimānam* very imposing in appearance. This construction of a circular shrine within a square enclosure, the whole topped by a *Vimānam* is unique among the Pallava or the early Coḷa temples.[1]

The *ardhamaṇṭapam* in front is a closed hall. The basement underneath is moulded, and the walls are decorated with tetragonal pilasters consisting of the *Kāl*, *Kalas'am*, *Taḍi*, *Kambam*, *Idaḷ* and *Palagai*. Surrounding the pilasters are bracket-capitals with bevelled, angular and plain faces in which are absent the flutings common to the Pallava Corbels. We miss here also the *Devagoṣṭhams* or niches of the Pallava structures.

On the top of the walls is a *Vyāḷavari* or frieze of *Vyāḷas*, and overhanging it is a massive single-arched cornice running all round the structure. In places right above the pilasters, the cornice is adorned with *Kūḍus*, with figures of men or animals within, and trifoliated pieces on top in place of the flat shovel-shaped crests of the Pallava gables. Above the cornice is another frieze of *Makharas*. The whole length of the cornice is adorned with semicircles simulating lotus-petals, but the corners have scroll work called *Koḍikkarukku*. Above the Makhara frieze runs all round a low parapet wall, bearing on the front a row of *Pañcarams* in relief, those at the corner have a four-sided curvilinear dome and those at the middle wagon-shaped roofs. Inside the *Pañcarams* are reliefs of dancing figures exhibiting different poses. This arrangement of a parapet with *Pañcarams* along its length is not found in any other early Coḷa monument, but is a peculiarity of the Pallava temples at Conjeevaram.

The style of the *Vimānam* is unique. It is four-storeyed, each separated from the one below or above by a cornice similar to the one on the walls. The first storey is square and has a series of pilasters below the cornice. The second, also square, has cubical *Pañcarams* at the corners with curvilinear four-sided tops, and two rectangular

[1] The temples of the Rājasimha type of Pallava architecture have a square cell surrounded by a circumambulatory passage. Among the known Cola temples, the great temple of Tanjore alone has such a passage.



Mūvar Koil, Kodumbālūr

(*To face p. 561*)

ones with wagon-shaped tops in the middle. The third is circular and has pilasters at the ends resembling those on the walls and thick round ones in the middle similar to those in Pallava temples. The topmost storey is circular and has a circular *Grīva* with a circular dome of a *S'ikhara* overtopped by the *Stūpi.*[1] The four sides of the *Grīva* has niches with images, and the four sides of the *S'ikhara* directly over the niches carry large gables with *Simhalālāṭams* on top. On each of the corners of this storey is a bull, a feature common to other early Coḷa temples.

The roof of the *Ardhamaṇṭapam* is supported by six monolithic pillars of the Pallava type with the base and top cubical and the middle octogonal. The corbel-bracket has a curved profile with the roll ornament and median band.

The seven sub-shrines, all of stone, have the characteristics of the main shrine. This is another feature of early Coḷa temples.

Sculptures: The Vīṇādhara Dakṣiṇāmūrti and Umāsahita Mūrti in the niches on the walls are peculiar features of the early Coḷa temples in the State. The *Dvārapālas*, stand cross-legged and have only two arms, one resting on a club and the other in the *Vismaya* pose. They wear *Jaṭāmakuṭas* with a *Prabhāvaḷi* round the head. The *Kaṭibandha*, *Ūrabandha*, bracelets, armlets and necklaces are the principal ornaments. The *Yajñopavīta* is a rolled thick cloth to which tassels and bells are tied—a noteworthy Coḷa feature. The pose of the two figures is characteristic of Pallava Dvārapālas. The *liṅgam* is cylindrical and polished and not fluted as the Pallava liṅgams. We miss here the Somaskanda panel behind the liṅgam that we find in the later Pallava temples.

History: The peculiar style of the temple, partly Pallava and partly early Coḷa, warrants our dating it as post-Pallava in point of time. An inscription on the basement under one of the Dvārapālas mentions that the temple (Kaṟṟaḷi) built by *Cempūdi* an *Ilaṅgodiyar aiyar* was destroyed by lightning, but was renovated by Mallan Viḍuman also called Tennavan Tamiḷadiyaraiyan.[2] *Cempūdi*

[1] This style of the *Vimānam*—the lower storeys square but the topmost storey, the *grīvam* and *s'ikharam* circular, resembles those of the structural temples of the later Pallavas at Conjeevaram and Mahabalipuram. But in the early Cola temples found in the State, the entire *Vimānam* is four-sided or circular.

[2] Cempūdi Yāna-ilaṅgo
ḍi-araiyan-eḍuppitta Kaṟṟāli malai-i

(Cembhūti) the name of the original builder, easily brings to our mind the *Bhūtis* (spelt *Pūdi* in Tamil) or Irukkuveḷ chieftains. *Iḷangoḍiyaraiyar* like *Pottaraiyar* is the Tamil synonym of Pallava. We may safely assume that an Irukkuveḷ chieftain, a vassal of the Pallavas, built the original structure which was destroyed by lightning. Mallan Viḍuman Tennavan Tamiḷadiyaraiyan who renovated the temple should have been a Pāṇḍya chieftain, as the word Tennavan suggests. Another inscription near the temple calls it *Vijayāḷaya Cōḷīs'varam.* Evidently the Pāṇḍya chief renovated it in the time of Vijayāḷayas and named it after the Coḷa king by whom he might have been subdued. It may be noted here that Nārttāmalai is about 20 miles to the south of Uraiyūr the Coḷa capital.

II. The Mūvarkovil—Koḍumbāḷūr

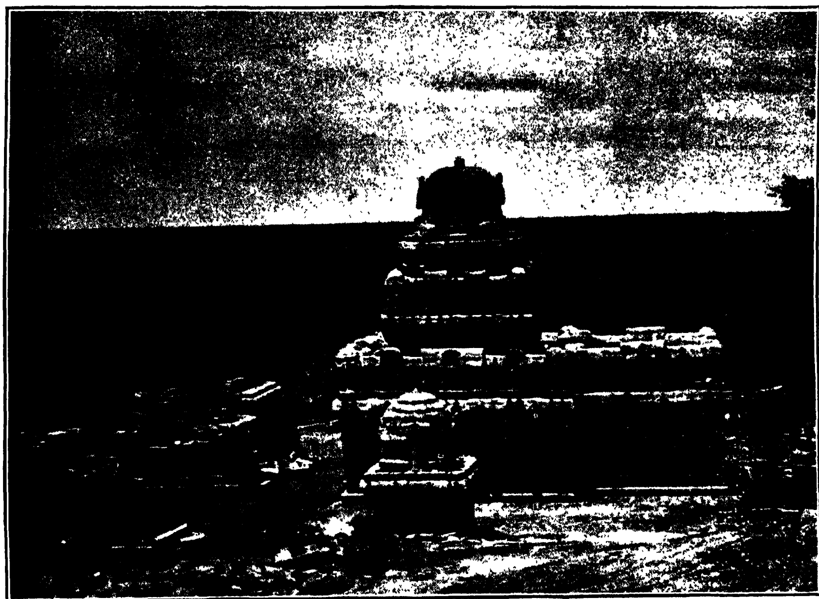
The latest excavation of the site of this temple which was completed in February 1940, has brought to light more things than were known when Mr. Raju contributed his article to the *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art.* There is a group of three central shrines separated from one another by a distance of 9 feet, all facing west, and built completely of well-dressed gneiss-blocks from basement to finial. Each has its own *Ardhamaṇṭapam* of which the basement alone remains. Two of these shrines are in tact and have been repaired by the State, while the third has completely fallen down with only the basement left. Common to all these three shrines, and at a distance of 8 feet from them, there is seen the basement of what was once a big *Mahāmaṇṭapam,* with a *Nandi Maṇṭapam* and a *Pīṭham* immediately to the west of it.

Surrounding the central group, there are fifteen subshrines;[1] the basements of fourteen of them have now been fully exposed. Each subshrine has a *Garbhagṛham* and *Ardhamaṇṭapam.* The whole group was enclosed by a *Madil* with a *Gopuram* on the western side.

dittaliya Mallan Viduman āyina Tem
navan Tamiladi araiyan pudukku.

There is a village in the State near Tenimalai named after *Cempūdi.* *Mallan* is a common title of the later Pallavas; *Viḍuman* is the Tamil form of Bhīṣma, *Tennavan* is a title of the Pāṇḍyas; and *Tamiladi Araiyar* means a chieftain of the Tamil country.

[1] Mr. Raju mentions only seven subshrines. Recent excavations have revealed the existence of fifteen.



Vijayālaya Colis'varam, Nārtāmalai

(*To face p. 562*)

The *Upapīṭham* or basement of each of the three principal shrines rests on a lotus base; the large petals are finely worked out in stone on a level with the ground. The basement is artistically moulded. As in all the early temples *the Kumudam is* curvilinear. Above this runs a frieze of *Vyāḷas* with projecting *Makara* heads and human figures sporting inside their open mouths. The pedestals of the subshrines are all of the same plan.

The walls which now remain are adorned with tetragonal pilasters composed of the *Kāl, Kalas'am, Taḍi, Kumbham, Idaḷ* and *Palagai.* The *Palagai* or abacus is large and massive—a feature of Pallava and Coḷa pillars and pilasters. The bulbous capitals are adorned with elegant scroll work (or Koḍikkarukku). The corbels are brackets with angular levelling, but not curved as Pallava corbels are. This is a feature of Coḷa carbels. The undersides of the corbels, however, are fluted with a median plain band as in Pallava structures with this difference that instead of roll-moulding at the bend of the corbel, there is a hallow moulding.

The *Devagoṣṭhams* contain perhaps the finest examples of early Coḷa sculptural art so far known. Over these niches are arched *Toraṇas*—Scrolls and foliage shooting out of the mouths of *Makharas*. On the top of the walls are friezes of *Bhūtagaṇas*, and overhanging them, is a thick single-arched cornice of the Pallava type. The *kūḍus* or gable-windows are crowned with trifoliated pieces of carved stones in place of the flat finials shaped like garden spades of the Pallava *Kūḍus*. In the corners of the cornice we find *Kurukku* or scroll work, and along its lower edge, a series of semicircles in the shape of lotus petals. Above the cornice runs a *Vyālavari*, at the ends of which beyond the corner are projecting *Makhara* heads.

The *Vimānam* is of three tiers diminishing in size as it approaches the summit. Separating these tiers are cornices of the pattern described above. The lower-most storey has small cubical *pañcarams* with four-sided curvilinear tops and finials at the corners and rectangular ones at the centre on each side, containing a niche and surmounted by a wagon-shaped top having a large *Kūḍu* and reaching the top of the storey immediately above. Inside these are sculptures in bas-relief. The walls of the second storey of the southern *Vimānam* are adorned with tetragonal pilasters on either side of the wagon-shaped top of the *Pañcaram*—a feature common to Pallava temples.

The middle *Vimānam*, however, has beautifully sculptured images in the corresponding places. The topmost storey consists of a square *Grīvam* placed on a pedestal with *Vyālavaris* on the four sides and bulls at the corners. The niches in the *Grīvam* are flanked by tetragonal pilasters and have sculptures of gods in bas-relief. The *S'ikharas* are four sided and curvilinear; their corners are adorned with elegant *Karukku* work and their *Kūḍus* are crowned with *Simhalalātams*. Surrounding the *S'ikharas* are four-sided finials placed above the *Ratna* and *Kamalapīṭhas*.

Sculptures: The liṅgas are massive, polished and cylindrical. These are no Somaskanda panels on the back walls of the sanctums. The most outstanding of the sculptures are Ardhanārīs'vara, Vīṇādhara Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Gajārimūrti, Antakāsurasamhāramūrti, Kirātamūrti and Sankaranārāyaṇamūrti. The sculptures on the walls and those dug out of the debris together with those in the other early Coḷa temples in the State from a very imposing and interesting stone gallery. These sculptures resemble Pallava sculptures in their general form, pose, proportion of parts etc.; but, if anything, more decorated: The decorations are so graceful; careful attention having been paid to the minutest detail, as to lend a charm, grace, vivacity and rhythm unsurpassed elsewhere in the Tamil country.

History: The well known Vikramakesari inscription in Pallava grantha on the south wall of the central shrine gives the name of the builder and his genealogy. Bhūti Vikramakesari built the three shrines in his name and in the names of his two queens—Kaṟṟali and Varaguṇa; installed Mahes'vara in each of them, built a large *Maṭha* for his Kālamukha teacher Mallikārjuna and his *Asitavaktra* disciples, and endowed eleven villages for the maintenance of the temple and the monastic establishment. Bhūti Vikramakesari, the Irukkuvel chief of Koḍumbālūr, was an ally and vassal of Sundara Coḷā Parāntaka II.

The Vijayāḷaya Coḷīs'varam and the Mūvarkovil are easily the largest of the early Coḷa monuments so far known, and do not conform in size or in details to any other early Coḷa structure. Their uniqueness lies in that they come in point of time between the monuments of Rājasimha and Pallavamalla and those of Rājarāja I and Rājendra I, and partake of the character of these two epochs with a pleasing blending of the best features of both. Mallan, Viḍuman,

Tennavan and Bhūti Vikramakesari lavished on these two monuments all the skill and attention that at an earlier epoch Rājasimha and Nandivarman Pallavamalla did on the temples at Kāñci and Mahabalipuram, and at a later epoch Rājarāja did on the Tanjore temple and Rājendra on the Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-coḷapuram temples. The monuments of the later Pallavas, the two described in this paper, and those of Rājarāja and Rājēndra are land-marks in the evolution of South Indian Temple architecture and are all gems of architecture and art.

Glossary

Garbhagṛham is the 'Holy of Holies' or inner shrine in which the image or symbol of the God is placed.

Vimānam (literally—'Vehicle') refers to the cupola over a shrine —so called because it resembles the top of a temple car.

Prākāram is the walled enclosure (of which there may be one or several) round a temple. The wall of a Prākāram is called *tirumadil.*

Gopuram is the tower, in the form of a truncated pyramid of several stories, over the gateway.

Kūḍu is a more or less horse-shoe shaped ornament, representing originally the sun-window of a Buddhist Caitya.

Toraṇa are conventional festoons over a niche.

Bhūtagaṇa are grotesque figures of dwarf demons usually in series. They are sometimes represented as carrying musical instruments.

Kumudam is a deep convex string-course of tours.

Upānam is a bold moulding, the lowest member but one of the plinth.

Simhalālatam is a coventional lion's face surrounded by floral decoration forming the top of the gable of the upper storey of a gōpuram.

Kalas'am is a vase-shaped member at the top of the shaft of a pillar, below the capital.

Kumbham is the bulbous, or spherical flattened cushion-shaped capital of a pillar.

10-B. FINE ARTS: MUSIC

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY T. V. SUBBA RAO, B.A., B.L.,

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LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I thank the organizers of this Conference most heartily for the honour they have done me in electing me as the President of the Music Section. I am informed that this is the first year that Music is given an independent status in the Oriental Conference and I trust that this precedent will be followed in future. If at the outset I feel urged to stress the supreme importance of the science and art of Music in the cultural regeneration of the world, my apprehension is to blame that even after years of effort and propaganda by institutions and individuals, its potentialities are scarcely recognized by authorities in charge of education.

The great sage and law giver, Yājñavalkya has paid the highest tribute to Saṅgīta as the only branch of learning capable of conferring all the four puruṣārthas and therefore worthy to be regarded as possessing unique merit. I should like to justify this claim by an analysis of its character and quality. On the physical or sensory side it has the widest appreciation. Not only does it transcend the limitations of language like some other fine arts, but it goes further in that it has appeal not only to humanity but to all beings. The savage and the civilized man, the beast and reptile, nay even wind, water and other forces of nature are susceptible to the power and charm of music. What art or learning has such universality for its sphere of influence?

It has an intellectual side to it also. Improvisation of svaras in rhythmic patterns, novel combination of notes to form new scales,

studied development of melodic forms and phrase variations for introducing the element of wonder and surprise are subjects enough to tax the subtlest intellect.

On the emotional side there is scarcely a subject that can stand comparison with it. Music, particularly of the melodic type, is pre-eminently emotional in character. Rasānubhava is the very essence of Saṅgīta. Rāga if it should justify its name should be expressive of feeling. All high-class compositions and Rāga renderings are rich in emotional contents. In this respect it outshines the other fine arts.

On the moral side, its influence is best calculated to compose those differences which divide societies into classes and communities. It is a great unifying factor in social life and the cultivation of it will promote good will and harmony.

The spiritual and mystic aspects of it have an irresistible appeal to the saint and the ascetic as the emotional and sensuous phases have for the rasika. Music has from time immemorial been employed for the attainment of the mental equipoise indispensable for contemplation. The great singers of the Bhakti School believed that God is never so pleased as when His praises are sung. Tyāgarāja has gone even further and taught us that dedication of one's self to pure music even by itself is capable of leading to salvation. Our inner spirit reacts to concord of sweet sounds and becomes receptive to the bliss which the Infinite Harmony for ever radiates.

Music has thus a physical, an intellectual, an emotional, a moral and lastly a spiritual phase. Its appeal is the widest possible and in the comprehensiveness of its varied qualities unparalleled. What other branch of learning can claim equal merit? And yet what is the treatment accorded to it? Most of the great seats of learning did not at first consider it worthy of notice. A great deal of prejudice had to be dispelled before it could be permitted to enter the portals of some of our Universities. Even to-day it has not earned from the savants of learning that regard which is its legitimate due. The grudging support occasionally extended to it, is more a concession to agitation than a just recognition of its worth. I have no doubt that in a well ordered scheme of life where social and cultural values are based on intrinsic merit, Saṅgīta will come to occupy the foremost place not only among the humanities but in the entire domain of knowledge.

Judged from the point of view of antiquity Saṅgīta stands most venerable. Its origin goes back to the very beginning of time if time had beginning. The immemorial music of nature and the eternal hum of moving orbs and spheres are not poetic fancies but familiar phenomena to our sages. Even before the rudiments of art music began, the primitive man must have observed that the pitch of his inarticulate voice rose when he was excited and fell when he was depressed. Thus music is long anterior to speech and in its crude elements as in the scream and the moan, was common not only to humanity but to other beings also. When at the dawn of civilization man began his investigation of Nature within and Nature without, Music had attained sufficient development to be employed both for religious and secular purposes. From India, the cradle of civilization and culture, Music with other branches of learning and art spread to Egypt, Assyria, Babylon and Greece and then to western Europe. Long before the Christian era, it came to be systematized so thoroughly that any departure, whether in the land of birth or elsewhere, from strict conformity to principles formulated was characterized as Des'ya Saṅgīta in contradistinction from the Mārga or ordained Music. But, soon art Music advanced and attained great popularity in different parts of India obliterating the distinction aforesaid.

There is one other remarkable fact which serves to distinguish Music from other arts and learning. Its glories are not merely a thing of the past. Unlike other subjects, it has been having progressive developments from the earliest times down to the present both on the side of science and art. Epoch-making treatises from the *Nāṭya S'āstra* to *Caturdaṇḍī-Prakāsikā* and compositions from the Drupads, Gītas and Prabandhas of old to the unparalleled contribution of the trinity of Tiruvārūr, form an unbroken record of meritorious achievement from remote antiquity to modern times, in comparison with which the progress made in other branches of learning fade into insignificance. Judged from every point of view, Music, by its glory and lustre, by far outshines other means of culture and is entitled to the highest regard of the educationists as the supreme instrument for securing the universal good.

Savants and lovers of Music have excellent reasons to rejoice at the holding of this Conference at the feet of the Lord of the seven

sacred hills. Tirupati and S'rī Venkates'vara are dear to the heart of every composer. It was here that the famous Tallapākkam Poets composed thousands of songs with clear division of Pallavi and Caraṇa and with definite form set to Rāga and Tāḷa. It is no exaggeration to say that their pieces form the earliest record of songs of the regular type in the Indian languages. They laid the foundation of the Kīrtana Paddhati which in the hands of Purandara Dās, Tyāgarāja and others became the most popular mode of musical expression. In this sacred place dwelt for 12 years S'rī Vyasarāya the spiritual and musical Guru of Purandara Dās. Here too, composers of repute who came to worship derived inspiration and have left us priceless kīrtanas which will sparkle for ever on the forefinger of time. Manambucāvadi Venkatasubbier and Paṭṇam Subramania Iyer as well as Narayanaswami Naidu of this place have dedicated all their songs to S'rī Veṅkaṭes'vara. Another circumstance that makes the venue doubly blessed is the welcome hospitality afforded us by Sri Veṅkaṭes'vara Oriental Institute under the direction of one of the greatest pioneers in the field of Indian cultural research, Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar. I cannot avoid making a reference here to the keen interest the eminent professor has in Indian Music. In 1909—1910 in his lectures on the teachings of history, he gave an exposition of the significance of the musical posture of the ivory statue of Vijayaraṅga Cokka Nāyaka with his queen and daughter. When he was the head of the department of education in Travancore, he introduced music in schools and this year he has laid all lovers of music under a deep debt of gratitude by the opening of an independent section for music in this Conference. I hope all these facts are but an earnest of what he proposes to do, through the agency of this institute, for the most ancient and lovable of all arts. I have no doubt he will consider the high claims advanced on behalf of music and honour it by according it the first rank it deserves. I cannot conceive any other place or institute more appropriate for its encouragement.

I must now pause here for a moment to review the work done in the recent years for promoting the cause of music. That my remarks should be confined to this province is the necessary result not of my indifference to the merits of the north Indian Music, but to the absence of first-hand knowledge on my part regarding work in other provinces.

I cannot but deplore the circumstance that the exponents of the two great systems of Indian Music have not been very anxious to come into close personal contact to compare notes, to discuss common problems and to devise effective means to preserve and develop the art in all its branches. Since the beginning of this century rapid changes have occurred the results of which are not altogether unmixed. Music has developed horizontally rather than vertically, quantitatively rather than qualitatively. There are far more people learning and appreciating music to-day than a generation or two ago. The number of musicians now practising is a legion. The extent and variety of compositions rendered is enormous. The diversity of rāgas of modern pieces is bewildering. Yet, few at the present day could equal in depth, power or imagination the giants of old. We have heard of, and some of us have actually heard, the stalwarts of previous age developing rāgaṣ like Toḍi or S'āveri for days without letting interest of their auditors flag for a moment. Their rendering of Pallavi and improvisation of svaras though elaborate were always characterized by freshness and charm. I hope the young musicians of the present age will not be content with merely making their experience extensive, but will also strive for the ideal of intensive development.

One of the features of the last half a century fraught with far-reaching consequences for the art is the publication of compositions with notation. Printed music is not without use, for it is better to have some record than have none at all. But under no circumstance should the time-honoured Indian way of learning music by the ear, be made to yield place to learning by the eye. Indian Music is so thoroughly individualistic in character that no notation, however skillfully devised, can ever portray the elusive forms of its melodies. With us the very rendering is an interpretation and it is for this reason that written music is unsatisfactory. It is only the living personality, that can present the true shape of a composition. While printed books have brought classic compositions within easy access of the students of music, they are equally responsible for the distorted versions of several of the pieces now current. No person, however talented, can ever construct from print the form of melody as conceived by the great Vāggeyakāras. The method of learning from the mouth of the Guru is the only true one of mastering compositions and I hope that notwithstanding the advent of notational music, the traditional way

will always prevail. In no case should the scope of written music be extended beyond inspiring a desire to learn on the right lines.

Not infrequently do we come across well-meaning persons who urge that harmonization of Indian melodies is an experiment well worth our earnest endeavour. But little do they realize that the two systems of music, the harmonic and the melodic are so fundamentally divergent that the attempt at fusion will result in the mutual destruction of their better virtues leaving only a grotesque parody of both. In the harmonic system the notes are superimposed one above the another and in the melodic they succeed one after the other. If the former be represented by a vertical line the latter will be a horizontal line. A combination of both will be neither vertical nor horizontal but diagonal. Each system must develop according to its genius. But this is not to say that the principle of harmony as distinguished from a system of harmony has no scope in Indian Music. In fact harmony or (samveditva) is the very basis upon which we derive all our śrutis. The selection of śrutis to form svaras of different scales so that they may bear relation of varying degrees of concord not only with the fundamental but with one another, rests entirely on the principle of harmony. But the application of the svaras proceeds only on the melodic principle. To the western ear that delights in massing of tones, Indian Music might seem thin and meagre. But in the estimation of those accustomed to the subtle charms of Indian rāgas nothing can equal their grace and refinement. It may not be inappropriate to mention that some savants of western music who have made a close study of the Indian system have not hesitated to own their preference of the melodic to the harmonic system. It behoves us, therefore, to maintain the integrity of our saṅgīta by discountenancing all ill-conceived though well-intentioned efforts at hybridization.

Closely connected with this is the question, how far the north Indian and south Indian music could be brought together, to evolve a common system. The advocates of synthesis and integration draw pointed attention to the common origin and basis in theory no less than in practice of both the varieties and plead for unification. I am afraid, however, they altogether overlook the inexorable facts of history and the progressive influence of natural forces. In spite of the common fundamentals, the two systems have developed distinctive individualities. In the south we were comparatively free from those

disorders that for centuries disturbed the peace of Northern Hindustan and were therefore in a position to develop music according to our own conceptions. The Dravidian culture did not materially alter our course as it was, so far at any rate music was concerned, but an earlier variety of Aryan culture. In the north, however, exotic influences particularly Persian and to some extent Arabic, effected considerable changes in Hindu Music. It is now indeed too late after the lapse of nearly ten centuries during which north Indian and Carnatic systems have been independently co-existing and growing as two different entities, to think of effecting a fusion. And why should we? Does it not add to the richness and variety of enjoyment that their separate existences should be preserved, rather than they should be made to merge? Is not the process of differentiation and evolution the order of all life in the Universe? Moreover, is it not rather desirable that the two schools each with a genius of its own should be left alone, that they may act and react on each other to their mutual benefit?

It is one thing to resist amalgamation, and quite another to encourage the study of different systems with a view to derive inspiration for the betterment of our own. From this point of view I should urge both the schools to make a study of each other and to learn the principles of western music. We in South India stand much to benefit by adopting the methods of intensive voice-culture and ālāpana in Vilambita laya prevalent in the north and the organization of concerts and study of instrumental technique in the west. Rāgas as rendered in Hindustan and symphonies of the European composers have furnished models for the great Vāggeyakāras of the south. Carnatic music would be poorer to-day but for those precious pieces like "Nagumomu" and "Jambūpate" "Kalinarulaku" and "Rāgarudhārasa." Hindustani musicians will, I am sure, like to study our singing of pallavi and svara to incorporate them into their system. I am glad to note that some of our rāgas like Simhendramadhyama are getting popular with them and that there is an endeavour to adopt a system of melas similar to Veṅkaṭamakhi's. The Carnatic system has taken a good deal from the rāgas and tāḷas of the north and assimilated them to its genius. I am not sure, however, that the northern system has been equally free in the matter of borrowing from the south. I find that western music too is leaning towards melodic extension of their compositions.

A study of Indian Music is sure to enlarge its conception of scales and compositional types.

I cannot avoid emphasizing here in view of certain forces tending to debasement, that the path along which individuals and institution should pursue their activities is primarily that of research. Let it not be supposed that a study of the past is at all opposed to progress at present or in future. We look to the past only for inspiration and guidance to enable us to march forward with courage and hope of achieving yet greater results. We never apply our mind to the great heritage of culture of which we are proud heirs, without deriving from it new ideas or new interpretation of old ideas. Every age understands the past in the light of its own experience and constructs for the future on the foundations of the past.

Research in music consists of two parts, one relating to the collection and careful editing of all available authentic manuscripts on S'āstra and the other of compositions in Sanskrit and in Indian languages. India is rich in the literature of music. Valuable works on Saṅgīta-S'āstra existed even before Bharata wrote his masterly treatise on Nāṭya S'āstra. Subsequent to him writers who expounded the science of music are numerous. Of these S'rāṅgadeva has produced a full and comprehensive work which is perhaps the standard. Nārada, Mataṅga, Ahobala, Rāmāmātya, Govinda Ḍīkṣita and Veṅkaṭamakhi have written valuable books which are now in print and are frequently consulted by scholars. The publication of the *Saṅgraha-Cūdāmaṇi* and the discovery of another book upon which it purports to be based appear to find a basis for the more recent practice prevailing in the south. In nomenclature and Lakṣaṇa of some of the rāgas they are in conflict with the view of Veṅkaṭamakhi and Muddu Veṅkaṭamakhi as represented by Subbarāma Dīkṣitar. I am inclined to think that there existed another work on which Tyāgarāja based many of his creations in new rāgas and from which he derived their names and which in material respects differed from the system attributed to the Veṅkaṭamakhi tradition. I should not be surprised if that work should happen to be the same "*Svarārnava*" which we hear of, in the account of the life of the saintly singer. If research should unearth it, many purplexing problems will be solved. The reconciliation of conflicting opinions and where it is not possible, the clarification of issues involved and authoritative declaration in favour

of what may be considered the better opinion, is a task as delicate as difficult for any conference of Vidvāns. In addition to the large number of treatises now brought to light (for a review of them see the learned article of Dr. V. Raghavan in the pages of the *Journal of the Music Academy*, Madras) there still appear to be a good many books which are known to us only through references to or by extracts or quotations from them. An earnest endeavour will have to be made to trace them. When all available books have been collected, an encyclopædia of music literature including the relevant and valuable parts of all great works and from books of lesser importance, such special chapters or portions as are not already covered by the major treatises, will have to be edited and published by a committee of experts well qualified for the task by their knowledge of languages and intimate acquaintance with theory and practice of music. A free rendering of such a work with an explanatory commentary in some of the more important spoken tongues will benefit a large class of persons not knowing Sanskrit. But the task of interpretation and explanation of some of the texts will baffle mere scholarship. Intuitive perception even more than wide experience would seem to be necessary in getting to the core of the mystifying passages and illumine their meaning. Difficult as the undertaking is, it is indispensable in the propagation of culture.

Equally urgent is the problem of securing the correct version of the compositions now in vogue and the text of others not yet current so that the public may have before them an authoritative edition of the songs of all the great Vāggeyakāras. It must gladen the heart of every one of us to remember that our country has been exceedingly fortunate in having a large number of high-souled composers whose pieces are our greatest solace, hope and æsthetic enjoyment. If contribution to the happiness and moral elevation of man be the primary test of the value of social service, I do not know that composers are less worthy of public esteem than the statesman and administrators whose memory we hasten to perpetuate in stone and metal at every corner of the street. I am sure, however, that the spirit of the noble and saintly singers would prefer a sincere and devoted study of their compositions, to the raising of material monuments. Tens of thousands of the compositions of Purandara Dās, a thousand of Kṣetrajña more than a thousand of Tyāgarāja, hundreds of Muthusvāmi Dīkṣita and S'yāma S'āstri stand in danger of perishing if they are not to be

rescued for posterity. The Tirupati Devasthanam have laid the world of music under the deepest debt of gratitude for publishing the songs of the Tallapākkam family. I hope they will, with equal solicitude, bring out in print the compositions of those I have mentioned. It requires no great effort to percieve that every one of them is worth a kingdom of happiness and no expense can be regarded too heavy in their preservation and propagation.

Nothing can spell greater calamity to the proper maintenance of classic standards in Saṅgīta than the decay of the traditional method of imparting culture through *guru-śiṣya* parampara. The printed book can be no substitute for a personal exposition. Since the mode of direct communication is likely to become less common in future, efforts should be taken to have a careful recording of all that is best in our music, of rāgas and songs, in conformity with Lakṣya and Lakṣaṇa, that succeeding ages may possess correct models for their adoption. No time should be lost in making a very comprehensive collection of recorded music from all available sources as the generation of accredited exponents is fast disappearing, This is a costlier undertaking than publication in print, but nonetheless imperative and urgent. The state and the Universities cannot better apply their resources than for purposes of this kind. That private companies are producing records is no answer, for they do so with their eye on sales, not on the dissemination of correct knowledge. They prefer light music as being more marketable, and when they care for the serious side of it, the records in the main are a travesty of classical music. Institutions that exist specially for the advancement of music like the Music Academy, Madras, and expert committees appointed by the state or the Universities are proper bodies to carry out the task of preparing recorded versions of all that is best in our Saṅgīta. A true library of music ought to include not only the books written on the science and art, but also faithful records of all rāgas, pieces and pallavis as rendered by the eminent artistes and instrumentalists of each age. How much richer should we feel had we been able to preserve the music of Mahāvaidyanātha Iyer and Paṭṇam Subramania Iyer, of Tirukkodikaval Krishna Iyer and Vīṇa Venkataramanadas!

We are living in a world that moves at a progressively rapid rate. The inventions of science have their reactions in art no less than in other spheres of human endeavour. The gramophone and the radio

have made it possible for the music of the greatest artistes to be carried to every house in the land. One can lounge in one's easy chair and listen to or learn from, the living masters of art. These inventions have added much to the amenities of modern life and form the most convenient and efficient means for the dissemination knowledge and culture. But the liability to abuse inheres in these as in the other engines of science. The desire to please is so strong that the authorities controlling broadcasting are apt to prefer the easy path of cheap popularity to the more difficult and thankless task of educating and refining the taste of the public. If music is to be broadcast every hour of the day the quality of it cannot be expected to be maintained at a high level. I do not indeed object to the diffusion of the lighter type of music; for a national broadcast must include programmes for the masses to whom only folk music generally appeals. But, on no account may classical music be treated in any but a serious manner. Considering the effect of vulgarized versions on impressionable minds, the radio authorities cannot be too careful in insisting that their artistes do adhere to the strict classical modes of rendering. Perhaps there may be difficulty in securing a sufficient number of musicians capable of maintaining the highest standards of purity. The easy remedy is to limit the number of hours of broadcasting classical music. This course will also enable programmes of different centres to be so arranged as not to over-lap. Listeners in the absence of continued temptation to tune into their favourite station, will ultimately benefit by the variety provided by other centres. There is one other point to which attention may be drawn. Linguistic considerations ought not to be allowed to prevail in the selection of classic items. The highest music transcends the limitation of language.

The most responsible part to be played in the regeneration of music is by the musicians themselves. They must have before them the highest ideals of devotion to art for its own sake and regard all other considerations as secondary. With mind and body well disciplined they should keep on continuously practising, ever alive to the importance of receiving new ideas, always learning and always progressing. The temptation of making the period of apprenticeship all too brief in the anxiety to begin an early career in the public eye is responsible for the tragedy of premature decay of many a young musician of promise with health shattered and voice dilapidated. It

is not until it is realized that music is a great yoga, that its votaries can do justice not only to their profession but to the mission they are called upon to fulfil. Time was when every vocalist was a vaiṇika. The singer emulated the sweetness of the instrument and the latter became almost articulate in his hands. The highest compliment that can be paid to art is that it is natural and the greatest charm in nature appears when she is artistic. Even so does the human voice become attractive when it resembles the instrument in range, flexibility and tonal richness; likewise should the perfect play of instrument yield vocal distinctiveness. The voice and the Vīṇā act and react on each other to their mutual benefit. Further the practice in Vīṇā enables the musician to train his ear particularly to the appreciation of that subtle microtone which is indispensable in the expression of rāga-rasa. Our vocalists are bound to be the better for practising the Vīṇa.

It is a great pity that many of our musicians do not care to acquire even a working knowledge of the language of the songs they sing. Is not the accusation just that they know not the purport of what they render? Is it possible to do full justice to the pieces without knowing their bhāva? Can they afford to ignore the poetic beauty and philosophic depth of the sāhitya of the compositions of Tyāgarāja of Purandara Dās? The element of language in the highest forms of art music has not perhaps the same importance as in recitative music. Exigency of rāga and tāla may demand the splitting up of words, but it is no excuse for their distortion. It should not be forgotten that saṅgīta comprises not only raga and tala but bhava also.

The introduction of music, as one of the subjects in the courses of study for the Universities and Government Examinations, is a welcome step in the direction of securing its increasing association with general culture. It is unfortunate, however, that most of the institutions for men have not yet chosen to get themselves affiliated in the subject. I trust before long the Presidency College, Madras, which had the proud distinction of having celebrated recently the centenary of its inauguration, and other Colleges and schools will enable their students to take Music as one of the optionals. I may mention here that the University of Madras have instituted a Saṅgīta S'iromaṇi course. The Oriental Colleges and institutions may train and send us students for the Saṅgīta S'iromaṇi title Examination. I

feel that Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati, is best fitted to set the example by opening the said course. Other institutions are sure to follow.

If I may make a suggestion to the authorities of the Tirupati Devasthanam, I should request them to make provision for the singing by competent musicians of Uchavasampradāya Kīrtanas and other appropriate songs during service and rituals. This will add greatly to the beauty and attractiveness of the ceremonials. I hope the tradition of rendering of the Tallapakam compositions thereat is being properly maintained. The recitation of Tiruvāimozhi and other devotional prabandhas may be made impressive by the infusion of a larger musical element in them. Although it is a matter for congratulation that the section of the public taking interest in music is fast increasing and the average standard of saṅgīta jñāna is from some points of view higher, yet we cannot but deplore the insidious undermining of the great and noble edifice of classic music reared by the self-less service of master-composers whose memory we love to cherish. Many are the circumstances that tend to the debasement of the lofty ideals. The hybrid production of film songs, the importing of linguistic, communal and even political considerations in the sphere of art; the meagre equipment of musicians regarding knowledge of languages and general culture, learning music by the eye rather than by the ear, indifference to voice-culture and instrumental practice, neglect of the study of saṅgīta śāstra, and the absence of a spirit of research and enquiry, are some of the dangers we should guard against. These difficulties cannot be overcome without constructive effort. Individuals however eminent may not be equal to that task. Organized institutions backed by influence and finance and directed by talent are our only hope. I cannot but refer in this connection to the magnificent work done in the course of twelve short years by the Music Academy, Madras, under the energetic guidance of the magnetic personality of its president, Rao Bahadur K. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar. The present history of South Indian Music is very much the history of the activities of that institution. The illuminating discussions of its Conferences where difficult problems of living interest in practical music as well as matters of academic nature are solved, informing and educative concerts, journal embodying the results of research and study, college for training teachers, publication of valuable works on

saṅgīta s'āstra, and collection and printing of authentic composition of the great Vāggeyakāras, are a few among the numerous lines of work which it has been pursuing since its inception. It is imperative that similar institutions should be started all over the country and their work co-ordinated to yield successful results. I hope that no efforts will be spared in the preservation and advancement of the greatest and the finest of the fine arts. It is beyond question the only knowledge capable of conferring eternal bliss here and hereafter.

10-C. FINE ARTS: BHARATA-NATYA

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY RUKMINI DEVI,
Theosophical Society, Adyar

THE FUTURE OF BHARATA NATYA—THE INDIAN DANCE

OF all the different arts, the dance has been the first expression of man, for the spirit of movement in terms of rhythm is a natural instinct in human nature. But it is also one of the most difficult of the arts, for while it is an art of the physical body, yet is it an art through which one must transcend the physical, and only when this is achieved can there be truly a divine expression of man. This is the keynote of Bharata Nāṭya more than perhaps any other form of dance that I have seen, for the creation of the Bharata Nāṭya movement is such that it is almost impossible for any dancer to descend below a certain standard of expression. It is almost impossible through Bharata Nāṭya to express the coarseness which is so easy of expression through many other forms of dance. In any case, it is surely obvious that the dance in itself has a message to the world just as has any philosophy, any scripture, any religion. Bharata Nāṭya especially combines the perfect blending of many arts, such as music (singing and instrumental), costume, sculpture, etc.

Its chief difference from those forms of dancing that exist in the western world is that it conveys to the world a definite aud clear spiritual message; and through its symbolic language of gesture and expression a spiritual teaching can be given by those in whom dwells the dedicated spirit. If the dancer possesses this spirit, all forms of the dance can be channels for the message of its spirituality, for there

is an influence that comes through Beauty which can change the world from coarseness, from vulgarity, from cruelty, to an observance of the highest ideals of culture and compassion. It is because Bharata Nāṭya has been so scientifically created that there is meaning in every gesture and movement, and because it is so intrinsically musical as rhythmic movement that it can inspire people to a true understanding of the meaning and purpose of life. And even for those who do not fully understand its technicalities, it still can give them no less a sense of beauty than would come to them from the sight of a sunset or of a beautiful mountain.

Whatever was the spiritual impetus originally given to Bharata Nāṭya, the very same source gave the spiritual impetus to the whole of classical South Indian Music and South Indian architecture, and generally to reverent and aspiring worship. Knowing this, one does not wonder at the fact that Bharata Nāṭya is primarily *Temple dancing*, because wherever it is performed it brings with it the Temple atmosphere.

Just as in ancient times the Temple was the centre of all learning and of all art and culture, so must there be in the future a definite and reverent place found in the Temples for the arts and culture. As I know from experience, only in the atmosphere of the Temple can one really express this dance in its truest meaning and dignity. It is very sad that Temple dancing has become so degraded. But let us realize that it is not the dance that has become degraded, but rather the life of the people. I look for a future where in India great dancers who are priests and priestesses of Beauty will give their highest art in the most sacred of all places—the Temple.

This high purpose can only be achieved when the audience as well as the dancer learns to understand the spiritual significance of Bharata Nāṭya. Most dancing is solely for the pleasure of the audience. Though Bharata Nāṭya is meant to give happiness to the world, it is even more of an offering to the Deity, and the audience should be inspired to offer worship *with* the dancer, as the dancer dances in praise of the Lord.

In India there must be something more than a mere revival of Art. There must be a revival of spiritual values. We cannot be artists unless we live the life of the artist. We cannot dance the dance of S'ri Kṛṣṇa unless we express the spiritual significance of

S'ri Kṛṣṇa. We cannot portray the glory of S'ri Naṭarāja unless we become one with S'ri Naṭarāja.

One of the most hopeful signs of the times is the fact that faith has not been lost, particularly in the villages among the so-called uneducated people. The majority of the women of India still cherish an abiding devotion to India's truth, to her eternal glory, for in India there is neither the ancient nor the modern, but only the Eternal. This devotion can be fanned through the expression of Beauty into great flames of spiritual aspiration, and when the spiritual aspiration becomes conscious and purposeful, then India's future is assured. To the achievement of this great end the art of Bharata Nāṭya has ever been dedicated.

As the soul of India is freed from its imprisonment in the superficialities and narrownesses of the modern world, so will Bharata Nāṭya, as one of the highest cultural and spiritual expressions of India, also be freed. But India's true freedom no less depends upon the return of her people to her undying culture.

11. TECHNICAL SCIENCES

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By Vaidyaratna Captain
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SCIENTIFIC METHODOLOGY IN AYURVEDA AND MODERN MEDICINE—SIMILARITIES AND DISSIMILARITIES

पुराणमित्येव न साधु सर्वं न चापि काव्यं नवमित्यवद्यम् ।
सन्तः परीक्ष्यान्यतरद्भजन्ते मूढः परप्रत्ययनेयबुद्धिः ॥

[No Kāvya is to be considered good and acceptable merely because it is ancient; nor is it to be considered bad and unacceptable merely because it is modern. The wise ones accept the one or the other after subjecting everything, both ancient and modern, to discerning examination; the unwise one allows his judgment to be formed by the opinions of others—Kālidāsa *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act I—Verse 2].

In these words put into the mouth of the Sūtradhāra in *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Kālidāsa enunciated his criterion for the proper appraisement of literary works, ancient or modern. Though this criterion is seen, in the context, to have been laid down for application in the domain of the Humanities, it is one which is admirably suited for application in the domain of the sciences also such as the Science of Āyurveda.

ESSENITIALS OF SCIENTIFIC METHOD

Some people speak of "science" and "scientific method" as though they were products of the modern West; they speak, for example, of Modern Medicine as "The Scientific Medicine," contrasting it with Ancient Medicine or Āyurveda, with the implied suggestion that the latter is not scientific. Some speak of "science" and "scientific method" as though they were extraordinarily recondite, knowable only to the elect and the very high in intellect. While this is certainly true of the higher reaches of science, as of every other branch of knowledge, there is nothing extraordinarily recondite or mystic about the general conception of the scientific method which even the novice cannot appreciate if he wants to. Its *essential characteristic is a particular intellectual attitude* towards any problem that may come up for solution, whether it be a problem in Mathematics, Physics, Economics, Aesthetics, Education, Law, Medicine, Engineering, State-craft, Handi-craft or any other. Many people may be applying the scientific method in their daily round of duties without being aware of it. "We may get a good lesson in Scientific method from a business man meeting some new practical problem, from a lawyer sifting evidence or from a statesman framing a constructive Bill."[1] "The man who classifies facts of any kind whatever, who sees their mutual relations and describes their sequences is applying the scientific method; and is a man of Science."[2] What science demands from its votaries is a strict discipline in the habitual use of the keen eye, the sharpened intellect and the trained mind. The all-observing keen eye helps him to observe widely and collect together as many facts as he can gather. This is often a very laborious process. The sharpened intellect playing upon the facts so gathered, carefully analyzes and catalogues them under certain categories. These categories, viewed from a synthetic standpoint, suggest certain generalizations which include all the facts or phenomena so far observed. The trained mind, brooding upon these generalizations, evolves a Hypothesis or may be more than one hypothesis, in explanation of and based on, these observed facts or phenomena. Now every such hypothesis is merely a claim waiting to be verified; but, the

[1] *Introduction to Science* by Thompson, Home University Library, page 58.
[2] Karl Pearson, *Grammar of Science*, part I, page 12.

claim may or may not be accepted. Those hypotheses which are not verified by crucial testing or in practical working are rejected. Only that hypothesis which is found to work best in practice or to satisfy crucial tests becomes an accepted theory which, be it noted, is nothing more than the best working hypothesis, among perhaps several that may have been advanced. Moreover, its acceptance is merely tentative or provisional, contingent not only on the continued occurrence of verificatory phenomena but also on similar non-occurrence of contrary ones. There is really no finality in Science. For advancing explanatory hypotheses, a vivid imagination is a very valuable asset to the scientist; but this vivid imagination has to be controlled by rigid reasoning and crucial testing. In all this, the Scientist observes certain logical processes, certain orders of inference and this is called "the Scientific method."

FUNDAMENTAL SIMILARITIES BETWEEN MODERN AND ANCIENT METHODOLOGY

Of such modes of inference, there have been three known to the West since the days of Aristotle *viz.*, (1) Analogical reasoning, from Particular to Particular, best illustrated in the Geologists' story of the making of the earth, describing what happened millions of years ago, (2) Inductive reasoning or Baconian Method, the argument from particulars to universals of which experimental science is full of illustrations (3) Deductive reasoning—the argument from universal to particulars, by means of which Neptune was discovered before it was seen. These methods are exactly those which are comprehended in the logical and strictly scientific method of the Hindus known as "Anumāna." In his monumental work on ***The Positive Sciences of the Hindus***, the late Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal showed conclusively that, if comparisons are to be made between the Indian and Western methods, it is not the Indian Method that would suffer by comparison as may be gathered from the following extract: "The Hindu analysis of Anumana as a Formal-Material Deductive-Inductive inference is more comprehensive and more scientific than Aristotle's or Mill's analysis of the syllogism (or mediate inference). What is characteristic of the Hindu Scientific mind is that, without being content with the general concepts of science and a general methodology, it elaborated the fundamental

categories and concepts of such of the special sciences as it cultivated with assiduity, and systematically adapted the general principles of scientific method to the requirements of the subject matter in each case. The most signal example of applied Logic or scientific method worked out with systematic carefulness is the logic of Therapeutics in *Caraka*, the great Father of Āyurveda—a logic which adopts the general concepts of cause, effect, energy, operation etc. and the general methodology of science to the special problems, presented in the study of diseases, their causes, symptoms and remedies.[1] Scientific method, then, is not a speciality of the Modern West but is one which has been in general use among the Hindus from very early times.

Limitations of all Scientific Methods

There are certain essential limitations of all scientific methods which have been fully recognized by their votaries both in the East and the West. It is generally agreed that Pratyakṣa or direct observations and appearances frequently deceive us. The use of such a term like the "ultra-microscopic," for example, must remind us that the range of our senses is distinctly limited, even when aided by instruments of marvellous power and precision. We have 'light' whose brightness is too high for the range of perception of our eye. So in the midst of the most intense 'light' we may be in utter darkness. We have 'sounds' whose vibrations are beyond the range of perception of our ear; and so, in the midst of the most powerful 'sounds' we may be stone-deaf. It is therefore a well-recognized fact, both in the East and the West, that, for the ascertainment of truth, direct perception does not take us very far. Hence, people have everywhere turned to experimental and hypothetical methods of logical inferential reasoning, with a view to add to or correct the knowledge gained by direct perception. Thus, the sense-impressions regarding the fixity of the earth and the movement of the sun round it are corrected by an elaborate process of reasoning which leads to the conclusion that it is really the sun that is relatively fixed and the earth that moves round it; so too, the very familiar optical illusions of our every-day life, such as the apparent increase in the size of the sun and the moon when at the horizon than when at the zenith, the apparent rising and

[1] B. N. Seal, *Positive Sciences of the Hindus*, p. 288.

setting of the stars, and such other phenomena are other instances of how the senses deceive us, and how often things are not really what they seem. It is also seen that even the three scientific methods so far discussed, *viz.*, Analogy, Induction and Deducation are themselves not free from possible errors.

FUNDAMENTAL DISSIMILARITIES

S'abda Pramāṇam

It is because of the observed limitation of ordinary scientific methods discussed above that the methodology of the Hindus has recognized Scriptural Authority (Āptha Vākyam or S'abda Pramāṇam) as an Extra-ordinary method for the ascertainment of Truth—*especially in domains where other methods could not be applied.* I consider this to be a unique and valuable feature of Hindu Methodology; but, it is considered by many students of Modern Western science as an unscientific approach.

Āpta Vākyam or S'abda Pramāṇam is taken by these critics to mean blind or "unscientific veneration for petrified dogmas." Veneration, undoubtedly there is, and in abundance; but, it is for the *words of Āptas* or Masters of Wisdom and not for the dogmas of others. The previous records of these master-minds in contacting and sensing Truth are so rich and ours so poor, that we willingly accept their guidance; and it is well that we do so; it is well that reverence for wisdom should ever dwell in us. It seems to me that the strong objections which Western Scientists have held against the Hindu S'abda Pramāṇam is due to its being the subject of a very unfortunate mistranslation as 'authority.' Now the word 'authority' to Western minds is an anathema; to them, it is reminiscent of that dark period when 'authority' would accuse even a Pope of having commerce with the devil if he ventured to use a novel instrument like the compass. In their minds, 'authority' conjures up visions of those days when the sterilizing torch of 'authority' sought to burn away the tender seed of Science which Galileo planted at the risk of his life; and naturally enough, when they talk of 'authority' it is as though it were in eternal conflict with what we call 'Reason.' The sort of 'authority' that is depicted

here is poles apart from the sort of 'authority' which the Hindu S'abda Pramāṇam denotes. Nowhere perhaps is the tyranny of mistranslations more in evidence than in such cases where a word denoting a willing acquiescence in the authority of the words of those experts who are masters of knowledge and wisdom, is construed to mean an unmeaning 'veneration for petrified dogmas.' Here, in India, notwithstanding the homage universally paid to 'scriptural authority,' differences of views have widely prevailed and been freely discussed. Nobody ever thought that if the great S'aṅkarācārya disagreed, as he did, with the view of Evolution as propounded by the sage Kaṇāda, he, thereby, set at naught the S'abda Pramāṇam; nor did it prevent the Ācāryas S'rī Rāmānuja or S'rī Madhva from propounding their doctrines of Vis'iṣtādvaitam and Dvaitam as against the view of S'rī S'ānkarācārya. Indeed, I do not know if there is any other people in the world among whom freedom of thought has been more tolerated, fostered and respected than among the Hindus. We are told that in the great ancient Indian University of Benares, the very home, if there was one, of orthodox theism, students and teachers alike, were at perfect liberty to discuss and propound, as indeed they sometime did, even atheistic doctrines like those of the Cārvākas. Even in comparatively recent times as that of the great Advaitin Mādhavācārya, we find that, in his discussion of the sixteen religio-philosophical faiths of his time, Cārvaka Dars'ana (Atheism) has a chapter devoted solely to it, equally with Buddhism, Jainism, and his own philosophy of Advaitism. Here, in India, the binding forces of S'abda Pramāṇam or 'authority' is all from within; none else compels. Here is no 'blind' veneration forced upon from without, but merely a willing recognition of the inevitable fact that where we are dealing in the domain of experts, those who are not experts have perforce to recognize the authority of those who are. Here is no conflict of 'reason' and 'authority,' although some people have needlessly distressed themselves over such a bogey. It is not that the 'experts' have arrived at their conclusions, without adducing reasons for the same; for, reason is there and always; but is too recondite to be understood by non-experts. For instance, how many of us can understand the chain of reasoning adduced by Einstein to build up his Theory of Relativity? An expert Mathematician-Physicist can accept it or reject it, and state his reasons for doing so; but

I can only accept the 'authority' of either Einstein or his opponent, till I become myself an expert capable of reasoning on these topics; but, even here, I have to use my reason for accepting one or other of these experts as my "Authority;" and what guarantee is there that my reasoning is always right reasoning? I may have confounded my prejudice for "Reason" and accepted the authority of that expert to whom I had some partiality but who was really in the wrong. If only we recognize that 'authority' does not always mean 'Infallible authority' just as 'reasoning' cannot always be equated to 'right reasoning' there will be no difficulty in understanding the role played by S'abda Pramāṇam (or the authority of the words of the wise) in Hindu Scientific and Philosophic thought; all that it says is that in the region of expert knowledge, those who are novices have to accept the 'authority' of those who are experts; while this undoubtedly acts as a wholesome and conservative check against ignorant and upstart tyros flooding the world with their immature views, it, in no way, restricts the growth of independent thought nor does it prevent experts from differing from one another, if they find cause to do so; as a matter of fact, the course of Hindu thought abounds in numerous instances of 'authority' differing from 'authority.' In both *Caraka* and *Sus'ruta*, the two classical works of Āyurveda, there are many examples of such differences of views, propounded with rare acumen and felicity of expression, and discussed in thoroughly scientific style, and Āyurveda, having long ago reached, as the Calcutta University Commissioners of the Sadler Committee truly observed, "the height of a systematizing and theorizing school of thought" still holds a unique position as a system of strictly logical and scientific thinking.

Āyurveda "mixes up" Science, Philosophy and Religion

Another objection raised against the Hindu Methodology is that it "mixes up" Science, Philosophy and Religion; for example, Āyurveda states that its original sources are to be found in the Vedas, Purāṇas and certain other works of "Religion" as also in the Nyāya, Sāṅkhya, Vedānta and other Dars'anas or Schools of "Philosophy." It is objected that this mixing up of "Science," "Religion"

and "Philosophy" is unscientific. It is quite true that, in Āyurveda, as in Hindu thought generally, these several branches of study are ever associated with one another; but when we go to the root of the matter, is it really possible to isolate and shut them off in water-tight compartments? Has not the Hindu view found its supporters among some of the foremost of Western Scientists themselves the late Karl Pearson was a name to conjure with, in the field of modern Western science. Yet we find him expressing himself thus: "the scope of science is to ascertain the truth in every possible branch of knowledge; there is no sphere of inquiry which lies outside the legitimate field of science. *To draw a distinction between Science and Philosophy is obscurantism.*" Strong language this, but none too strong, considering the fact that the notion of confining Science, Philosophy and Religion in isolated, water-tight compartments is still the fashion of the day. I quote Karl Pearson merely to show that the idea of viewing science, Philosophy and Religion—in fact all branches of knowledge—as one connected integrated whole instead of as so many dissociated entities is not altogether foreign to Western thought. In Āyurveda, however, as in Indian thought generally, such a notion is almost an axiomatic proposition accepted as a matter of course. To understand this position, we must first realize that, to the Hindu, "Philosophy" was not a matter for mere speculation or intellectual edification; from his standpoint, no subject of inquiry was worthy of study, unless it helped the student to so regulate his life as to lead him to that state of perfection called Mokṣa. The modern Western conception of Philosophy as a pure speculative, theoretical study dissociated, as it were, from the actual problems of life had no place in his scheme of life; his justification of philosophy was not merely its excellence as a theory or speculation, but its intense practical value in regulating one's daily life; in other words, the great value to him of philosophy was that it served as the basis of certain ethical rules and physical practices, broadly included under the term "Religion," although modern Westerners would label some portions of it as "Ethics" and others as "Science." It may perhaps be better, if I illustrated this point by an example; in that well-known work, *Sarva Darśana Saṅgraha*, written by the learned Advaitin Mādhavācārya, to whom I have referred before, there is a discussion of the tenets of some sixteen religio-philosophical faiths of India, each discussion occupying

a chapter; here one finds that, along with Buddhism, Jainism, Dvaitism, Advaitism, Vis'iṣtadvaitism, etc., there is specific mention of Rases'vara Dars'anam (Chemistry) discussed in a chapter all by itself. To the modern Westerner, this is mixing up Science with Philosophy and Religion; but, see what it means to the Hindu; he argues thus: the one supreme object of Life (or Puruṣārtham) is to attain that state of Perfection known as Self-Realization or Mukti, thus freeing oneself from the wheel of births and deaths; now, the study of chemistry helps me to achieve this object, by intelligently using mercury and other chemicals in the healthy regulation of my physical and other bodies; here we see at once how the philosophy (if we may say so) of Chemistry is indissolubly associated with the Science of Chemistry, and with certain ethical and physical practices, broadly included under the name of "Religion"—the "Religion," if you please, of Chemistry (Rases'avara Dars'ana). As in Chemistry, so it in Mathematics, Grammar, Exegetics, Āyurveda or any other branch of study; the philosophical aspect of every one of these is intimately and indissolubly associated with the appropriate Scientific and Religious aspects; take, for example, a system like the Yoga of Patañjali; it has (or rather is) a philosophy based on that of the Sāṅkhya, but with the addition of the conception of Īs'vara; it is also a Religious discipline, teaching the aspirant to achieve Self-Realization through the eight-fold method of Yoga, which includes the due obervance of certain ethical rules and physical practices; then again, it is also a Science—pre-eminently, the science of psychology, because its religious discipline is largely concerned with the control of the modifications of the mind. Thus it is that every system of Indian thought is not merely a philosophy to be intellectually appreciated, not merely a science for explaining the facts of experience but is also a Religion to be lived and not merely believed—so direct and immediate is its bearing on the life that is to be lived and the discipline that is to be practised; in other words, every system of Hindu thought is at once Philosophy, Science and Religion, all in one and one in all. Considered in this light, it may not be so difficult to understand why Āyurveda draws so freely from Sāṅkhya, Vedānta and other Dars'anas, which the Westerners classify as "the Philosophies," as also from Tantras, Vedas and other works, which they would designate as distinctly "Religious" treatises.

Sciences Versus Humanities

From the standpoint of integrated study discussed above, the discussion that is carried on in certain academical circles about the relative values of the study of "Humanities" and the study of "Sciences" would seem fundamentally unreal. There is a tendency in these discussions to envisage the two studies as though they were ranged in opposite camps and fighting each other for supremacy. The ancient Hindu view has been to look upon these as complementary studies to be earnestly pursued by all aiming at cultural harmony and fullness. Hence, it is that, in Āyurveda, it has always been considered necessary that training of the future physician should provide not only for the study of the subjects of medicine in all its branches so as to equip him with the capacity to have the proper orientation to problems of health and ill-health, but also for the study of such classes as will enable him to have the proper orientation to life and its vital problems; in other words, the ancient scheme of studies was so ordered as to give to the world great physicians who were not only Great Scientists but also Great Humanists—a type of Physician vividly pictured for moderners in the following description of *The Doctor of the Future* by a Western writer Dr. R. W. Wilson: "The Physician of the future will not, as is now usually assumed, be a Scientist of the Orthodox type, a man with the technic of Laboratories at his finger ends and with the aim in his mind of elucidating the phenomena of Life in terms of Chemistry or Physics. Rather, he will be a Humanist —a man with the widest possible knowledge of human nature and the deepest possible understanding of human motives. He will be a cultured man, ripe in intellectual attainments, but not lacking in emotional sympathy, a lover of the Arts as well as a student of the Sciences."

The Vision of the Ātman

The Education of "the Doctor of the Future" envisaged above is the harmonious pursuit of both scientific and humanistic disciplines and not their relegation to water tight compartments as is still done in the West. This is certainly a great advance as compared with the present position; but, even this is not sufficient for the true comprehension of reality in all its richness and fullness. The Sciences, the

Arts, the Philosophies, etc., are the various darśanas or views of reality which reveal the richness of their content and the fullness of their meaning only when the picture or revelation presented by each Darśana or View-point is seen in its inter-relationship to the revelations or pictures presented by other Darśanas or View-points of the One Reality—that integrated Unity, fullness and wholeness which comprehends not only the universe of Matter but also of Mind, Life and Spirit. Sir James Jeans may be right when he explained at a meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science held in 1931 that while Physicists were not necessarily ignorant of the existence or importance of "Consciousness," yet, as members of the section (A) of the Association, they were not called upon to take it into account in considering their problems; but, a more comprehensive view was taken by General Smuts, the President of the Session, when he observed as follows: "Truth is a whole, and the truth of Physics will be found to link on and to be but part of that larger truth which is the nature and character of the Universe. When we speak of the Evolution of the Cosmos we are faced with a series of questions in regard to the ultimate physical constituents of the World.... These are problems for Physics; but we find that evolution comprises the emergence of life and mind, of the human soul and human personality and a whole new world of values of all sorts. Truth, beauty, goodness and love are as much structures of the evolutionary Universe as the Sun, the Earth and the Moon." To the Āyurvedist, as to every other seeker of Truth, the revelation of the Sciences alone is not sufficient. Physics may view a Rose or a Lotus and describe their physical properties. Chemistry and Botany may likewise describe their chemical and botanical features; but, the beauty of the Rose and the symbology of the Lotus are not known when only their Physics, Chemistry and Botany are known. At their best the revelations of science are pictures of the analytical intellect—*The Manas*—which can attend to only one thing at a time and see the many in the one. This is not sufficient to contact and sense Truth in its oneness, fullness and wholeness. For this purpose, the discipline of the Humanities and the sympathetic vision of the Buddhi which can attend to many things at one and the same time and see the one in the many is a great help; but, even there two visions combined do not suffice for the comprehension of Reality as *sat-cit-ānaṇda—Brahman*—in all its

strength and beauty, Knowledge and Wisdom, Love and Grace. For this, the vision of the Manas and the Buddhi are not sufficient; we need the vision of the Ātman. This idea is exquisitely pictured for us in the following verse of Ānandavardhanācārya:

या व्यापारवती रसान्रसयितुं काचित्कवीनां नवा
दृष्टिर्या परिनिष्ठितार्थविषयोन्मेषा च वैपश्चिती ।
ते द्वे अप्यवलम्ब्य विश्वमनिशं निर्वर्णयन्तो वयम्
श्रान्ता नैव च लब्धमब्धिशयन त्वद्भक्तितुल्यं सुखम् ॥

(*Dhvanyāloka*,—p. 227, Kāvyamala, No. 25),

[There is the ever-new and extraordinary Eye of the Kavi (the Poet) which operates for causing enjoyment of the Rasas. There is also the Extraordinary eye of the Vipas'cit (the Paṇḍit—the Scientist) which is ever open towards knowledge of objects which are real. Utilizing both of these, Oh Abdhis'ayana, (thou who lies in the Ocean), and engaged constantly in describing the universe we have become tired but have not attained to a happiness similiar to Bhakti (loving devotion) in you.]

Even more exquisite is this idea presented to us in the opening verse of *S'rī Bhāṣya*, the well-known commentary of Bhagavān S'rī Rāmānuja on the *Brahma-Sūtras* of Vedānta Dars'ana ordinarily understood to be severely intellectual in its scope; but, the great Ācārya, realizing that mere intellectual brilliance is not sufficient in the pursuit of Brahma Jigñāsa—understanding of Brahman—prays at the very outset that his intellect (S'emuṣī) may take the form of love and devotion—*Bhakti*—to Brahman, the Most High, manifesting as S'rinivāsa at this sacred shrine of the Seven Hills—this holy Tirupati where we are now gathered. With this prayer, I conclude my address:

अखिलभुवनजन्मस्तेमभङ्गादिलीले
विनतविविधभूतव्रातरक्षैकदीक्षे ।
श्रुतिशिरसि विदीप्ते ब्रह्मणि श्रीनिवासे
भवतु मम परस्मिन् शेमुषी भक्तिरूपा ॥

[May my s'emuṣī (Intellect or understanding) assume the form of Bhakti (loving devotion) to the Highest Brahman, S'rīnivāsa (abode of S'rī or Lakṣmi) to whom the creation, preservation, destruction etc., of all the worlds is Līlā, whose main resolve consists in the protection of hosts of multiform subordinate beings and who is seen to shine forth in special glory in that which constitutes the Head of the S'ruti, *viz.*, the Vedānta.

12. PHILOLOGY

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

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THE POSITION OF LINGUISTIC STUDIES IN INDIA

I AM very grateful to you indeed for the honour you have done me by electing me to preside over the Philological Section of this august Conference. But I do not think, if you will pardon my saying so, that the choice of the present sectional president has been either exceptionally wise or happy. The fact is that in recent years my preoccupation with our *Mahābhārata* work has divorced me more and more from this fascinating but difficult subject and I have been devoting less and less of my time to any intensive study of it. In spite of this outward divorce, however, I will confess, I have always preserved a soft corner in my heart for my first love, Comparative Grammar, and that must be my excuse for the few remarks that I shall now proceed to make on the subject of this Section.

If now, gentlemen, instead of treating you to a technical discussion of some abstruse linguistic problem or giving you merely a list or summary of linguistic works or papers which have appeared during the last two or three years and which you can get from booksellers' catalogues, I offer you some observations of common interest on the subject of linguistics in general and Indian linguistics in particular, I trust they will not be unwelcome to you.

Language, as you all know, plays an immense role in our life,—the life of an individual, of a country and of a nation—how great, it is really difficult to estimate. Language is the foundation of this Conference. Without a language, you will realize, even this address

which I am now delivering about it would have been impossible. Perhaps it is just because of this very familiarity and its all-pervasiveness that we rarely observe it, taking it for granted as we do breathing or walking. Furthermore, the effects of language are quite remarkable and include much of what distinguishes man from animals. Nevertheless, it may be noted, language as such has no recognized place in our general programme of education or in the speculations of the average modern philosopher. However, none but those who shut their eyes to the hasty readaptation to totally new circumstances which the human race has been blindly endeavouring to achieve during the last decade or two can pretend that there is no need to examine critically the most important of all the instruments of civilization.

We Indians, I am proud to say, have the unique merit and distinction, which is indeed very great in the history of civilization, of having realized at an early date, the importance of linguistic studies and applied our innate reflective nature and speculative spirit to observing the facts of language and building up a grammar of our own speech. India may justly claim to be the cradle of the linguistic science.

Several nations of the ancient and the mediæval world had developed linguistic doctrines, chiefly on—what may be called—antiquarian basis. A grammar of the classical form of the language as it appears in the *Quarn* had, for instance, been worked out by the Arabs. Taking this as their model, the Jews in Muslim countries constructed a Semitic grammar. At the Renaissance, European scholars became acquainted with this tradition; the Semitic grammarians have contributed, for instance, to English grammar the term "root" as a designation for the central part of a word. Our word for it, as you know, is entirely different, "*dhātu*," which means a "constituent element" or "essential ingredient." In the Far East a great deal of antiquarian linguistic knowledge, especially in the way of lexicography, had been gained by the Chinese. In a later epoch a Japanese grammar seems to have grown up somewhat independently. The Romans, and especially the Greeks, had made a considerable advance in the subject, which was inherited by modern Europe and which formed at first the basis of their studies.

But it was here in India—as is commonly recognized—that there arose a body of knowledge that was destined to revolutionize European

ideas about language. The grammar of Pāṇini, which dates from somewhere round B.C., 800 to 500, has been pronounced to be "one of the greatest monuments of human intelligence." And it is no exaggeration to say—as, in fact, it is freely admitted by competent European authorities on the subject—that the Indian grammatical researches form the solid bed-rock on which the stately edifice of the Comparative Grammar of the Indo-European languages—which has been the model of all subsequent studies in Comparative Grammar—was only during the last century reared by the assiduous exertions and signal devotion of European grammarians. While the Europeans have made good use of our heritage, we have failed to derive any profit from it. We read with pardonable pride the encomiums lavished by foreign scholars on the great grammar of our Pāṇini, and we are complacent enough not to realize that these very encomiums are at the same time the most crushing indictment of his unworthy descendants, who have shamefully neglected the study of this important subject and completely lost their grip over it, since the days of the holy sage of S'ālātūra.

It is, I know, usual to speak of *Munitraya*, the Triumvirate of Munis, in this connection. But in my humble opinion there was only one Muni, Pāṇini. Kātyāyana's *Vārttikas* do supply an effective list of addenda and corrigenda to the *Sūtras* of Pāṇini; but already with Patañjali, notwithstanding that his *Bhāṣya* is an imposing work exhibiting great virtuosity and critical acumen and also a veritable mine of information to the student of culture, the rich vein of grammatical research which culminated in the work of Pāṇini, comes to an abrupt end, and Patañjali's interest lies mainly in showing how to interpret the *Sūtras* of Pāṇini so that they involve no contradiction or deficiency. His work is but a product of scholastic activity, with only distant kinship to that divine spark which is necessary for creative work. We might almost say that our grammatical achievements begin and end with Pāṇini. This is of course only a partial truth, like most other truths. For Pāṇini did not in any complete sense create Sanskrit grammar. Generations of labour must have preceded the composition of the oldest treatise that has come down to us. And we have, as a matter of fact, the *Prātis'ākhyas*, the *Nighaṇṭu* and the *Nirukta* of Yāska, not to speak of the stray grammatical speculations and allusions embedded in the *Brāhmaṇas*, some of which must be earlier than

Pāṇini. But even these put together do not make up the whole of Sanskrit grammar.

While we must deplore our lack of knowledge of the early history of Indian grammar, I do not know in what terms to describe the woeful neglect of the subject in mediæval and modern times. The lack of interest in the subject has in recent years been so appalling that even so beautiful a work as the *Māhābhāṣya* of Patañjali, which is surely one of the most magnificent specimens of the polished and vivid Sanskrit prose—I think, the best that we possess as far as classical Sanskrit goes—containing a deal of information on subjects other than the technicalities of Pāṇinean grammar, written in a lively style, combined with much real humour—even this precious work of Indian antiquity, owing to its being labelled a grammatical treatise, has almost become an ornament of the bookshelf. Therefore, the disinterested labours of Mahāmahopādhyāya Vasudeva Shastri Abhyankar in giving us an accurate Marathi rendering of this important work, which I believe, is the first translation of the book in a living language, merits the highest praise, and the learned translator and expounder of the *Mahābhāṣya* deserves the most grateful thanks of all Indologists.

Our appalling lack of knowledge regarding the Middle Indian languages and dialects in contradistinction to the abundance of information for the still earlier period is no doubt to be traced to that unreasonable contempt which is often felt and sometimes even freely expressed—not merely in India, but throughout the world—by speakers of the high standard language for provincial standard and sub-standard types of speech.

The information given by our Prakrit grammars is so meagre that what the names Ardhamāgadhī, Paiśācī and Apabhraṁśa mentioned by Prakrit grammarians exactly mean, exactly where, when and by whom these languages or dialects were spoken, is now largely a matter for speculation. All that the Indian grammarians have to say about them amounts to a brief and unsatisfactory list of particulars in which these dialects differ from Sanskrit. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini describes with meticulous care every inflection, derivation and composition and every syntactic usage of its author's speech, with a precision which is phenomenal. No other language to this day, it has been said, has been so perfectly described. What a sad contrast is presented, on the other hand, by our extant Prakrit

grammars, such as those of Vararuci, Mārkaṇḍeya, Hemacandra and others, where whole dialects are disposed of in a few cryptic words, whose precise meaning even is not now easy to ascertain without drawing in the aid of commentaries and sub-commentaries.

The twilight of Prakrit grammar becomes complete and impenetrable darkness when we reach the period of the tertiary dialects of India. Language study, in the sense of language research, seems to have, for some reason hard to imagine, completely lost interest. And no serious attempt was made in India to study systematically, from a grammatical standpoint, the early phases of our modern Indian languages. We have drifted far away from the ambitious achievements of our ancestors and not even known that we have done so.

The mist which overhangs the mystery of our languages in the tertiary period, is now, after centuries of apathy and inertia, being fitfully lifted under the influence of the stimulating contact with European savants to whom we must be grateful for giving a new direction to our studies. The first scientific grammar of Marathi to be written was by a French philologist, M. Jules Bloch, of the University of Paris, which is still a standard work on the subject. Since the publication of that work, however, a number of Indian scholars have come forward to shoulder the burden and carry forward linguistic research in India. Pre-eminent among these is undoubtedly my learned friend, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji of the University of Calcutta, a scholar with an international reputation, who is carrying aloft the banner of Indian linguistics and in whom are centred our hopes for the renaissance of linguistic studies in India. Excellent work is being done in the North, silently but enthusiastically and effectively, by Dr. Siddheswar Varma, a former President of this Section of our Conference, whose penetrating researches have been shedding welcome light on the present condition and past history of little known Northern dialects. These are our stalwarts. But praiseworthy work is being done also by men who have come later in the field, by Dr. B. Saksena and by Mr. L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar, who have enriched the literature on the subject of Indian linguistics by their contributions in the shape of books and papers of considerable merit. There are not wanting neophytes who have shown promise but who have yet to win their spurs. But this is not enough. In order to cope with the enormous mass of work to be done and to make up for

leeway, many more men must take up linguistic study in India, which must be also carried on more vigorously and in yet wider fields, if we are to reclaim some of the glory for which our forefathers are justly famed.

India affords rich—nay, unique—opportunities for linguistic work of the highest order. India is in fact an extraordinarily rich mine of linguistic research waiting to be worked up. It is my belief —but I am open to correction—that the Indian languages are the only system of languages in the world which has a continuous, and more or less clearly documented history extending over nearly 4000 years. This is certainly true within the Indo-Germanic family, and it is probably true in relation to any other family of languages. This continuity of documents belonging to the Indian speech, it is needless to point out, is a factor of capital importance, affording unique opportunities for the study of the life-history of a large number of related languages, but it is also of importance for the study of linguistic problems in general. And who is better equipped, by nature and by tradition, to undertake these studies than we ourselves ?

We Indians of the present generation are, however, so conservative —and I may even say, intellectually so inert and slothful—that it never even occurs to any one of us to study any language outside our special, hallowed system of languages: even the English language, which everyone nowadays almost compulsorily studies, belongs of course to our own system. I find it truly remarkable that in a civilized and highly cultured country like this, out of the tens of thousands of young men passing annually through the different Indian Universities, there is a very inconsiderable fraction of students who take up for study anything but a language belonging to their special linguistic group. A Hindu, at least in Western India, though he is constantly brought into the closest contact with Muslims, would ordinarily no more think of studying seriously Arabic or Persian, than he would think of learning the language, say, of the Hottentots or the Eskimos. There is a reciprocal lack of interest commonly exhibited by Muslims in India in the study of Sanskritic languages. This, I think, is not due wholly to any racial or cultural antagonism. It is just lack of interest. This is proved, it seems to me, by the fact that we Indians —at least the inhabitants of Western India—present the same attitude to the *Zoroastrian* literature and religion, which are akin to the

ancient Indian in many respects, and which are free from racio-political conflict-associations and yet fail to interest those Indians who do not belong to that particular religious persuasion. There are a few noteworthy exceptions, I know; but these exceptions only prove the rule.

There is another curious little phenomenon which I do not know whether you gentlemen have observed. If, as a very great exception, some Hindu should perchance happen to study Persian or Arabic, or, *vice versa*, if a Muslim should study Sanskrit, he seems to lose caste, so to say, not explicitly but implicitly. His labour and his attainments are appreciated neither by his own people nor by the other people. He is hated by his kinsmen for his unorthodoxy and despised by the others for his supposed incompetence. This, I submit, is unreasoning intolerance, which is not in keeping with our best traditions.

If this is the case with our fellow-men, with whom we are daily rubbing shoulders, is it stange that hardly any one in India bothers himself seriously about the languages of countries surrounding us like the Burman, Tibetan and Afghan languages or about the languages of the so-called backward peoples within the confines of India, like the Bhils, the Toḍas or the Baḍagas? Chinese is to us nearly the same as Greek. And even Japan, with her enormous commercial possibilities, which are being keenly exploited, to their immense profit, by our merchant princes, has not been able to stimulate our interest in her language. It is not necessary to tell you, gentlemen, that almost all the big Western Universities make adequate provision not only for the teaching of the important foreign classical languages like Sanskrit, Avestan, Old Chinese (in addition to their own classics like Greek and Latin) but also for imparting at least elementary instruction in many living languages of Asia and Africa.

Our conservatism and lack of interest in any language but our own are, in my opinion, an index of low mentality, and a most deplorable feature of Indian conditions, which must be combatted with vigour and eradicated completely. I submit that to understand even one's own language completely and thoroughly, it is necessary to have a nodding acquaintance with some foreign languages. You can cram all Sanskrit grammars and lexicons and all the works written in Sanskrit in the bargain, but that alone is not going to help you to

understand the internal mechanism of the Sanskrit language, which is only possible from a comparative study of many different languages, —and the more the better. Only by an intensive study of many different languages you can advance to the study of Language, which is after all the goal of the modern linguistician.

Linguistics should, however, not be considered as synonymous with grammar, etymology or lexicography, and should not be confused with any of them. Grammar, etymology and lexicography are three of the departments of linguistics and do not constitute the whole of the subject. They form, in fact only a portion of the material and the tools with which the linguistician operates. Remember that even the Taj Mahal would not have been possible, had not that hard and intractable material, marble, of which the Taj is built, been first quarried, cut, shaped correct to a fraction of a centimetre and then polished with infinite labour, patience and skill. Likewise linguistics, and as a matter of fact every science worth the name, has an aspect which is not very attractive, involving as it does a deal of labour and drudgery, but which is essential for its future developments. Starting from a minute study of particular idioms, working out the genetic relations between individual members of a language-family and then between the different language-families of the world, the human mind becomes fortified and braced up to investigate such a theme as the nature and the structure of language in the abstract or a theme like the influence of language upon thought,—the latter a fascinating problem of psycho-philosophical order, which is the subject of the C. K. Ogden's brilliant book with the rather startling title *The Meaning of Meaning* (Kegan Paul, London, 1927).

Here through the *thought* expressed by language, linguistics has contact with logic and philosophy. But it has points of contact with other branches of science as well, as was recently pointed out by Prof. Dr. Otto Jespersen, of the University of Copenhagen. Through phonetics it has contact with physics and physiology; through the linguistic communities with sociology and thence with anthropology and enthnology, further with history, and especially cultural history; and, finally, through the dissemination of languages, linguistics has contact with geography; thus, for instance, in the study of place-names and in the great linguistic atlases, which have been published or are under preparation in many countries.

No doubt the linguistician learns from all these sciences; but it would be hazardous to maintain that linguistics is not capable of throwing light on the present or future problems in any of these disciplines. It will be found in fact that there is really a fruitful and stimulating interaction between all these diverse branches of human knowledge.

There have been striking developments in the domain of linguistics during the last half a century: most noticeably perhaps in the waning interest evinced by present-day linguisticians just in those subjects which were most popular in the days of Brugmann and Joh. Schmidt: etymologies, sound laws of the Indo-European, reconstruction of hypothetical forms belonging to the primitive Indo-European speech, and so on. Such "starred" forms played an immensely greater rōle in the linguistics of about fifty years ago. Philologists of those days took much naive pleasure in contructing little conversational sentences made up entirely of "starred" forms, sentences such as might have been spoken by the primitive Indo-Europeans in the "Urheimat," somewhere in Asia or Europe. It was an excellent pastime, like the nursery games played by boys and girls all over the world with wax dolls and tin soldiers. The linguisticians have now outgrown that stage. They have realized the futility of those jejune exercises and abandoned them for more serious and fruitful pursuits. They have become, in other words, more realistic. Linguistics has become more of a living science than it ever was before.

Indo-Germanic Philology has been for most linguisticians the starting point of their studies and a deal of time and energy has been expended on the development of this special branch of linguistics. As I said above, the leaders of philological researches some fifty years ago were very confident regarding their reconstructions of the Indo-European parent speech. Speculations on its aspect have of late been profoundly modified by the fortuitous discovery of Tokharian and Hittite, two long-forgotten languages of Asia. The study of these languages has upset much of what was regarded as self-evident or axiomatic by older linguisticians and has necessitated the recasting or at least restating of many an old hypothesis. The question of possible old kinship between the Indo-Germanic and the Finno-Ugrian groups—a kinship that was postulated in former times by more than one liuguistician—was again mooted at the Rome Session

of the International Congress of Linguists. The most characteristic feature of the linguistic studies of the present period is the broadening of the basis of study. The period is therefore fertile in bold, comprehensive theories, whose validity remains to be tested. It is unquestionable, however, that the study of the general theory of language has much profited through a closer study of such groups of languages as those of Africa, of the Far Fast and of the American Indians, languages which were formerly almost completely neglected.

As an onlooker—for in this great field I have been no more—I have reached the conviction that recent years have seen linguistic research in Europe enter on yet another new phase, one in which practical observations and experimental studies are going deeper than ever before into the nature of linguistic phenomena and yielding results of unforeseen promise.

On the other hand, when I look round in India I am overpowered with the feeling that linguistic studies have not been in as healthy a condition as they might have been. We linguists in India, I must regretfully observe, are far behind even our own brethren working in other fields of knowledge, like Mathematics, Physics or Botany, in which India has produced men who have by their researches made a substantial contribution to world knowledge—that must after all be the final goal of all scholars—and acquired thereby international celebrity, I mean, men like Ramanujan, Raman, Sahani, to mention only a few top-names.

I do not wish to make invidious comparisons, and I am certainly not a victim of what psychologists call the inferiority complex. I only wish to impress upon you, gentlemen, on the one hand, the great advances made in the linguistic science in other countries, and on the other hand the necessity of strenuous exertion and devoted application on our part to make up for lost time and lost opportunities.

The linguistic students of India, I confess, have been so far lacking equipment, training, opportunity and encouragement—in short, lacking everything that makes research possible. There is, however, no need to despair. There are indeed very hopeful signs which augur well for the resurrection of linguistic studies in India and which are even full of promise for the future. I have already referred to the Linguistic School of Calcutta presided over by Dr. Chatterji, which has again put India on the linguistic map of the world.

It will be, I imagine, a welcome piece of news to most of you, gentlemen, that the Government of Bombay have recently opened a department of linguistic research as one of the regular and permanent departments of the revived Deccan College of Poona, which has been operating since August 1939. The Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute scheme envisages the employment of a full-time Professor of Indo-European Philology and of Readers in Dravidian and Semitic Philology. The Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay for the reorganization of the Deccan College is understood to have recommended to the Government that the Professor and the Readers of this Department of the Institute should be entrusted with purely linguistic work comprising such essential preliminaries as the phonetic recording and study of the major Indo-Aryan and Dravidian dialects of India, preparation of grammars, glossaries and anthologies of these dialects and even the preparation of dialect atlases. It is understood that the Government have further decided to equip the department not only with an up-to-date library of linguistic literature but also with a full-fledged laboratory of experimental phonetics.

The department has already been partly organized and is now working under the direction of Dr. S. M. Katre, who has been appointed Head of the department. The results of the labours of Dr. Katre and his pupils during the first term have been published in the first volume of the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, which has already been published. Dr. Katre, who is trained in the best of schools, is an indefatigable worker and has an enthusiasm for his subject which is quite contagious. There is every hope that he will be able to communicate some of his own enthusiasm to his pupils. Dr. Katre's work impresses an impartial observer like myself, who stands a little outside the narrow group of specialists in the subject, by his fundamental grasp of the subject, illuminated by a wide vision and marked by a precision which is the *sine qua non* of all scientific work and which inspires confidence. Let us hope that this department of the Deccan College Research Institute under the direction of Dr. Katre will build up an independent school of linguistics in the near future in the West of India and thus make this laudable experiment of the Government of Bombay a signal success, helping in its own way to regenerate linguistic studies in

India, which have been in a moribund condition during so many centuries.

I must not omit to mention here the work of the Linguistic Society of India, with its organ the *Indian Linguistics*. After a somewhat chequered early career, hampered chiefly by financial difficulties, both the Society and its organ have gathered new strength under the fostering care of the Calcutta University. The issues of the *Journal* which have been just published from its new home not only eclipse the old ones, but challenge camparison with similar journals published elsewhere. They are a feather in the cap of the energetic President of the Society and his able adjutants who may justly feel proud of their work. If it continues in this fashion, it will surely be a herald of a new era in the history of Indian linguistics.

While I am on the topic of the Linguistic Society of India I should like to mention another little thing, the consummation of which I should very much like to see. The society has so far been holding its meetings under the wings of this Conference. That is a very happy combination indeed and is quite in the fitness of things. There is no reason, however, why the Linguistic Society could not hold *annual* meetings, as most Societies of that type do elsewhere. The formal foundation of a school of linguistic studies in Poona, is, in my opinion, a fitting occasion for inaugurating the practice of holding annual meetings, to be held for the present alternately at Poona and Calcutta, in addition of course to its meetings held in conjunction with the Oriental Conference. I consider that, at least in the early stages, in the interests of more active co-operation and co-ordination, closer contact between the handful of workers in this field might be more helpful. I make the suggestion for what it is worth. It is up to the Linguistic Society and the Deccan College authorities to consider the feasibility of the scheme, if it should appeal to them.

As there appear to exist clear signs of a gradual awakening among the language students in India, it would not be inopportune to make some observations on the lines and methods of work.

Before I do that, however, I must draw your attention to an alarming feature of the trend of linguistic studies in India, namely, the growing indifference of our Colleges and Universities to grammatical studies. All University examiners will, I am sure, vouchsafe for the fact that the candidates year by year betray an ever increasing

lack of knowledge of the elements of grammar. This prevalent indifference to grammatical studies has induced some of the Indian Universities to reduce the requisite proficieny to a bare minimum. So much so that in certain of our Universities, I fear, it may be actually possible to pass the highest examinations in our classical languages such as Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian, without the student ever suspecting the existence of a science like the Comparative Grammar of Indo-European or Semitic languages.

But the educationists who frame and control the course of University studies in India ought to remember that even though grammar, as ordinarily taught in our schools and colleges, is a bugbear to most students, a student of language can no more do without a thorough knowledge of grammar than a physician can nowadays do without a knowledge of anatomy, or a physicist without a knowledge of mathematics. Moreover, the study of grammar need not be dry at all. It is made dry by our imperfect methods of teaching and perhaps to some extent by a lack of good teachers also. M. Meillet in his *Aperçu de la langue greque* and later in his *Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue latine* has shown what interest for the general reader and scientific profit for the student may be had, when a master of the linguistic science displays the main lines of development of a single language-group and the chief influences in its history.

To bring us Indians abreast of modern linguistic research, we have to put in, as I have already remarked, a deal of hard and serious work. Now, as regards methods, it may be observed that the methods of grammatical analysis have in recent years altered to a great extent, due chiefly to extended study of divergent groups of languages, and we must familiarize ourselves with the most modern aspects of the subject.

For the older phases of our language, we lack critical editions of texts. Prakrit and Old-Prakrit texts have to a large extent been critically edited, but there is still a scarcity of good editions of Apabhraṁśa works. The scarcity of such reliable editions is still keener for the next great linguistic epoch, the early phases of modern Indian languages. For the use of beginners Chresthomathis of these languages have to be prepared, like the readers of Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, Old English, Middle English and so on, made by European scholars.

Phonetic studies have to be developed more intensely,—partly by the use of laboratory methods for the analysis and recording of sounds. Our knowledge of the subject is so defective that even the ancient authors of the *Prātiśākhyas* of hoary antiquity, with their acute powers of observation and the general grasp of their subject would put to shame our modern professors of Sanskrit in India.

Next, dialects must be studied more widely and intensively. We are sorely in need of comparative glossaries of Indian dialects. They must be compiled at least for principal dialects of the more important languages of India and Ceylon.

In the modern study of the dialects, the subject of dialect geography is assuming increasing importance. The comparative method developed in the last century by European philologists, with its assumption of uniform parent languages and definitive cleavage, always leaves a residue of forms that cannot be explained on this arbitrary assumption. The conflicting large-scale isoglosses in the Indo-European area, for instance, show us that the branches of the Indo-European family did not arise by the sudden break-up of an absolutely uniform parent community. Either the parent community was dialectically differentiated before the break-up, or else after this period various groups of daughter communities remained in communication: which is tantamount to saying that areas which already differ to some extent may make cleavages in common. The result of successive changes is a net-work of isoglosses over the entire field. Accordingly the study of local differentiation in a linguistic field, which is in fact dialect geography, supplements the use of the old comparative methods and is necessary complement to them. Except for a complete and organized description of every single dialect, which would naturally be a very complicated and cumbersome piece of work, the map of distribution is the clearest and the most compact form of statement conceivable. The dialect atlas made on these lines allows us to compare the distribution of different features by comparing the different maps. Such dialect atlases have been made by linguisticians for Germany, France, Italy, Denmark and some other countries. It is highly desirable that similar dialect atlases be prepared for India; for that is now regarded as the most effective and comprehensive way of advancing language study. I might here mention that if these things are to be done, that is, if the dialects are to be studied and dialect

atlases are to be prepared, the work had better be started forthwith. For dialects, in spite of their apparent rigidity and fixity are some of the most unstable things in the world. They are especially bound to change most rapidly in India in the immediate future as a direct and inevitable consequence of the comparatively rapid spread of education and of the increasing ease of inter-communication between the metropolis and the provincial centres. Thus the evidence which is easily available still, may not be available at all ten years hence or perhaps even five years hence.

A beginning of dialect study has already been made in Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*. But that work was planned and carried out according to the time-honoured routine of departments of the Government of India. While that style may be the best possible for administrative purposes—I am no judge of the matter—it will hardly work, I fear, in the sphere of linguistic research. It is a regrettable fact that you cannot collect linguistic data—of any serious value—for the whole of India, sitting in a comfortable arm-chair in London or even in Delhi or Simla. What is needed is direct and personal field-work. By the time the material collected by the Government agents has passed through the graded sieves of the offices of the *patel* and *mamlatdar* of the village, the Collector of the district and the Commissioner of the province, it becomes a concoction of very doubtful quality and flavour.

Apart from sundry mishaps, there is one radical defect in that method which it will be well to bear in mind. It is well known that the observer who sets out to study a different language or a local dialect often gets data from his informants, only to find them using entirely different forms when they speak among themselves. They consider these latter forms as inferior and are in fact ashamed to give them to an observer. An observer may thus easily record a language entirely unrelated to the one he is looking for. Thus a great deal of tact and circumspection is required in collecting linguistic data of this type.

This has been, I fear, more or less of the nature of a digression. My chief object was to bring home to the rising generation of Indian linguists that this woeful neglect of a subject which we have every reason to call our own must not be continued. The rot which has worked as a canker in Indian society, inhibiting our energies and sapping our strength, must stop here.

This is a matter in which I personally feel very strongly, I must say, I do not mind if we study mathematics and science, psychology and social science, economics and medicine, and even our own history from text-books written by foreigners. But we owe it, gentlemen, to ourselves and to our country that we study at least our own mother tongues with zeal, with affection and with devotion, and render a scientific account of them, in all their aspects, in the full light which modern science and ingenuity can throw on their history, producing work which will be a model and guide to the world. If we have any ambition left in us to hold up our heads in civilized society, we must not besmirch the fair name of Pāṇini and other illustrious linguisticians whom our country has produced, by leaving even this field of study and research to foreigners, who never can, no matter what they do, understand all the *finesses* of our language as we could do, if we only tried conscientiously and with singleness of purpose. Just consider for one moment. Do you think the French people or the Germans would be content with a grammar of their languages, written for their use, by a Japanese or an Indian. Such a work would never be anything more than a laughing stock. Whereas we have been all these years studying with complaisance and nonchalance grammars of our Indian languages compiled by foreigners, which are prescribed by our Universities,—naturally, for want of better indigenous books on the subject. India becomes again only a market for raw material. It is up to you, gentlemen, to make good this defect, and work up the material yourself.

Let me not be misunderstood. I am not making cheap Svades'i propaganda. I am not what is called " anti-foreign." Far from it. I admire the European savants. I acknowledge and appreciate fully the splendid work done by European savants in this field of research in a purely disinterested spirit, work done in an exemplary manner for the advancement of knowledge. I appreciate their work and I thank them for it, cordially. But we could do the same and even better perhaps, if we only prepared ourselves for it properly and set to work with determination. Why not ? We have done it in the past. Why not now ? That work done in the past by our ancestors will, however, not suffice for us for all eternity. We must imbibe and assimilate what has already been done and then from that point make further progress along new lines. In these democratic days it

is customary to ask what you yourself are and what you yourself have done or can do and not what your ancestors were and what they had done. The German poet Goethe has expressed that idea admirably as follows: "Was Du von deinen Vätern ererbt hast muss Du erwerben um es zu besitzen." You must acquire for yourself whatever you have nherited from your forbears: then alone can it be said to be yours Work alone can give us the right to claim as our own our ancestral heritage.

The scriptures tell us that every man is born burdened with three debts, which he must endeavour to discharge during his lifetime, to the best of his ability: the debt to the gods, to the ancestors and to the ṛṣis. We are paying our debt to our ancestral gods. We are a very religious nation and we do maintain our gods, I think, with due reverence and grandeur. Witness, for instance, the magnificence of the Tirupati Devasthanam, whose unbounded courtesy and lavish hospitality have made it possible for us to meet and confer in this holy place in great comfort, nay, in luxury. We have also been regularly paying our debt to our ancestors. We are a prolific nation, as the next census returns will undoubtedly prove. It is the debt to the ṛṣis, which is difficult to discharge and which usually remains unpaid. Let us, however, follow the mandate of our scriptures and let us not forget our debt to the ṛṣis, even if it has been neglected in the past. Let us not forget our debt to the Maharṣi Pāṇini, who has made the name of our country resound in the halls of the academies of the world. Let us endeavour by our assiduous and fruitful study to keep bright the fair name of that illustrious Muni of imperishable fame, Pāṇini!

13-A. TELUGU

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY K. RAMAKRISHNIAH, M.A.,
University of Madras

GENTLEMEN,

It is a matter for congratulation for all Āndhras that at this the Tenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, now held under the gracious and providential care of Lord S'rī Veṅkaṭes'vara, the organizers of this Conference were kind enough to recognize the propriety of giving a separate section for the Telugu language. This may be in view of the fact that this holy land of Tirupati forms an important part of the country of the Āndhras, just like Telingana—the land of the Telugus, which forms an important part of the territory of His Exalted Highness the Nizam, under whose patronage this Conference was to have been held last year under ordinary circumstances.

I say it is a matter for congratulation, because, I think, it is the first time that Telugu won recognition as an independent unit and as a result got separate recognition at the All-India Oriental Conference. For, I know, that at the third Session of the Conference held at Madras, though on request permission had been granted to present papers in Telugu, there was no opportunity to read them, as the deliberations of the section were not held in that language. On behalf of the Āndhras, I thank the organizers for having made Telugu a separate section. But I cannot help giving expression to my feeling that the choice should have fallen upon a more competent person than the one present, to preside over it and guide its deliberations. I thank the organizers for the great honour they have done me.

The Presidential Addresses to the various sections of this Conference are expected to deal with the progress made in that particular branch of study, during the interval since the Conference met last, and to present any problems connected with the progress of such studies. But since this happens to be the first address to a Telugu section, I think it may be proper to trace the beginnings and the progress of literary and linguistic studies in Telugu.

Gentlemen, we are now privileged to meet at this holy land of seven hills, which, from time immemorial, formed the southern boundary of the Telugu country. It has been referred to as Veṅgaḍam, the land of high peaks, cool groves, and wild elephants by the Tamil poets of the S'aṅgam period and they warned their heroes not to cross in search of wealth or stay beyond the hills in the land of Vaḍugu—the Telugu country—as they called it, since the wealth acquired there would not give more happiness than the company of the lady-love at home. That Veṅgaḍam formed the northern limit of the Tamil country almost from the beginning of the Christian era is attested by a reference of Parambaranar in his prefatory verse to the ***Tolkāppiyam***,[1] the first grammatical work in Tamil, generally assigned to the early centuries of the pre-Christian era. Lord Veṅkaṭes'vara, the presiding deity of this holy land of Veṅgaḍam, who, in his message to Kṛṣṇa-deva Rāya of Vijayanagar, identified himself with the Andhra Viṣṇu or Āndhra Vallabha of S'rīkākulam on the banks of the Krishna, is the family god of all Āndhras. He seems to have attracted the gathering of Orientalists here to his holy seat of Tirupati, on this border land, from Telingana, the interior of the Telugu

[1] Vaḍa Veṅgaḍam, tenkumariyayidaithtamil kūrunallulahattu etc.

1. "అంకితమోయున నీకల
వేంకటపతి యిష్టమైన వేల్పగుటఁ దదీ
యాంకితము సేయు మొక్కొక
సంకేతము గాకతఁడ రసజ్ఞఁగానే" (ఆము—16)

2. తెలుఁగదేల యన్న దేశంబు తెలుఁగేను
తెలుఁగు వల్లభుండఁ దెలుఁగొకండ
ఎల్లనృపులు గొలువ నెఱుఁగవే బాసాడి
దేశభాషలందుఁ దెలుఁగు లెస్స! ఆము. 15

country, just perhaps to remind us forcibly the close and ultimate relationship of the language of his people and country with the Drāviḍa languages spoken in the south and west of this region. The same Āndhra Vallabha who is no other than Lord Veṅkaṭes'vara, called himself also Telugu Vallabha and identified Āndhra with Telugu country and declared Telugu as the best of all the vernaculars in the country.

This very name of our country as Telingana and the language spoken there as Telugu reminds us of the fact that we are first Telugus speaking the language of this country and then Āndhras. We need not now draw any distinction between Telugu and Āndhra, since they became identical long long ago—just like the supreme deities presiding over our destinies; but, I should only like to draw your attention to it now, in connection with the tracing of the history and development of our language and literature. Does not the question naturally arise, how is it that we have got two names—Telugu and Āndhra—though fortunately, the distinction has been so much obliterated as not to lead to any complications in these days ? Let us first trace the word *Āndhra* which seems to be older than the word *Telugu* if we rely upon the epigraphical information available to us.

The word 'Āndhra' as referring to people, is, we know, as old as the time of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, where these people are mentioned along with Puṇdras, Pulindas, S'abaras, etc., as outcastes occupying the southern borders of the Vindhyas, treated as such perhaps for their having adopted non-Āryan customs after getting mixed up with those people. Next we hear of them in the edicts of As'oka, where they are mentioned along with Pithinikas and Pulindas as "Āndhrapulindeṣu" as a powerful nation occupying the country beyond his empire but fully honouring the rules of conduct published through his edicts. Later, Magasthenese, the Greek ambassador, refers to their kingdom as the only powerful one, after that of Magadha, beyond the Ganges. Then we know of the Āndhra dynasty of Emperors with whom are identified the S'ātavāhanās and S'ātakarṇis, ruling from Magadha about the beginning of the Christian era, a vast empire, with Pratiṣṭhāna in the west and Dhānyakaṭaka in the East as two principal seats of their Viceroyalty. It is about the Āndhras of this period we have substantial evidence from Prākṛtic inscriptions and Buddhistic monuments found at Amaravati, Jaggayyapeta, and other places,

situated on the banks of the river Krishna in the east, and in the caves at Nasik in the west. Though the Godavari was considered as the southern Ganges, perhaps in later times after the revival of the Vedic religion in this country, the river Krishna seems to have played a glorious part in the Buddhistic period, its banks having been centres not only of Āndhra rule, but also of Āndhra art and culture developed through the religion of Buddha. The Āndhra tribe, referred to in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, as living in the Vindhya region, seems to have slowly migrated downwards and settled in the plateau of the Deccan watered by the rivers Godavari and Krishna and having got mixed up with the original inhabitants of the soil, wrested power from the hands of the Nāgās or Draviḍians, who were holding sway over the land locally, and established a kingdom with S'rīkākula on the River Krishna as its capital. It was perhaps when this was washed away by the current of the river that the capital was shifted to a safer place at Dhānyakaṭaka which played a great part in the Āndhra history of those days. Tradition attributes the establishment of this kingdom to one Āndhra Viṣṇu or Āndhra Deva, the son of Sucandra. He is later identified with God Viṣṇu, who is said to have migrated to that place from his original seat at Ahicchatrapura in the north at the request of the river Krishna and in fulfilment of the desire of Brahma who was performing penance on the banks of the river in the impenetrable forest of Daṇḍaka. Later, an Āndhra king Sumati by name, inspired by love for his country came to S'rīkākula and being ushered in the presence of the God by the sages living there, identified Him as the lord of his family, the very Āndhranātha, and bowed down to him calling himself "Āndhranāyakadāsa." Thenceforward, the Viṣṇu of that place came to be known as "Āndhranātha" or "Āndhravallabha." This tradition as preserved in the *Sthala-purāṇa* of S'rīkākula is mentioned by a later poet, Kodaṇḍa-Rāmakavi in his Prabandha called *Vallabhābhyudaya*, otherwise known as the *S'rīkākula Māhātmya*, now being published under the Telugu Series of the University of Madras.

We meet with a reference to the worship of the stone images of ancestors in the *Pratimānāṭaka* of Bhāsa about the beginning of the Christian era. Even among the early Āndhras a practice seems to have been prevalent of preserving the memory of their illustrious kings, by raising stone figures for them. This is evidenced

by the figures in stone of S'imuka-S'ātavāhana and others of his family, found in a cave at Nānāghāt. Under these figures we find the names Rāya S'īmuka S'ātavāhana, Devīnāyanikaya rannocha S'irīṣatanikavo, Kumārobhāya, etc., etc. Thus it is not at all improbable that a similar stone figure should have been raised at S'rīkākula in memory of Āndhra Viṣṇu, the son of Sucandra, the founder of the Āndhra kingdom on the banks of the river Krishna. A later king, Sumati by name, seems to have identified the stone figure with the first king of his family and having deified him as God Viṣṇu, built a big temple and founded a city at the place in his honour. From that time onwards this God has been worshipped by various rulers of the country even down to the days of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya of the Vijayanagara Empire.

It is on account of the glorious history of that imperial dynasty of Āndhras of those days that the country watered by the rivers Godavari and Krishna, the people therein, as well as the language spoken by them happened to acquire the name Āndhra, throwing into oblivion for many centuries to come, the original name of the country as well as of the language spoken in that land. All the inscriptions of the kings of the Āndhra dynasty discovered at the various Buddhist settlements in the valley of the river Krishna, as well as those found at Nasik in the west, are found to be in the Prākṛt language, and not one in what we call Āndhra or the Telugu language as we know it. Even some of the later rulers of this country like Ikṣvākus followed them in using Prākṛt while still later kings adopted Sanskrit but not Telugu.

Nor have we any direct evidence to show that the language used in this country by the imperial families themselves at home is different from the language used in the inscriptions. We have only to conjecture the state of things regarding the language of the people of the country and the home language of its rulers in those days, from a few outside references and from traces left in Sanskrit and other inscriptions of a later period.

No doubt the few references we have to the language of this country, as Āndhra, do not seem to lead us to the conclusion that this language is either identical with the language of the inscriptions of the Āndhra kings, or a development from it. One of the earliest references is that of Bharata, who in his *Natya S'astra*, seems to

make a distinction between this language and the Prākṛts while prescribing the use of these languages to the various characters in a drama.

Na barbara Kirātāndhra Draviḍādyāsu Jātiṣu |
Nātyaprayōge kartavyam kāvyam bhāṣā samās'rayam ||

Then while dealing with the usuage of Prākṛts in the dramas.

'*Jātiṣvetāsu sarvāsu s'uddhāsu ca dvijōttamāh* |
S'aurasenīm samās'ritya bhāṣa kāryā tu nāṭake ||
Athavā chandatah kāryā dēs'a bhāṣā prayōktṛbhih' ||

Even 'Drāviḍī' which was considered as a different language from Āndhra even at that time was not considered by him to be a Prakṛt.

'*Gavāsvājāvikoṣtradi ghoṣasthāna nivāsinām* |
Ābhīroktih s'ābarī vā Drāviḍī Drāviḍādiṣu' ||

Even Kumārila Bhaṭṭa of the 7th Century A.D. did not consider Drāviḍa as a form of Prākṛt, but calls it a 'Mleccha bhāṣā', and Āndhra was in his view a different language from Drāviḍa. While trying to condemn the practice prevelant in those days among Sanskrit scholars, of providing Sanskrit derivations for Mleccha words, he illustrates it by mentioning a few words from the Drāviḍa language, like 'cōr,' pāmpu, vayiru, ataru, etc.

The word '*Cōr*' he says, is identified by them with word '*Cōra*' of Sanskrit and derived in the same manner. The word pāmpu is derived in the same manner as '*pāpa*', as '*Pāmpu*' snake is really a sinful creature. The Dravidian word '*Vayiru*' belly, is identified with the word 'vaira' and is said to be an 'enemy.' 'Athar' meaning a way is derived from the root '*Tṛ*' *taraṇe* and explained as 'one that cannot be crossed'.

Let me quote the passage from *Tantravārtika*.

"తద్యథా ద్రావిడాదిభాషాయామేవ తావత్ వ్యంజనాన్తభాషాపదేషు స్వరాన్తవిభక్తిస్త్రీప్రత్యయాదికల్పనాభిః స్వభాషానురూపానర్థాన్ ప్రతిపాద్యమానా దృశ్యంతే. తద్యథా ఓదనంచోరిత్యుక్తె చోరపదవాచ్యం కల్పయంతి. పన్థానమతరిత్యుక్తే అతర ఇతి కల్పయిత్వాహుః. సత్యం దుస్తరత్వా దతరఏవ పన్థా ఇతి. తథా పాప్ శబ్దం పకారాన్తం సర్పవచనం అకారాన్తం కల్పయిత్వా సత్యం పాప ఏవాసావితి వదంతి......తద్యథా ద్రావిడాదిభాషాయామీదృశీ స్వచ్ఛన్దకల్పనా తదా పారసీక బర్బర యవన రౌమకాది భాషాసు కిం వికల్ప్య కిం ప్రతిప్రత్స్యన్త ఇతి నవిద్మః"

తస్మాత్ మ్లేచ్ఛప్రసిద్ధం యత్పదమార్యైర్వికల్ప్యతే
న కశ్చిత్తత్ర విశ్వాసో యుక్తః పదపదార్థయోః
నిరుక్తవ్యాక్రియాద్వారా యస్త్వర్థః పరిగమ్యతే
పికనేమాది శబ్దానాం సఏవార్థో భవిష్యతి.

—(తంత్రవార్త్తికం 3.)

On another occasion he refers to the language of the Āndhra desa where he draws attention to the usage of the word Rājā in the Āndhra language, in the sense of a person belonging to the Kṣatriya caste, besides that of the ruler of a country in general. Hieun Tsang also makes a passing reference to the language of this part of the country by saying that it differed from that of the north, *i.e.*, perhaps from Prākṛt. From the evidence of the inscriptions of the Coḷas and the Cālukyas which by that time began to appear in the Telugu language we arrive at the same conclusion. But it is not perhaps until the time of Rājarājanarendra, that we meet with a direct reference to the language of this country as Telugu, as identified with Āndhra. For we know that that illustrious king asked Nannya to write the *Bhārata* in Telugu:

"జనుత కృష్ణద్వైపా
యనముని వృషభాభిహిత మహాభారత బ
ద్ధనిరూపితార్థమేర్పడఁ
దెనుఁగున రచియింపుమధిక ధీయుక్తిమెయిన్." (భార. ఆది.)

and accordingly Nannaya began to write it in Telugu.

"నన్నయభట్టు దెనుంగునన్ మహా
భారతసంహితారచనబంధురుఁ డయ్యె జగద్ధితంబునన్."

Thus we have to understand that the language of the rulers of the Āndhra Dynasty as found in their inscriptions cannot be indentified with the Telugu language of the Telugu country. The Āndhra rulers might have spoken Telugu in their homes and used Prākṛt for inscriptions, because it served as common language throughout their empire, and happened to be the language of the predominant religion in the country. Unless we presume that their home language in the country between the rivers Godavari and Krishna was different from the language of their inscriptions, it is quite impossible to think that the

language of the Telugu inscriptions of the later Āndhras from the seventh century, A.D. onwards is a development of the language of the imperial dynasty of Āndhras. Anyhow, it is clear that during the period of the early Āndhras Prākṛt language was more powerful than the other languages in India.

For over six centuries, *i.e.*, from the second century B.C. to the fourth century A.D., Prākṛt language and Buddhist religion held sway in North India as well as Deccan, and after the revival of Brahminism, Sanskrit began to hold its sway with redoubled vigour. Dr. Bhandarkar has remarked about Sanskrit in those days thus: "Because most of the inscriptions during this period happen to be in Prākṛt, and no trace of building or sculpture devoted to the use of Brahminic religion has been left, we cannot conclude that Sanskrit language or Brahminic religion did not exist during this period. Of course Brahminism existed and it was probably during this period, being developed into the form it assumed in later times."[1] I should like to point out here that this last remark of Dr. Bhandarkar, exactly applies to our Telugu language also during that period. Even though there was no reference to the Telugu language or country, Telugu language did exist in that country, during this period when Prākṛt or Sanskrit held its sway, and during that period it was gradually developing into the form it assumed in later times.

Thus, unlike the Dravidian languages of the South, it was being moulded into a form which gave it more of an Āryan colour than of a non-Āryan one. It is this super-imposition of the Prākṛt language of Āndhras which gave an altogether new garb to the Telugu language, and the reverence with which the Sanskrit language came to be held subsequently by later scholars and grammarians made some of them consider not only Telugu but almost all languages of India as derivatives of Sanskrit or forms of Prākṛt. There seems to be a strong prejudice among Sanskritists even in those days against the independent development of the vernaculars like Telugu; and it is the strong patronage offered by the Cālukya kings like Rājarājanarendra that made it possible to Nannaya Bhaṭṭa to produce the first and most memorable work in the Telugu language. As Nannicodadeva has said in his *Kumārasambhava*, it was when Sanskrit was holding its supreme sway in the country, that Cālukyas adopted vernaculars in

[1] R. G. Bhandarkar, *A Peep into the Early History of India.*

inscriptions in place of Prākṛt, encouraged poetical compositions in them and thus re-established the position of Telugu in the Āndhra country. Thus we see how its position has been endangered first by the Prākṛt language, and then by Sanskrit and Sanskrit scholars who had no sympathy for the vernaculars. This condition seems to have prevailed for a time even after Nannaya and it is perhaps Tikkaṇa and poets of the Saiva school that have given a firm stand and dignified position to the Telugu language. Otherwise, there could have been no reason for Vinnakoṭa Peddanna to bewail the condition of things about the Telugu language in his time like this:

> "విలసద్భావ రసాద్యలంకృతులచే విప్పారి గీర్వాణ భా
> షల కబ్బంబుల కెన్ని మంచితనముల్ సంధిల్లు నాచందమై
> వళియుం బ్రాసయు నంతకగ్గలములై వర్తిల్లు సత్కావ్యమున్
> దెలుఁగన్నన్ జెవిబెట్టలేమి యుడుపన్ దేగల్గునే మందిలన్."

In spite of all the embellishments borrowed from Sanskrit, Telugu after all is a vernacular and requires no study or grammatical analysis, thus the Sanskritists seem to have argued in his day. So he had to take shelter under the "Prākṛtic" nature of Telugu—whatever it may mean—to meet their argument, and declare himself to have been following the footsteps of Prākṛt grammarians like Trivikrama and Hemacandra in writing a grammar for this vernacular language—Telugu.

> "తెలుఁగు దేశభాష తెలియుఁబొమ్మనఁబోక
> తెలియవలయు మించు తేటపడఁగఁ
> నొడవుగాక పసిఁడిఁ దొడిగినయొప్పునే
> కనకమింటనెంత కలిగనేని."

> "విశ్రుతులు హేమచంద్ర త్రివిక్రమాదు
> లొనరఁజూపిరి ప్రాకృతంబునకుఁ ద్రోవ
> నాంధ్రభాషయుఁ బ్రాకృతాహ్వయముగాన
> వలయుఁ దల్లక్షణంబులు వరుసఁదెలియ."

(కావ్యాలంకారచూడామణి 9 వ ఉల్లా)

Thus we see for writing a grammar for the language he had to make so many apologies, and Peddanna seems to have invoked the aid of the Prākṛtic nature of the language, just as an argument to satisfy the prejudice of the Sanskritists of his day. But other Telugu

grammarians began to formulate the theory of the regular "prakṛti vikṛti bhāva" not only of Sanskrit and Telugu but also of Prākṛt and Telugu, of course not knowing or caring for the implications of derivative or cognate relationship. We know they made an attempt to derive certain Telugu words from Sanskrit or Prākṛt, but they did not at all touch the grammar, the very core of any language.

Some later scholars and Prākṛt grammarians included another South Indian language also—the "Drāviḍa"—among the Prākṛts. It was Mārkaṇḍeya and Lakṣmīdhara, both of the seventeenth century A.D. that included Drāviḍa and Pāṇḍya respectively among the countries where the Pisāca languages were spoken. Mārkaṇḍeya makes further distinction between Kāncīdes'īya, Pāṇḍya and Drāviḍa and we do not know what he meant by making such a distinction in the seventeenth century when the Tamil language was spoken throughout that area. He does not seem to distinguish them even as provincial dialects of the Tamil language. Rāmatarka Vāgīsa mentions 'Drāviḍa under the class of Vibhāṣas or minor Prākṛts along with Sakāri, Sabari, Ābhīrika, and Utkali, which though characterized by rusticity (apabhrams'ata) are yet not to be ranked in the class of apabrams'as, if they are employed in the dramas.

"శకారాభీర ద్రవిడాదివాచోఽపభ్రంశతాంయద్యపి సంశ్రయంతి !
స్యాన్నాటకాదౌ యది సంప్రయోగో నైతాస్వపభ్రంశ తయాతథైషః ॥

If they are used in any of the dramas it seems they will lose their apabhramas'atva. But who knows they were ever used in any of the Sanskrit dramas. He does not say anything about it.

Moreover, we must note here that none of the early Prākṛt grammarians like Hemacandra, Vālmīki, Trivikrama, ever referred to "Drāviḍa" or any of these South Indian languages as Prākṛts and even their knowledge about the Pisāci seems to be very meagre. Thus we may conclude that none of those later Prākṛt grammarians who included "Drāviḍī" or any other South Indian language among the Prākṛts or Pisāci languages had any definite ideas about them, nor do they seem to realize fully the implications of trying to establish the cognate relationship of the languages of the South with Sanskrit and Prākṛts. Yet it is surprising that following the opinions which some of these Prākṛt grammarians have expressed, some modern scholars like R. Swaminatha Ayyar and Dr. C. Narayana Rao should have

come forward to establish the prākṛtic nature of the South Indian languages, denying at one stroke the independent origin of any of these languages, Tamil, Telugu, Kannaḍa, Malayalam, etc. and of the existence of the people speaking them in this area before the Āryans came and settled in this country.

I do not propose now to go into the various arguments brought forward or the details presented, to show that the South Indian languages and particularly Telugu are nothing but later disintegrated forms of Prākṛts, or to trace the various forms of these languages to Prākṛtic or Āryan source. I shall only touch one or two important positions taken up by them in order to establish the theory of the Āryan origin of the South Indian languages.

The absence of inscriptional or literary evidence of any of these South Indian languages before the seventh or eighth centuries of the Christian era, is urged as a powerful argument against their existence before that time. We have seen how the Āryan Āndhras by their glorious career in the middle country have succeeded in imposing their Prākṛt language and Buddhistic religion upon the people of the middle India, and contributed to the dislocation of the Draviḍian languages spoken in that country and turned the tide of their growth. From the various references in the Buddhistic literature, and in the Buddhistic Art preserved in the various monuments at Amarāvati, Jaggayyapeta and other places in the valley of the river Krishna, we can infer that Nāga tribes were living in the Telugu country centuries before the Christian era. They seem to have offered welcome to the Buddhist pilgrims who got stranded at the mouths of the Krishna on their way to Ceylon. As kings and queens of the Nāga race were also represented in the monumental figures, we understand that they belong to the ruling race of the country before the Āndhras came there. But we have no traces left to know the nature of the language used by them before the advent of the Āndhras. But at least as regards the name of the country, I think we have clear evidence in the reference made by Ptolemy the Greek writer of about the second century A.D. to the *Triglipton or Trilingon*, that this country retained its name and known at the time by its original name Telinga or Telingana, even after the Āndhras settled in that country and developed an Empire. This shows that it took some time before the country came to be called Āndhra after the name of the imperial dynasty that

ruled over it. Thus we have some consolation that we have here at least a reference to the original name of our country Telingana—Telugu —as old as the time of Ptolemy though we are not sure whether Telinga has been sanskritized into *Trilinga* or the former only a *tadbhāva* form of the latter. It is not improbable that the old name of the country should have reached Ptolemy through the medium of Sanskrit.

Though it is true that inscriptions in Telugu language before the seventh century A.D. have not so far been discovered, a study of the personal titles and names of villages occurring in the Prākṛt or Sanskrit inscriptions of that period in the light of the history and development of other South Indian languages like Tamil and Kanarese, and in the light of the inscriptions available in those languages will certainly give a clear and decisive answer to all those Sanskritists who doubt the very existence of these languages before the period of the available inscriptions. The Tirunātharkunṛu inscription in Tamil, perhaps the oldest in that language, seems to take us to two or three centuries earlier as it is believed to have belonged to the fourth century A.D. and recently a Tamil inscription of As'oka's time also seems to have been discovered. In the former Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription we meet with what are called the two peculiar Dravidian letters, namely "ḻ" and the vallinam '*r*' or the Sakatarepha in the words *Aimbatteḷana Channannorra.* These letters occur not only in some village names in the Sanskrit inscriptions of the Telugu country in the earlier period, but also in later inscriptions in Telugu and in hundreds of words and roots that are found common to all these languages. The old Dravidian "ḻ" changed later in Telugu into 'ḍa' in a good number of words (cf. 'Aimbatteḷu' of the above inscription becoming 'ēbadi ēḍu, in Telugu) while the vallinam '*r*' remained almost the same. In the Ongodu grant of the Pallava King Sivaskandavarman II of about 430 A.D. we have the vallinum 'ṟ' appearing in *Karmaraṣṭrē narachēḍu gramo dakshiṇatah, Penukaparru grama Uttaratah* etc. Here even in the word 'rāṣtra' vallinum '*r*' is used. In the Gorantla plates of Attivarman of about the middle of the fourth century A.D. mention is made of a village 'Tānḻikonḷa' on the southern bank of the river Kṛṣṇabeṇṇa. The peculiar Dravidian letter 'ḻ' which occurs in later Telugu inscriptions perhaps appears for the first time here in the name of a Telugu village which is identified with Tāḍikonḍa of Gudivada Taluq in the Krishna District. It was read as 'Tanthikontha'

by Dr. Fleet (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IX, p. 102). In the Bucchireddipalam plates of Siṁhavarman II we have a grant of 'viḷuvattigrama' which is identified with Viḍuvaluru of the Kovvur Taluk, Nellore District—by Mr. Somasekhara Sarma (*Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. XII, No. 1, 1940). As for the (Kaṇṇaḍa) ఴ here he has expressed adoubt but as the letter in these plates exactly resembles that in ఏఴు, in the Tirunāthrakunṟu inscription in Tamil we may take it that this letter being a peculiar one happened to be a common inheritance and was in use in Telugu country even from earlier times. In theTimmapuram plates and Chipurupalli plates of Viṣṇuvardhana I or Viṣamasiddhi we have 'ḻ' used in "Paḻakiviṣaya."

In Talamanci plates of Vikramāditya I we have (Kaṇṇaḍa) ఴ used in the same manner.

को (Kaṇṇaḍa) ఴ- चुको (न् ఱ) ग्रामस्योत्तर पार्श्वे एळसत्तिर्नाम ग्राम:

In the Cikkulla plates of Vikramendravarman of Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynastywehave (Kaṇṇaḍa) ఴin (Kaṇṇaḍa) 'ఴెందు ఱూరవాసకాత్ ... రేగోష్ఠమ్ నామ గ్రామందత్తం.'

Thus in many other later inscriptions in Telugu very many words with (Kaḍnaṇa) ఴ and ఱ appear as in Yuddhamalla's Bezwada inscription as (Kaṇṇaḍa) చోఴ, (Kaṇṇaḍa) ఴిస్సి, (Kaṇṇaḍa) అఴిపుట etc.

In the Pedavegi grant of Hastivarman of the Sālankāyana dynasty mention is made of 'praḷura grama' and as its boundaries 'Cence*r*uvu,' 'Kamburance*r*uvu' etc. In the last two words we meet with the sakatarepha or the vallinum '*r*' which is peculiar to the Dravidian languages. 'Ce*r*uvu' is a Telugu word corresponding to its Kanarese from 'ke*r*e' meaning a tank, which also contains the sakatarepa, thus indicating the cognate relationship of these languages.

Thus even in inscriptions written in Sanskrit, we find that the peculiar Dravidian letters are introduced, when the names of the Telugu villages containing these letters are mentioned. This is itself enough evidence for the existence of indigenous languages besides Prākṛts and Sanskrit in that country, and a comparison of the words containing these letters also help us in tracing the history of our language into a period far beyond the age of inscriptions.

In some of the prākṛtic inscriptions of the Ikṣvāku line of kings discovered at Nagārjunakoṇḍa, traces of indigenous languages may

also be detected in the use of the words like 'Mahātalavara.' This word Mahātalavara occurs as a title of nobility applied to some members of the royal family along with other titles as Mahāsenāpati and Mahādaṇḍanāyaka. Later it occurs again in the Koṇḍamudi plates of Jayavarman of the Brihatpalāyana dynasty and its Dravidian origin is suggested by Dr. Sten Konow. The term 'talavara' is explained in a commentary on *Kalpasūtra* by Vinayavijaya thus—" Tuṣṭa bhūpāla pradatta paṭṭa bandha vibhūṣita rājastānīyāh " (cf. *Kalpasutra*, Ed., Jabobi) and some scholars like Vogel saw a connection of this word with the 'Talayāri' of the Tamil language, meaning a village watchman. The Telugu word 'talāri' used in the same sense may be considered as a form derived from it, and if these are connected with the form of the inscriptions, they offer an example for deterioration in meaning. But 'talavara' can more easily be connected with the Tamil 'talaivar' meaning 'leader,' head, president, etc., (from talai = head ; var = avar—an honorific or plural suffix) of which 'talavara' may be considered as a peculiarly Telugu form of that day, since the word 'talai' of Tamil becomes 'tala' in Telugu, and the whole word is changed into *ajanta* according to the usual practice in Telugu. Hence we may say that the Dravidian word preserved in this form is more a Telugu word than even a Tamil one. But a Sanskritist may easily connect it with some Sanskrit or Prākṛt word like *sthala* and say that the plural or honorific suffix *var* (cf. Tam. *avar*. Tel. *vāru*) has developed in the same manner as those of the Āryan vernaculars like Bengali—'amhara,' 'tera,' or 'hvar,' 'Hor,' of the Dardic group of languages. (cf. *History of Telugu Language*, Vol. II). Because the Bengali plural 'ra' is traced by Dr. Suniti-Kumara Chatterji to the genitive plural in ra—as amhara, tunhara, it is said the Dravidian *avar* also must have been developed in the same manner. At this rate it may perhaps be even connected with English verb *are*. Because some Sanskritists persume the non-existence of any language here before the coming in of the Āryans, they are sometimes obliged to trace an older form in a language to a later form in a later language and thus put the cart before the horse.

What I wish to impress upon you here is that it is this advent and the domination of the semi-Āryan tribe of Āndhras in the middle country, which made Prākṛt the language of the state and of their inscriptions during the early centuries of the Christian era, that was

responsible for crushing the Dravidian language of the country or turning the tide of their growth into an altogether different direction. We cannot, therefore, expect to have inscriptions or literature in the language of the country, as an evidence of their existence, as it was not patronized either by the kings or cared by the people of that day.

But in the country further south, which was not affected by any political or linguistic domination, Dravidian language and literature continued to develop under the patronage of the kings of the soil.

Even there we find the literature and language of the period affected by the religious thought of the Buddhists and Jains who went and settled there in smaller numbers, for the purpose of religious propaganda. The Tamil language seems to have been analyzed even as early as the beginning of the Christian era, and though one may not believe the fabulous stories regarding the literary activities of the Tamil Sangams, from the nature of the linguistic forms and literary traditions embodied in the Tamil grammar by Tolkāppiyanār, from the type of language and the form of poetry of what is called the Sangam literature, which looks very much older when compared with that of Prabandhas and still later religious poetry of Ālvārs and Nāyanārs of the sixth and seventh centuries, A.D., we may safely presume that we have at least in one Dravidian language literary evidence to show that the language was in a developed state of existence many centuries before the era of Christ. It looks ridiculous enough to think of deriving the Tamil language of *Puranānūru* and other poems of the old Sangam literature and also the old Halagannada language from the later Prākṛts or the modern Āryan vernaculars of Northern India and much more so if their very existence as independent languages before the sixth or seventh century A.D. is denied, in order to make way for the theory of their Āryan origin or to explain away the non-Āryan or the Dravidian characteristics found in the later vernaculars of the North.

Of the earlier scholars of Dravidian Philology it is Dr. Pope that held strong opinion regarding the close affinity of the Dravidian languages with Sanskrit. Dr. Caldwell and others, while admitting some points of similarity between the Dravidian and Indo-European, assigned Dravidian idioms to the Scythian group, after close investigation into the grammatical features of these languages. As the Scythian theory seems to have been exploded, later scholars like

Dr. Sten Konow considered the Dravidian languages of South India as an independent group by themselves. But very recently, serious attempts have been made by R. Swaminatha Ayyar and Dr. C. Narayana Rao to revive the theory of Dr. Pope and by way of substantiating, the former tried to derive the pronominal and verbal forms from Sanskrit, while the latter considering Telugu and its sister languages of the Dravidian group as disintegrated forms of Prākṛts attempted to trace their origin to the Prākṛt through the Āryan vernaculars of the North. We know Sanskrit is a very copious language and the grammarians have furnished it with a comprehensive *Dhātupāṭha*, and we have already seen how, with great ingenuity, derivations from Sanskrit were offered for foreign words borrowed by the language, even in the days of Kumārila. Those who look into the *Lingābhaṭṭīya*, will see how the words *pika* and *kāka* are both derived from the root *kai*, *gai—S'abde* (*apihitam Kāyatīti pikah*)—by applying suitable Sanskrit terminations, though the Sanskrit grammarians of the early period have according to Kumārila's own testimony recognized the words *pika*, *nēma*, *tāmarasa* etc., as foreign. The word *pika* is clearly known to be a borrowing from Latin *pikes* like Dīnāra from Greek *Danarios*. And it is against this kind of offering derivations to foreign words that Kumārila entered a strong protest in his day. "Verbal resemblance is" says Mr. Beames in his *Comparative Grammar* "unless supported by other arguments the most unsafe of all grounds on which to base an induction to Philology. Too many writers, in other respect meritorious, seem to proceed on Fuellen's Process. There is a river in Macedon and there is also morever a river in Monmouth, and there is Salmon in both." A certain Tamil word contains a P, so does a certain Sanskrit word, and *ergo*, the latter is derived from the former. We may even say *ergo*—the former is derived from the latter. We have already seen how the plural suffix *ar* or *var* which is at least as old as the time of the grammarian Tolkāppiyar, is derived from later Bengali genitive forms *amara*, *era*, *tora* used in the nominative. Similarly another plural termination *kal* which according to the earliest Dravidian grammar is said to have been used only after neuter nouns, but later came to be used after other nouns also, appears in Telugu as *kalu*, *kulu*, *la*, *lu*, (as in Mrākulu, samvatsarambulālu (āiamanda) and this is traced to plural forms in Sanskrit or Prākṛt with a *Ka-pratyaya* in Svārtha to which the word *loka* is said to have b en suffixed. Thus

the word *mrākulu* is said to have been developed in some such manner as this—*mrānu, mrānu eva-mrānuka+loka-mrānuka-loka>mrānukal, Mrānukalu-mrānukulu.* The Tamil *marangal,* maragal, also in the same manner. But one difficulty here is, that the words *loka* and *sab* (from sarva), *gana* etc., came into use in Bengali and other modern Āryan vernaculars only in the New Indo-Āryan period, say from about the tenth century A.D. while we have the form in *gal* occurring in the early Sangam literature in Tamil, and noted as a sign of plurality appended mostly to amahat or caste-less nouns, in the grammar of Tolkāppiyar who belonged to the beginning of the Christian era. A good number of noun forms that do not end in *ka* in Tamil even from a remote time as *eli, kiḷi, ī, maram, piṇam, ānai, nari, muri,* etc., appear in Telugu as forms ending in *ka, ga, ku,* or *gu,* as *eluka, ciluka, īga, mrāku, pīnuga, ēnugu, nakka, mukka* and they have to be considered as back forms from the plurals in *gaḷ* when *lu* alone of *galu* came to be taken as the sign of plurality in Telugu. But to explain K of kalu as being due to a *Svārthe-ka-pratyaya* of Sanskrit, is not only far-fetched, but does not at all fit in with the nature of the forms in Tamil or Kanarese. Morever the word *loka* as a sign of plurality was not in use in the Prākṛtic or the middle Indo-Āryan period when the old case signs of Sanskrit were still preserved, but came into use only in the latter vernacular stage, and it is really surprising to note that it should have been considered as giving rise to forms in *gal* current in literature of the pre-Christian era. No further comment is necessary.

Even the case-terminations are traced to Sanskrit sources. The Tamil nominative *an* to the Sanskrit instrumental *na* as in *Rāmeṇa, dhanena;* dative *ku* to Sanskrit *kṛte* etc. (See *History of Telugu Language,* Vol. II, by Dr. C. Narayana Rao).

Prof. Sten Konow saw some Dravidian influence in forms like *kṛtavān* as compared to Tamil *S'eydavan : Kartāsmi, Cēsinavāḍanu,* but these are traced to the Avestic forms. The Tamil pronominal form in *an* is traced to Vedic *Bharan*; and Telugu *Vāḍu, Vāṇḍu,* to Pali *Bharanto*; Kanarese *avam* to Ardhamāgdhi *bharam.* For every kind of change in the Dravidian form a corresponding form in some Āryan language or other is shown to us. Just like *vāṇdu* is traced to *bharanto* the verbal forms *raṇḍu* (you come), *Vinuḍu* (you hear) are traced to *āgacchantu, s'riṇvantu.* The feminine termination *aḷ* is

also from the same *ant* in *Bharant* since in Telugu it sometimes changes into *ndr* as in *Kōḍalu—kōḍanḍru.*

The first and second personal pronominal forms, *yān*, *nān*, *ēn*, *yām*, *ēm*, *yīn*, *nīm* etc., are derived from Sanskrit *asmat and yuṣmat.* The method of deriving terminations of one language which still keeps to its agglutinative nature from the fossilized forms in another language which seems to have reached its inflexional stage long ago, does not anyhow appeal to our reason.

Another peculiar method is adopted by these Sanskritists who deny the very existence of Dravidian languages as an independent group. Whenever a peculiarity in Dravidian languages not traceable to modern Āryan languages is found, they try to trace it directly to Sanskrit as in the case of the vallinum 'ṛ' or the S'akaṭarepha and the peculiar Dravidian sound ḷ; and for anything that cannot be traced to Sanskrit or Prākṛts, parallels are shown in the later Āryan vernaculars. The S'akaṭarepha not found in later Āryan vernaculars but is found in Telugu words like *kaṛṛi*, *piṛṛa* etc., is traced direct to Sanskrit words *Kṛṣṇa*, *Pṛṣṭha*, etc., but here the parallels in other Dravidian languages, the development and the history of these words therein is not taken into consideration at all. As for the sound 'ḷ' though it is as ancient as the time of Tolkāppiyar in Tamil, since it occurs in the names of some modern vernaculars as Oḷiya, Marwaḷi, etc., it is taken as on Āryan sound. Again as for the relation in Dravidian languages between the substantive and its attribute, which is quite unlike that in Sanskrit, and which requires the agreement between the two as regards the gender, number and case, the parallels from the later North Indian vernaculars are cited. When a peculiarity not traceable to Sanskrit or even Prākṛt is found in the modern Āryan languages and when that is inherent to all the languages of the Dravidian group, it is but reasonable to attribute it to the influence of the latter upon the former than otherwise.

Just like the terminations, most of the Telugu roots and verbal forms are also traced to Sanskrit roots and forms, depending more on the superficial resemblance in sound than upon the history and development of those forms in other Dravidian languages. Thus the services of the root 'kṛ' are requisitioned to explain the particles 'ku', 'gu', etc. found at the end of most of the Telugu roots as *dūku*=*dhunu*+*kṛ*, *ekku*=to rise up=*ēdh*+*Kṛ*, *braduku*=*vṛddh*+*kṛ*;

āmiṣ+kṛ=mringu ; diggu=di+kṛ ; rēgu=ric+kṛ ; paṭṭu,<vartita ; dhunu with *kṛ* gave rise to *dunnu*=to plough ; *akṣn>kanu, pakva> vandu*=to cook etc. *Tucch+kṛ=longu,* because Hindi has got " luccha."

The roots ending in *cu* etc., are all derived from *iṣyā* the future particle suffixed to the Sanskrit root—*tōcu* from "udayiṣya"; *chigirucu* from *Sikhariṣya, aḍakincu* from *adhariṣya, gelucu* from *jita+iṣya* ; *cīlucu* from *chinna+iṣya,* etc. Similarly *taṭṭu* from *tāḍita.* Tel. *chimmu* to scatter, is derived from *Syandanam, Teliyu*=to know, is derived from *dhavala+iṣya* and so on and so forth.

I do not propose to discuss these derivations here, but only wish to indicate another line—perhaps what I think a more proper line—of investigation into the early history of the Telugu language. Unless we compare the forms in other Dravidian languages also, we cannot arrive at the truth regarding the nature and form of these roots in Telugu and until we arrive at a root material common to all the Dravidian languages, and frame regular laws of Phonetic change, no purpose is served by trying to trace those found in Telugu or any other single language to Sanskrit or Prākṛt. Moreover roots are prohibited from being used independently in the Sanskrit language unless they are converted into padas by suffixing *pratyayas* according to the dictum *apadam naprayunjīta* and we cannot understand how *kṛ* by itself could come at the end of other roots and give rise to those ending in *gu* in any of these languages. I cannot help drawing your particular attention to one fact that most of the forms ending in *ku, gu,* etc., considered by grammarians as roots in the Telugu and also in Kannaḍa language appear without these particles in the Tamil language and sometimes also in Kannaḍa. This clearly shows that these forms ending in *ku, gu,* etc., which according to Dr. Caldwell are mere formative additions, cannot claim to be roots at all. Another point is that while Telugu grammarians consider the forms ending in *ku, gu,* etc., as roots, the Tamil grammarian Tolkāppiyar considers *ku, ḍu, tu, ru,* in the singular and *kum, ḍum, tum, rum,* in the plural as verbal suffixes which convert the root into a finite verb. The Kannaḍa grammarians make mention of *kum, gum,* as two affixes of the third person which convert the root into a verbal form. These forms can be used for all tenses, even also in the past without any distinction of gender, number, etc. Here I think we discover a reminiscence of

the old condition of things prevailing in this group of languages in the early stages of their development, when the form in *kum*, as in *Velugum*, *pōgum*, etc. the *tadharmādhaka* as it is called by the Telugu grammarians, used in all tenses without any distinction. Other forms distinguishing time, gender and number, seem to have been developed from the old form in *gu*, when this *gu* which is a remnant of the auxiliary root *agu* came to be considered either as a formative suffix as in Tamil, or as a part of the root itself, as in Telugu. While *ku* was retained only in the forms of the present in Tamil, to which *iru* and *ēn* were added to make the first personal singular form therein, the *ku* ending form was taken as the root itself in Telugu, to which *cu*, *unna*, *nu*, were added to make the present form, and *itu* and *ni* were added to make a past form from it. cf. Tamil; *Seygu + irēn = Seygirēn*. *Śey + du + ēn = Seydēn*; Telugu: *Velugu+cu+unnānu=Velugucunnānu*. *Velugu+iti+ni=Veligitini*. These signs of tense have to be traced to independent words in the language and not to any terminations in Sanskrit.

The preconceived theory of the Āryan origin of these forms makes the Sanskritist overlook the fact that unlike the Āryan languages, the Dravidian still preserve clear traces of agglutination, and that is why we are still able to trace these cut up parts to some independent word or words which were merely glued on to the original root one after the other. As Tamil *Sey+(a)gu+iru+en=Seygiren*; Tam.: *Sey+(i) du+ēn=Sey (i) dēn*; Telugu: *Cēyu+itu+ēu=Cēsu+(i) ti+ni=Cēsitinī*. etc. etc. It may also be shown that most of the other forms of the verb are formed in the same manner by the help of other auxiliary roots as—causal—*Cēyu+incu=Cēyincu*. Infinitive—*ēy+an=Cēyan* (cf. Tamil: *Seyya*). Passive—*cēyan+paḍu=cēyabadu* (cf. Tamil: *Seyyappaḍu*) etc.

Similarly all declensional endings which are traced to Sanskrit terminations, may be easily shown to be remnants of independent words in the Dravidian languages, since these seem to be just passing into inflexional stage, unlike those of the Āryan which have already reached a petrified stage of inflexion. But I do not propose to trouble you with all that now.

I ventured to take so much of your time, for which I crave your indulgence and deal with this topic at such a length, because this is an important question connected with the origin and development of our

own language. Dr. C. Narayana Rao's work describing the *History of the Telugu Language* in two big volumes, published by the Āndhra University, is one of the most important works connected with the Dravidian linguistics published in recent years, and it must be said that it is a result of very patient study and hard work on the part of the author. He has collected very valuable material for the history of the Telugu language and with the help of this, he endeavoured to substantiate the theory of the Āryan origin of the Dravidian group of languages. Hence it is not only the Telugu people that should be interested in it, but it should draw the attention of all those who are interested in the study of Dravidian linguistics. But I wish to point out to all interested that this question cannot be solved by this kind of approach alone. To trace the history of the Telugu language beyond the limits of the available literary material in that language, a close comparison with other South Indian languages more closely allied to it than with those of the North, is necessary, and every attempt has to be made to explain the forms from the material available in these languages themselves, before we think of tracing them to outside sources. The laws of Dravidian phonetics have to be discovered and established before any attempt is made towards any kind of linguistic affiliation. The grammatical forms and structure of the various Dravidian languages have to be studied in detail. A closer study of, and comparison with, Tamil language and grammar in which we find some of the earliest recorded traditions of Dravidian language and thought, is absolutely necessary, particularly because this is comparatively less influenced by the Āryan language than other languages of the group. It is perhaps true that Dr. Caldwell gave more importance to Tamil in comparing the forms in Dravidian languages, as, perhaps he was better acquainted with it, but we cannot say it is quite undue, as it preserves the oldest records in the whole group of the languages; only we have to urge that equal or due importance should be given to other languages also. But it is really surprising to find some modern scholars of America and Europe perhaps carried away by swing to the other side, advancing views altogether minimizing the importance of Tamil in a study of Dravidian linguistics. It is Mr. E. Tuttle of America who seems to have said: "If we want to understand the history of the language of the South, we should begin from the Northern side." This view has been

endorsed by Prof. Jules Bloch in this manner: "The Dravidian language which has almost always been chosen for comparison, is Tamil, which, in fact, is best known of all the dialects for various reasons. Even if we admit that from the Vedic up to the present time Tamil has changed very little, there still remains the fact that the domain of this Dravidian dialect is the furthermost off from the region of Vedic civilization. On this principle alone, it should have been the *last* one to be taken into consideration for the sake of comparative study. Here he quotes the above opinion of the American scholar Mr. Tuttle, and proceeds:

"In fact, our knowledge of the Dravidian languages of the North is very imperfect, and certainly has been very recently acquired so much so that, when it is possible, to recognize the interchange of vocabulary between Dravidian and Indo-Āryan, it is very difficult to determine which is the lender and which is the borrower, though it is absolutely necessary to know the common form of the Dravidian (in a general way). We know of it very little and we search for it less. In fact Tamil represents very badly the common Dravidian language." Here Prof. Jules Bloch at least admits that our knowledge of the Dravidian languages of the North is very imperfect and very recent and recognizes the absolute necessity of search for the common Dravidian form. Though the present day Tamil and the Tamil country is far away from the Vedic civilization, we have to admit its Dravidian counterpart of the Vedic age must have had its abode very near the Vedic land to have exerted its influence on the lower strata of the Āryan society to such an extent as to develop non-Āryan tendencies in their language which ultimately led to the development of Prākṛts and later Āryan vernaculars of the North. No-body can say that Tamil represents that old Dravidian common form. It has to be got at by a thorough comparison of all the forms available in all the languages of the group including those of the North. The only claim to be recognized for Tamil is that it can show us a much older recorded tradition, indicating a particular stage in the development of the Dravidian tongue, than what we find in other languages of the group especially those of the North about which our knowledge is very meagre and recent. It may be noted here that the Northern Dravidian languages must have undergone a considerable change during their long life and they must also have been considerably influenced by the Āryan

languages surrounding them. The residue of the Dravidian element therein must be very small indeed, though of sufficient importance to any study of the Dravidian linguistics. This brings to our mind more prominently the absolute necessity for a collection of Dravidian cognates and root material before we will be able to determine the nature and development of the vocabulary or forms of the Dravidian languages.

Dr. Caldwell has led the way for the study of the Dravidian linguistics, nearly a century ago, and we owe him a deep debt of gratitude, but it has to be followed up by further investigations and closer comparison of forms in various languages of the group with a view to understand the common line of development of these languages. Grierson's *Linguistic Survey* of individual languages and their dialects has been very useful, and increased interest is being shown in this subject by various scholars in various countries. In our own country, the name of late K. V. Lakshmana Rao must be remembered in connection with the work on Dravidian linguistics and Rao Saheb Giḍugu Ramamurty Pantulu Garu endeavoured to follow in the wake of Dr. Caldwell, but it is very unfortunate that the former should have been cut off, before his schemes have been fulfilled, and that the laborious work of our Rao Saheb now—alas, late Rao Saheb—has not taken any proper or tangible shape for one reason or other. Nobody in this country can help feeling that the recent demise of Rao Saheb Ramamurty Pantulu has created a very great void in the field of linguistic studies in the Āndhra des'a. His untiring energy and his singleness of purpose in search after truth and his dogged enthusiasm in the cause taken up by him, especially in the matter of linguistic development and reform, has been a source of great inspiration for all those who came into contact with him. He is the pioneer of modern linguistic studies in our own country, and it is the misfortune of the Āndhras that they have not been able to derive the full benefits of his profound scholarship.

The Nighanṭu work started under the loving patronage and unbounded munificence of that great patron of letters, the Maharaja of Pithapuram, and the able guidance of Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu, should have removed the great want of an etymological dictionary for Telugu. Cognate forms from other Dravidian languages are no doubt given here and there, like the *Tamil Lexicon* published by the

University of Madras; but more attention seems to have been paid to the Sanskritic than to the Dravidian point of view. We hope to have the complete work before us ere long to satisfy the needs of the Telugu literary public.

Thus the origin and early history of our language has yet to be traced and worked out from the Dravidian point of view, especially in view of the recent approach to the subject made from the Prākṛtic and Āryan point of view, by Dr. C. Narayana Rao which seems to deny the very existence of Telugu before the rise of the Āryan prakrits. But as a matter of fact Telugu was in existence even during the Buddhist period. We have seen how traces of it appear here and there in the Sanskrit and Prākṛt inscriptions in the form of titles, place names, boundaries of villages etc. But from about the seventh century A.D. we see it in its earlier form in the inscriptions of the Coḷa and Cālukya kings who came to the rescue of the vernacular languages of the country. We hear that more inscriptions in Telugu of the early period are being discovered; thanks to the endeavours of the archæological departments in British India, and Native States, which we hope would push further the boundaries of our knowledge of the Telugu language into the early centuries of the Christian era. Even the recent enterprise of private institutions like Lakṣmaṇarāya Paris'odhaka Maṇdalī of Telingana, of the Āndhra Historical Research Society and the Āndhra Sāhitya Pariṣad of the Circars, of the Tirupati Devasthanam Committee of Veṅgaḍam, and the *Bhārati* of Madras, have laid the Āndhras under a deep debt of gratitude by the publication of the various inscriptions collected or edited by them.

Though the language of the earlier inscriptions seems to betray the peculiar characteristics which indicate the Dravidian origin of our language, that of the later ones written in verse already exhibits such a high flown style, with Sanskrit elements, as would lead the way for the stately march of Nannaya's style of Āndhra *Bhārata*. But none of them seem to give us any inkling into the nature of the early warblings on the indigenous bards of Telingana. Just as the beginnings of the Telugu language were lost shrouded by the thick mist of the Āryan language, the beginnings of the indigenous Telugu literature were also lost buried deep under the weight of the Sanskrit influence.

Hence it is that our Nannyabhaṭṭa of the eleventh century A. D. has to be considered as our first poet and a translation of his *Vyāsa-bhārata* as our first work in the literature. After the revival of Brahminism, the rulers of some dynasties in the Deccan like the Cālukyas began to encourage and patronize the Des'i poetry in the indigenous language of the country—the Sanskrit scholars naturally gained favour with them and dedicated works to them or composed the texts of their inscriptions. The form, the theme and the style evolved by these scholars of Sanskrit and adopted in their writings in various languages of the country specially Kannaḍa and Telugu gained favour with the upper classes of Society and seems to have driven into complete oblivion all the popular literature of ballads, songs, etc., that must have previously prevailed in the country in the old language of the soil. We have so very few and stray references to such kinds of compositions that we are now almost inclined to doubt their very existence. The Cattāṇe and Bedende types of composition in old Halagannaḍa referred to by Nṛpatunga in his *Kavirājamārga*, seem to have been forgotten even in his day. Similarly there are many types of old composition referred to by Palkuriki Somanātha and Nannicodadeva in their works as different kinds of *gītas*, *ānandagītas*, *sankaragītas*, *gaudugītas*, etc., many kinds of *padas*, as *vennela padas*, *gobbipadas*, etc., and many kinds of *ragadas*, *udāharaṇas*, *gadyas*, etc., and most of these have gone out of use as the poets of the royal courts who were mostly scholars in Sanskrit would not adopt these types in their preference for Sanskrit models. The adoption of the Sanskrit *vṛtta* and *campu* form has become the order of the day just like the translation of the purāṇic literature and the extensive use of the *tatsama* form of language came to be considered as the only things befitting the high class literature in Telugu. Naturally the folk songs and other types of composition mentioned above mostly current in the lower strata of society and perhaps written in the spoken language of the masses, were not considered dignified enough to be recognized as part of literature. Though a little later, the poets of the S'aiva school tried to revive the old types of composition and the *Jānu Tenugu* of the country, in order to facilitate their work of religious appeal and propaganda among the masses, they would not cross the bounds of tradition already laid by previous writers in matters of language and

style, though they did not hesitate to deviate from it in a number of ways. It was Palkuriki Somanātha that stood for the revival of these popular types of literature and he not only gave us information regarding the currency of these popular types of poetry in Telugu in his day, but also gave us a few examples of some of these types of composition in his *Dvipadas*, *Ragadas*, *Gadyas*, and *S'atakas*. Few other poets in Telugu have given us as many types of popular poetry of their day as Sōmānatha. Though the *Dvipada*, and *S'ataka* have found favour with a good number of latter poets also in the Telugu land no echo of *Jānu Tenuga* in the country was ever heard after Somana and Nannicodadeva. There came in later a movement for the introduction of *Acchatenugu* in the field of Telugu poetry perhaps by way of a reaction against the preponderance of Sanskrit element in the language in the form of long compounds, but it has unfortunately taken a ridiculous turn, in as much as it has tended towards the creation of an artificial language which was neither as dignified and graceful as the old, nor as homely and intelligible as the current language of the day. We thus see how S'aivism and S'aiva poets especially Somanātha were responsible for preserving the tradition regarding the popular types of ancient Telugu literature. Though it has not been actually handed down to us, the old tradition seems to have been continued in the various kinds of folk songs current in the lower strata of society even to the present day and it is one of the important duties of the present generation to take early steps to preserve even now these old types of composition before they are completely swept away from the land and forgotten by the incursions of modern tastes, and influence of foreign civilization. This undercurrent of mass literature though clothed in a language not so elegant as that of the higher classes of society and as such tabooed by them as *grāmya*, carried with it various branches of varied interest like the heroic tale, the purāṇic story, the social, religious and philosophic theme, most of these in the form of *Dvipada*. We have the indigenous drama in the form of *Yakṣagāna* or *Vīdhi Nāṭaka* and also in the form of shadow play, and various kinds of songs in a variety of metre in the form of *padas*, and we have also prose compositions in the form of *gadya*. We cannot to-day afford to neglect such a variety of literature simply because it happened to be composed in the language of the masses. Even from the linguistic point of view it will be very

useful as indicating the lines of growth or corruption in the language, and as a help to understand the provincialisms in the various parts of the country. The vocabulary of our language has to be enriched and our dictionaries enlarged by gathering together the provincialisms of the country. Dr. Woolner speaking of Sir George Grierson's *Peasant Life of Behar* remarked, at the third session of this Conference thus : " It reminds us how much material there is in the mouths of the peasants, that is not recorded in dictionaries of the literary language. It should be the function of the Universities to train such local enquirers."

Now coming to the high class literature in Telugu, we cannot trace it to earlier popular literature of the country, since it had its beginnings in the translations of Sanskrit works. But it seems to have shared some traditions in common with the literatures of the neighbouring languages like Kannada, particularly in the adoption of the translation method, of the purāṇic theme, campu form, Sanskrit *Vṛttas*, introduction of long Sanskrit compounds, *tatsama* language, and *Akkara* metre etc. The method adopted in both these languages is more of an adaptation than of a direct translation and the purāṇic theme of the early days in Kannada had a Jaina colouring and borrowed much from Jaina literature, unlike that in Telugu which is purely Brahminic. The campu form is older in Kannada than in Telugu and does not seem to be a common borrowing from Sanskrit as it can be traced even to the Tamil Literature of the early centuries of the Christian era.[1] The introduction of Sanskrit metres also seems to have started earlier in Kannada than in Telugu though each language has adopted them according to its own genius and inherited traditions. The fact that the few verses that are found in the inscriptions of the pre-Nannya period so far discovered were written only in the indigenous metres and not in the metres adopted from the Sanskrit literature, clearly indicates that these Sanskrit metres were not very much in vogue in the Telugu country before the time of Nannaya. It is perhaps Nannaya himself or poets of his age that made a harmonious blend of all the various elements, indigenous and Sanskrit, available in their time. They not only gave a local colouring to the *vṛttas* borrowed from Sanskrit by introducing into them the indigenous elements of *yati* and *prāsa*, but

[1] The *Campu* form of composition in the south seems to be as old as Tolkāppiyar who refers to it as *tonmai dane urai odu punaruda palamai meṟṟe*. This is called *tonmai* or Campu where prose is mixed with poetry in narrating an old tale.

along with them they continued the use of metres of native origin like *sīsa*, *gīta*, *akkara*, etc., which seem to have crept into Prākṛt lakshana even at an early period. When we find that some of the Telugu metres like *sīsa*, *dvipada*, etc., are developments from the old *ahavalpa* metre in Tamil, and there is a correspondence between the Telugu *yati* and the *monai* of Tamil, between the *prāsa* of Kanarese, and Telugu, and that Akkara forms a common feature of Telugu and Kanarese, we are forced to believe in the independent existence of these languages, some common features of which persisted to appear in the individual languages in spite of the overpowering influence of Sanskrit and its literary models.

This blending of linguistic and literary traditions of old with those of Sanskrit which has been going on perhaps since the revival of Sanskrit and Brahmanism in the country at last culminated in the production of Āndhra *Bhārata* the first and most memorable work in Telugu by Nannaya under the direction of the king Rājarājanarendra of the Cālukya dynasty. Tikkana followed in the wake and being a man of more resourcefulness and national predilections managed to impart a new colouring to the old purāṇic theme by giving Āndhra touches and by adopting more of a *Des'i* style than that of *mārga*; and as if to pave the way for the evolution of the independent *Prabhandha* in Telugu Literature called his work a *Prabandha Maṇḍali* while dedicating it to Hariharanātha. Out of this purāṇic theme was gradually evolved the Telugu *Prabhandha* the greatest achievement of the Āndhra poetic genius. Nannicoda, Nācana Somanatha, and Srīnātha, and other later poets have all contributed their share towards the evolution of the Telugu *Prabhandha*, which appeared in its full glory and perfect form in the age of Kṛṣṇadevarāya of the Vijayanagara empire. In the age of this Emperor, we see again something of the glory of the days of the Imperial Āndhras. Here we find Telugu language attaining its high and hoṇoured position, not only by being used by the Emperor-poet himself as the language of his memorable work *Āmuktamālyadā*, but also by being declared by his Lord Āndhra Vallabha, as the best of all the vernacular languages of the country. Telugu Literature which has been developing under the patronage of Cālukya, Kakātīya and Reḍḍi dynasties of kings, has not only reached its high water mark in this memorable age of Kṛṣṇadevarāya, but even began to inundate the Tamil country of the South, as far down as

Tanjore and Madura, where later on it had fostered the growth of some new branches of literature under the loving care of the Nāik rulers of the day. The process of evolution of Telugu *Prabandha* need not detain us here, but I should like to take this opportunity of impressing upon you here the importance of the application of the evolutionary process in all our studies either literary or linguistic. This method of study which is otherwise known as the historical and comparative method enables us to understand the inner meaning of the various currents in the literary and linguistic life of a nation. By this we can understand and explain not only the characteristic features of poets of different ages and their works, but also see in the proper perspective, how the whole language or literature is a true reflection of the life of that nation. The old time-honoured method of studying a work for its own sake, applying the grammatical or rhetorical principles, and investigating into *guṇa*, *doṣa*, *alaṁkāra*, *rasa*, etc. of the works is good enough in its own way, but there is no doubt that a critical and intelligent study of a work in relation to the life and times of the poet and to its position in the whole range of that literature, will lead us to a better appreciation and understanding of the beauties and merits of the work as well as the genius of its author. It is very unfortunate that literary criticism is generally attended with cavilling and rancour in our country, instead of being a liberal large-hearted appreciation of the beauties of the art of poetry. The critic must have an appreciative and sympathetic heart, the *sahṛdayatva* as our Ālaṁkārikas put it, and must be able to understand without prejudice the other man's point of view. Let me quote from a great author a few relevant sentences about the present state of criticism in our country:

"Too much of what is called criticism ignores examination and is no more than an effort to agree or disagree upon, to accept or reject, what is said or done by other people. We rush to take sides. Such criticism is perverse and hides truth. The reason why we understand one another so imperfectly is that we attack or accept what is said or done as we are impelled by our prejudices. We consider everything subjectively, in its relation to ourselves. We do not take the trouble to perceive what the other person means. If we listen carefully to the words he uses, it is merely to fasten upon their ambiguities and look for blemishes. What the man had in his mind

we do not try to discover, what the intention of the artist was, we do not bother to understand. We must get behind the words and actions to seek out what the other man really means."

Perhaps those who are trained in old methods of criticism cannot appreciate this new historical method which is being introduced as a result of the western influence and English education. Mr. K. Veeresalingam Pantulu to whom Āndhras are deeply indebted in more ways than one, has already laid the foundations for the history of Telugu Literature in his *Lives of the Telugu Poets*. Dr. C. R. Reddi has led the way by his *Kavitvattattvavicāram* for this new kind of literary appreciation in Telugu and a few others followed him. Mr. Vanguri Subba Rao has adopted this method to some extent in his history of Telugu Literature and Mr. Tekumalla Achyuta Rao in his *Telugu Literature of the Vijayanagaram Empire.* A comprehensive history of Telugu Literature indicating the gradual evolution and historical development of the various forms of literary creation in the land as reflecting the various phases in the national life of the Telugu people, has yet to come into existence. It is gratifying to learn that the Āndhra University which is devoted to the cause of the advancement of higher studies in Telugu, has just addressed itself to the task of encouraging the production of such a history of its literature by its recent announcement of a handsome prize for such a work on competitive basis. We hope we will have a comprehensive history of Telugu literature ere long. Besides a history of our literature, authoritative editions of some of the most important works like the *Bhārata* with a complete collection of the necessary readings from all the available manuscripts which are likely to perish owing to the flimsy nature of their materials, is absolutely necessary both from the literary as well as from the linguistic point of view. It is also the duty of all Andhras to bring to a successful conclusion the stupendous work of the Telugu Encyclopædia started by Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao, the pioneer of many such movements in the Telugu country, and carried to its third volume by that liberal patron of letters Des'odhāraka Nageswara Rao Pantulu of happy memory. The Telugu literature has further to be enriched by the importation into it of various kinds of modern knowledge whose bounds are rapidly increasing day by day, and as it is said

Samaṣṭih Sarva s'āstrāṇām Sāhityam iti kathyate

Āndhra *Sāhitya* cannot be said to be complete unless all kinds of scientific knowledge are brought into its fold. The *Āndhra Vijñāna Grandha Maṇḍali* started by Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao quarter of a century ago worked for some time, but seems to have become defunct now. Fortunately the Madras University has come forward to encourage the production of works dealing with modern scientific subjects in South Indian languages by instituting prizes of their own and by managing an endowment in the name of Rājā Ramarayaningar for the encouragement of scientific works in Telugu. The scheme is good so far as it goes but it does not seem to have attracted sufficient attention of scholars in science. Besides this, translation of standard works on science may also be undertaken as has been done by the Osmania University, and it may prove useful in hastening the achievement of the object in view. The Āndhra University also seems to have addressed itself to such a task by publishing a work in Telugu on *Vijñānam,* as this is the most necessary preliminary work that may be done, before a University can think of introducing the vernacular as a medium of instruction. I think we need not still quarrel over the standard of the language that can be used in such prose works. We know that such a great scholar as G. Ramamurty Pantulu has already sacrificed his life in the cause of language reform. Telugu prose style has still to be developed and it must answer the various needs of the Telugu public. The old order changeth in every sphere naturally yielding place to the new ; and so far as the language used is intelligible, maintains the standard of elegancy, while keeping with the dignity of the subject in hand, I think we need not quarrel over the minor points of grammatical usuage. When the theme is great, the treatment is dignified, and the style elegant, the sentiment pure and overwhelming, it is absurd to quarrel over a *Kaṭvardhaka ikāra sandhi* or a *repha śakaṭarepha sankara* which has forced itself into it here or there. Let our new poets of the Romantic School and prose writers of this new age produce works of that standard, and all the minor objections of the old fashioned grammarians will vanish away into time.

Gentlemen, we are now at the threshold of a new era of literary activity in Telugu. The old classical models of purāṇic translation, *prabhandha* or *dvyarthi kavya* are no longer finding favour with the new bards of the Telugu country. The modern tendency seems to be in favour of a subjective theme, Khaṇḍa Kāvya, revival of old indigenous

metres, social novel, short story, and one act play—*ekāṅka nāṭaka*, the patriotic song—*Rāṣtragāna*. Let us not blame the new generation that nothing yet outstanding, nothing grand, nothing that can stand for ever—in our estimation—has yet been produced. Let us not be hasty in our opinions or condemnations. We are yet in a stage of transition. The world ideas themselves are in a state of great flux. Yet we must admit there is a great awakening in our country. Āndhras are always forward to enter into or take up any new movement. They must develop tenacity of purpose and spirit of endurance to see it through. The days of translations or mere imitations seem to have gone and we see signs of the dawn of a new era of original production as a result of the synthesis of the western culture newly imbibed and the old inherited culture of the East. Let us patiently wait and see. Meanwhile we have got much to do by consolidating the history of the Āndhras and of their Art and culture. A comprehensive history of their language, literature and prosody in their bearings on other South Indian languages and literature; a study of the various provincial dialects in its bearing on the development of the language; an etymological dictionary for the language; an encyclopædia for which a beginning has already been made; a collection and study of the manuscripts and inscriptional material available in the country and the publication of the authoritative editions of important Telugu works published or unpublished; an importation of modern scientific knowledge into the language, the conservation of the various kinds of indigenous literature and Art—these are some of the problems that may invite the immediate attention of all Āndhras.

May all Āndhras and Institutions rise equal to the occasion and May their Family Deity, Lord S'rī Veṅkaṭes'vara, shower choicest blessings on them and infuse into them sufficient energy and enthusiasm to work for the advancement of their mother tongue and mother country and the Āndhrā Rāṣtra.

13-B. TAMIL

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY DEWAN BAHADUR P. SUBBIAH MUDALIAR, B.A., B.L.,
Retired District Judge, Coimbatore

BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

My first duty is to convey, on behalf of the Tamils generally, my thanks to the authorities of the All India Oriental Conference whose main object is to focus attention on the contribution of the East in general, and of India in particular, to world-thought and literature, for their having assigned a specific place to Tamil in this session. My next duty is to convey, on my own behalf, my thanks to the Executive Committee for having chosen me to preside over the Tamil section.

Let me now proceed, however inadequately it may be, to consider, the contribution of Tamil to world-thought and literature.

"O! Supreme being! I know naught else than a desire for the abiding happiness of all." So said Tāyumānavar.[1] Great men through the ages have always endeavoured to bring happiness to their fellow beings. We shall here attempt to appreciate the contribution made by the great and ancient Tamils towards the welfare, advancement and happiness of mankind.

Tamil is a living independent language of very ancient origin and is the mother tongue of about two crores of people living in South India, north of Cape of Comorin and south of Tiruveṅgaḍa Hills.[2] The earliest known work in the language is the beautiful grammar

[1] எல்லாரும் இன்புற்றிருக்க நினைப்பதுவே
அல்லாமல் வேறொன் றறியேன் பராபரமே.

தாயுமானவர்

[2] "வடவேங்கடந் தென்குமரி
ஆயிடைத்தமிழ் கூறு நல்லுலகத்து"

தொல்காப்பியம்

known as *Tolkāppiyam* composed thousands of years ago. Though very many centuries have rolled by since it was composed, the work continues to hold its high place in Tamil Literature and has secured a very high place for the Tamil language among the languages of the world.

Among the numerous languages, the soft, sweet and euphonious Tamil language is unique in having in its alphabet the letter 'ழ' and the name of the language itself expresses the idea of sweetness. Again, the three Tamil letters தமிழ் which make up the name of the language are respectively a hard consonant, a soft consonant and a middling one. The literature in the language also falls into three broad divisions: plain, lyrical and dramatic. (இயல், இசை, நாடகம்.)

The culture and civilization of the people whose mother tongue was such a noble language had reached very high standards. The ancient Tamils condemned animal food and intoxicants. The men wore pure white clothing while the women were dressed in attractively coloured sarees. The people excelled in the several industries such as agriculture, weaving, mechanics and architecture and the beautifully constructed temples and towers in South India are standing monuments to the glory of the ancient Tamil civilization and architecture.

The dominant characteristic of the ancient Tamils is "love" in all its aspects, that is to say, as manifested towards one's superiors, equals, inferiors, one's own wife and one's friends. It is noteworthy that every aspect of love bears a particular name in the Tamil language. The great *Tirukkural* gives love a pre-eminent place among the virtues of mankind and extols the merit of sweet words. Gratitude is praised and ingratitude which tends to dry up the springs of charity is condemned as the worst of sins. Good conduct is to be looked upon as more precious than life itself and good health is advocated with the object of enabling one to do good deeds. Moderation and restraint in eating is given as the golden rule for avoiding all ills. Begging and dependence are deprecated as unworthy of man. He must earn his bread by his own honest labour. Wealth which is recognized as being an essential requisite for the journey of life has to be acquired by proper means and it has to be carefully husbanded, and spent for proper purposes. Wealth acquired by right means alone will be conducive to Dharma and give happiness. One should cut his coat according to the cloth and want of adjustment to

available means will eventually result in failure and ruin.[1] The advice of wise people should be sought after and followed not only by kings and the rich but also by others; for, a man wisely counselled can foil his enemies, while a man, who disregards sane advice ultimately becomes his own enemy. Lastly, a man should have the courage to acknowledge his errors even before his inferiors.

Coming to educational ideals, the study of a language which is the basis for the acquisition of a knowledge of art should comprise learning of Grammar and the literary master-pieces in that language. There should be no doubts or unsolved difficulties in the mind of the student and the study should be thorough and flawless. It should make him regulate his life according to the knowledge he has gained thereby. Knowledge and wisdom should go together.[2] One who does not receive such education is likened to a beast, for, an un-cultured man rarely appreciates the difference between good and evil. He neither benefits himself nor others. The man of culture and education finds himself at home in any place and is honoured in every land.

Education has been considered to be necessary not for men alone but also for women.[3] The home is the foundation of the World Empire and men are largely what women make of them. No man is so good but a woman can make him better. It is women who bear children and look after their welfare during their youth. They have a large hand as such in the moulding of the character of the future citizens of the world. International associations of millions of cultured women of democratic countries have been planning for peace. If the women in totalitarian states also had sufficient culture and influence, they would not have allowed a hideous situation like the present war to arise. Will a woman's instinct tolerate the butchery of her sons?

[1] அளவறிந்து வாழாதான் வாழ்க்கை யுளபோல
இல்லாகித் தோன்றாக் கெடும் — குறள்

[2] கற்க கசடறக் கற்பவை கற்றபி
வதற்குத் தக. — குறள்

[3] குஞ்சியழகுங் கொடுந்தானைக் கோட்டழகும்
மஞ்சள் அழகும் அழகல்ல—நெஞ்சத்து
நல்லம் யாமென்னும் நடுவு நிலைமையால்
கல்வி யழகே யழகு. — நாலடியார்

பெருந்தடங்கட் பிறைநுதலார்க்கெல்லாம்
பொருந்து செல்வமுங் கல்வியும் பூத்தலால். — கம்பர்

Ancient Tamils were fully alive to the necessity of giving suitable education to women. The ideal was that the wife should be her husband's match[1] in heredity, culture and mutual love, and his helpmate in the journey of life (வாழ்க்கைத்துணை). Women were treated as equals to men in all respects and the worship of Ardhanārīsvara (the form of God conceived as half woman and half man) testifies to that fundamental conception of equality. There have been scholars and poetesses among the ancient Tamilian women folk. Kakkaipadiniyar and Sirukakkaipadiniyar, and other reputed poetesses, belonged to the Sangam period and Avvayār, Āṇdāl and Kāraikkāl Ammayār have adorned and illuminated the later and recent generations.

The marriage institution was orginally a matter of self-choice between equals in all respects and the duties of the married people were well defined. They led a harmonious and virtuous life and were expected to support people who had chosen other and more difficult walks of life, such as Sanyāsis, Brahmacāris, etc.

In the matter of religion, the ancient Tamilians believed in the existence of God and recognized and worshipped the one "Supreme being"[2] who is beyond and above everything else in this universe and whose chief attribute is love.[3] Service to God's creatures was recognized to be service to God himself and love towards fellow-creatures was not differentiated from love towards God.

The ancient Tamils very well recognized that the different forms of faith followed by different sets of people ultimately led only to the same goal and they did not condemn other religions but evinced toleration towards them in the right spirit.[4]

ரும், தலைமகளும் ஒத்த அன்பும் ஒத்த குலமும்
ஒத்த கல்வியும் உடையராயிருத்தல் வேண்டும்,
(நக்கீரர், இறையனார் அகப்பொருள் உரை).

[2] Paṭṭaṇattaḍigal sums up 'ஒன்றென்றிரு தெய்வம் உண்டென்றிரு'.

[3] திருமூலநாயனார் 'அன்பே சிவம்.'

நடமாடுங்கோயில் நம்பர்க் கொன்றீயில்—
படமாடுங்கோயில் அமரர்க்கங்காகும்.

[4] யாதொரு தெய்வங் கண்டீர்-அத்தெய்வமாகி
யாங்கே—மாதொரு பாகனார் தாம் வருவர். சிவஞானசித்தியார்

விரிவிலா அறிவினார்கள் வேறொரு சமயஞ் செய்தே
எரிவினாற் சொன்னாரேனும்
எம்பிராற் கேற்றதாகும். அப்பர்

Their civic sense had reached a very high level. Their rulers administered the country wisely. They had well-trained and well-equipped armies and the land enjoyed peace and was over-flowing with plenty and prosperity. In a word, the ancient Tamils led a life of culture and glory and their civilization was of a very high order.

None can deny the incomparable beauty and rare merit of the ancient Tamil classics, *Tolkāppiyam* and *Kural.* The latter work has been appreciated by such great men of the west as Doctor G. U. Pope and Count Tolstoy. There are also other innumerable Tamil works of great merit. The Tamil children were taught even while quite young, moral lessons rendered in crisp, very brief and thought-provoking lines and stanzas. The children committed the lines to memory and even though their full significance was not realized then, as they grew old and pondered over the lines, every time a new light dawned from those simple and exquisitely constructed lines and gave comfort and guidance.

The Tamil literature rightly approached is bound to contribute a valuable share to world harmony and world happiness.

In these days of democracy, it is essential that each and every one should get educated and the learning of Tamil as a strong basis and foundation for further prosecution of studies in all directions will be highly helpful and should be advocated. Only after having been thoroughly and properly educated in the mother tongue of Tamil, one should attempt to learn other languages such as Sanskrit, Hindi and English. After the completion of one's education in such manner and setting one's life on the right lines, one's duty will be to make others also take to the path of rectitude and virtue and thus contribute to the welfare and happiness of mankind.

Although Tamil was in a neglected condition for a long time, there has been of late, happily a revival and very many ancient Tamil works have been edited, with or without meanings and notes, and published by societies like Madura Tamil Sangam, South Indian S'aiva Siddhānta Works Publishing Society, Tinnevelly, S'aiva Siddhānta Mahāsamājam, Madras, Kovai Tamil Sangam, Coimbatore, etc., and by individual scholars like Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. V. Swaminatha Ayyar, (but for whose indefatigable labours several valuable works which were mostly in cadjan would have been eaten away by white ants and thus lost to the world,) and other scholars.

Although societies and individual scholars have been doing valuable work, their sphere of usefulness is more or less confined to a comparatively small circle, *i.e.*, the more literate section of the Tamil world.

For a proper appreciation even by the non-Tamil world of Tamil culture which aims at world harmony and world happiness and for a better understanding between the Tamils and others, it is necessary that, from among the best works, selections containing the noblest thoughts should be published separately along with translations and critical notes in other languages and in the first instance in English, which is becoming more or less a universal language. Such a publication has been made, although on a small scale by the ex-Premier Sri C. Ràjagopalachariyar with reference to the second book of *Kural.*

The selection and the translation have to be done on an adequate scale only hereafter by the co-ordinated efforts of Tamil scholars and also English scholars who appreciate the beauties of Tamil. May the All India Oriental Conference devise ways and means for bringing such scholars together to perform the noble task, for a better understanding between peoples of different cultures, thereby promoting world harmony and world happiness.

13-C. KANNADA

A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT

By B. M. Srikantiah, M.A., B.L.,
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PURVADA HALAGANNADA AND TAMIL

The speaker at the outset remarked that he did not deserve the honour of being President of the section as he was not a researcher but an humble lover of literature. But he had to grasp and teach the main outlines of the history and philology of the Kannaḍa language and its relations to old Tamil and he would give an impressionist sketch, a bird's-eye view of the subject.

The first point to bear in mind is the recognition of archaisms or survivals in the later form of a language. For example, in Hosa-gannaḍa, words like:

Nōhi, beppu, kaṭṭale, hemme are to be explained, not from normal modern Kannaḍa grammar, but from old Kannaḍa grammar, by forms nōnpi, beḷpu, kaztale, perme. So with forms like alla, illa, sāku, bēku, haudu, bahudu, akku, bakku: we have to go up through Naḍu-gannaḍa (Middle K.) old K.:

Allam, allan, allaḷ etc. illam, illan, illaḷ, etc. sālgum, (sālkum), vēzkum, appudu, barpudu, (>apudu, bappudu, bapudu), akkum, varkum.

Similarly we go back and reconstruct early O. K., checking our guesses, on the one hand, by inscriptions of the 5th to 8th century, survivals and archaisms in O. K. literature, the forms noted and mechanically or empirically explained in O. K. grammars and, on the other hand, by comparison with the oldest Tamil forms and grammars, and also by deduction from the general principles of Dravidian philology.

Thus, forms like okkaluḷ, koduga, puṭṭalka, sandān, sandōn, ēṟidār, tappāde, kēṭeyān avarā, eṟi enetu, (cp. T.) zenaittu, zenitu urvir ille, viṭṭār; are characteristic of early old Kannada, and are very near or sometimes identical with forms of Sangam Tamil, the oldest Tamil on record. Even the passive voice, so abundant in Tamil is found in these inscriptions and in some prose literature of the 8th or 9th Cent. and very rarely afterwards in Kannaḍa. Kavirājamārga (under Gurudōṣait lakṣaṇa) bans archaic "Paza Gannaḍa" of this kind, and notices negative forms in—āde, Kes'irāja notes ira ade.

But many forms in these oldest K. inscriptions are also regular old K. and often the two forms alternate in the same inscription.

It will be necessary to analyze the survivals as contrasted with the regular, normal forms of O. K. Thus barkum, akkum for all persons and senses—like the negative—is E. O. K, barpudu, appudu, O. K.; the cum is later vocalized and becomes—um, as in Tamil: *e.g.* tūgum-dottid iziyum-baztu, (Kes'irāja's explanation is not scientific). It is then replaced by—ō in popular speech by—uva in mod. K. tūgō, iḷiyō, tūguva, iḷiyuva and thus regularized for M. K. Forms in which the verb suffixed are added to nouns are also E. O. K. surviving in O. K. and later replaced: piriyen, piṅyanen—ān piriyan (O. K.); Sambandray (kadamban—2. 769) nēridir, nēṅdirir nīm nēridar-ta-pā were the universal tense signs in E. O. K. of even doubled; (cp. Kaṟuttu) later they are survivals, generally developing into da, va, ba. Kavirājamārga forbids universal forms in ḍu+pa=zpa, recognizing only a few like māzpa, nōzpa, bēzpa but not kūzpa, sūzpa, kāzpa—dapa seems to be a later development and eagerly served upon by the Grammarians for the present tense, (to be analogous to Skt.) though dapa has generally a contingent sense and the regular form for the present tense and the future is in—pa or va. In fact—dapa is dappa,—da of the past plus appa of the present. The s'ithila dvitva, (slurred double consonant) seems to be due and an accent or stress in E. O. K. which shifted back to the first syllable in O. K. and the last syllable was later dissolved in M. K.: *e. g.* pogàzdan, pògazdan, hógaḷidanu, (root, pugu, pogáz) pogázke, pógazke, hogaḷika. Adjectives were formed by adding-ttu,-tu, *e.g.* tezattu, oḍetu, doretu,—ārtu, ettaṇtu. Doubling of consonants before vowel was gradually regularized in O. K.: cp. ene, ennade, kaḷal, kaḷḷadu (*Ādi-Purāṇa*, 6. 7). iṇe, iṇisu, uṇṇada. The final nasal gradually disappears: E. O. K.

dēsam, āṭam, dēs'angaḷ, ātangaḷ kargambottan, O. K. dēs'amgaḷ but ātagaḷ optionally; M. K. dēs'agaḷ, ātagaḷ kataga kotta—nasal gone. Some compounds are wrongly explained by Kes'irāja: *e.g.*, angai which is agan+kai; angaḷam agam+kaḷam; this agam is found in agapattan (Pampa Rāmāyaṇa, 4. 85) karnāṭakam, āvagam, etc. being originally akam—so spelt in Tam. but pronounced agam and later aham (cp. hām of S'rī Vaiṣṇavas in Mysore home!)—cp. Tanizagam; kaṇṇagar—kānam, kān, kānágam, vaiyagam, vaiyam so, kar+nāt+akam kar + nātam karu + natam (Tam. Kannaḍam kuttaḍi is from kuṛidu, short, kiṛidu being small: Kes'irāja confuses the two words; just as he forgets bisidu, pasidu, kisidu and explains bisupu, etc. as derived from beccane. The suffix—ame is Tam. —āmai: only a few words remaining in O. K. aṛi-yame, azkame, tīrame, pollame, añjame (Adi. P.), the positive forms koṭṭame, ninṛame etc., not found in Kannaḍa. (Kes'irāja seems to think—ame is a positive suffix). The final nasal is mistaken for—m, not—n which is regularly found in E. O. K. and to this day in Tam. and in mod. K. avan-avam; avanan-avanam; avanin-avanim; avanu, avanannu, avaninda—and so, in sandhi in O. K.—n asserts itself, kamum and kaman are two different genders in O.K., but Kes'irāja pronounces both with—m and thinks they are common gender!—em and en of of the first person are almost confused and—em is changing to—evu. —udu is in Tam. and M. K.—adu.

From a study of the survivals in O. K., something of the nature of E. O. K., may be glimpsed, we may now proceed to the sounds of E. O. K., we know that zha and ṛa gradually dropped out in Mid. and Mod. K., and changed into ḷ and r when free, or assimilated to the consonants with which they were joined. Aspirates with h, s', ṣ and other Sanskrit sounds entered Kannaḍa. The O. K. grammarians are doubtful on the point: they recognize some words with aspirates, and are not bold enough, (or shall we say 'irreverential' enough) to say that Kannaḍa hast by svabhāva no aspirates whatever. O. K. sounds thus are: 10 vowels: a, ā; i, ī; u, ū; e, ē; o, ō; these are radical e and ak later changed to ai and au, and these are not with ē, ō, sandhyakṣaras in the Skt. sense, as claimed by Kes'irāja. 23 consonants: k, g, ṇ; c, ja, ṇ; ṭ, ḍ, ṇ;ḷ t, d, n; p, b, m; y, r, l, v, s, z, ḷ, ṛ. The leading consonants are k, t, p, which have dominated the rules of sandhi; becoming softened as g, d, b. The O. K.

sounds may be classified as follows: three Vargas, from the Dravidian point of view:

I (*a*) k, g, ṇ, a, ā,
(*b*) c, j, ṇ, y, s, i, ī, e, ē.
II (*a*) t, d, n, ṛ, r, l.
(*b*) ṭ, ḍ, ṇ, z, ḷ.
III (*a*) p, b, m,
(*b*) v, u, ū, o, ō.

Changes and mutations, softening and vocalization almost always occur within this gradation.

If we now look back to E. O. K., we may perhaps infer that at its heyday—(for the mixed E. O. K. and O. K., in inscriptions is really a sandhikāla, a transition period, like Naḍugannaḍa between O. K. and Mod. K.) and in its pristine purity, it had only the 10 vowels, and 17 consonants, the other 6 irr, the 5 sonants—g, i, ḍ, d, b, and the sibilant s, having not yet developed s usually stands for an original k>c or y or t, pronounced as in Telugu with a palatal tinge. This number 27 brings it near to the 30 of early Tamil, minus ai, au and one of the n's (ண). If the alphabet of Tamil as fixed round about the early centuries is a true reflection of the sounds then pronounced, the two parallels are significant. They both point to 27 radical sounds, found in the words, regulating euphony, and dominating grammar.

If the sounds and the forms of pure, pristine, E. O. K. and early Tam. recorded in inscriptions and Sangam literature, when stripped of all Skt. or Pkt. elements, are very nearly the same, what shall we say about the relations of these two Dravidian dialects at that time, or stage?

Shall we say they were the same language, later dividing into two? We are visualizing the state of affairs somewhere between the days of As'oka and the 2nd Cent. A. D.—about five centuries. The oldest literature of Tamil is not yet clearly dated: some scholars point to 2nd Cent. B. C. (we may neglect the legendary chronologies) and some come down to 4th or 5th Cent. The oldest K. inscription is that of Halmidi, discovered recently by Dr. Krishna, and assigned by him to about 450 A.D. It contains the Kannaḍa words (with much Skt.)—āḷe, nāḍuḷ, appor, irvvarā, pogaze, kādi+eṛidu, petta, bālgazcu, koṭṭār, kaḷdōn, kuṛumbiḍivittār, azivonge, with the

tadbhava, arasan. If this is already, as stated above, a transition language, what comes before? the one Kan.-Tamil dialect?—ancestor of both Kan. and Tam.? or E. O. K. with perhaps a five to eight centuries history—with its division from Tamil, its own metres (particularly the Tripadi, Ragaḷe and Akkara—all found in slightly less regularized forms in Tamil), its own ballads, etc.—neglected by the ruling prakrit administration but asserting itself by about the 5th Cent.; a little later (?) than Tamil, governed by the native sovereigns?

Shall we even say—we must admit this, if it happens to be the truth—that K. is an offshoot not of a K.-Tam. tongue, widespread over the Karṇāṭaka and Tamil districts, but of Tamil itself. Is K. a daughter of Tam. as Malayalam is claimed to be? or is it, as I believe it to be, a sister, preserving in E. O. K., as reconstructed much of the K.-Tam. as separated from very early Telugu, in sounds, and words and laws of derivation and euphony of combination?

There is no need to go further regarding the sounds. We have seen above that they are identical—apart from the refinements of the Skt. minded grammarians. *Tolkāppiyam* and *Nannūl*, Nagarar are already under the spell of the Skt. system—and the wonder is that the Tamil grammarians (and writers) show so much independent spirit and love of the pure native diction and metres.

The Vocabulary also is fairly well common. Many words are identical in O.K. and Tam.; are only slightly disguised. Some of the earlier works can be translated word for word and form for form into O. K. or better still into E. O. K. Dialectical variations in terminology and form exist and Tamil is more profuse and elaborate than Kan. in the respect, but the earlier simplicity of forms is better preserved in Kannada. The rules of euphony also are simpler, more philologically regular. Tamil which still retains its nasals at the end is deceptive in appearance—but it has changed through the ages and because Tamil today wears an ancient look, as compared with Kan., which owing to mixture of peoples and cultures has changed more into a modern stage, we need not infer that Tamil was always older and more ancient. My own feeling 'therefore' is that K. is *not* descended from Tamil, that it almost, in its E. O. K. condition, reaches back to the Dravidian (I will not say proto—Dr. for I do not know the age of it, Mohenjadaro theories notwithstanding) as

it existed somewhere about the 5th Cent B. C. about to be separated from Telugu, or Andhra (is this word allied to āṇḍār of Tam. and āḷdar of Kan.) but not yet separated into Kan. and Tamil.

One clue in this direction may be given and that is many words and grammatical forms seem to be earlier philologically in Kannaḍa.

Cp. kukil-kuyil ; vākil, (bāgil)-vāyil, vāsil ; pēkar, pēcar, pesar-peyar, pēr ; kesar-ceyaru, cēru ; kēlda,-kēṭṭa ; nōnta, kalta-nōnra, kaṟṟa ; beḷdiṅgaḷ-veṇḍingaḷ ; uṇtu-uṇḍu ; perme-perumai ; nele-nilai ; mane-manai ; banduvu-vandana ; ge(ke)yda-ceyda ; āḍida-āḍiya ; nōḍu, nōṭam-nōkku, (cp. nāḍu, nāṭṭam) ; tta, (ṟta)-ṟṟa ; orvan-oruvan ; (K. moves on to orba, obba) ; karvu, karbu-karumbu, (K. moves on to kabbu) ; bannim-vārum, vāruṅgaḷ ; nalme, nanni-nalan, nanṟi ; māzke, kāṇke-māṭci, kāṭci, ; kaṇbolam-kaṭpolam.

Kannaḍa still retains the single hard consonant after the first syllable, where Tam. softens it :—Cp. uṇṭu, oraṭu, niluku, bācu, agate, nuṇupu.

A last word. After the pioneer work of Dr. Caldwell, some further research has no doubt been made by Tamil, Telugu and Kannaḍa scholars, but I regret to say nothing of any fundamental importance ; may it be due to the fact that we labour in our own field and do not master the three languages and get a wide view of facts and principles ? Here is an epoch, the origins of the three oldest cultivated languages—Kannaḍa, Tamil, and Telugu, which deserves to be mapped out and investigated. And when more light is available we can go forward and re-write our grammars both comparatively and individually on Dravidian principles—and recast the present Sanskritized grammars into rules, classification, and explanation based on purely Dravidian philology and history, a good scientific grip over the mother tongue, before the language can be democratized for the uplift of the people at large.

13-D. MARATHI

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY N. C. KELKAR, M.A., LL.B.,

Poona

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

As a humble representative of Mahārāṣṭra, I express my gratitude to the Reception Committee of the Tenth session of the All-India Oriental Conference, for the inclusion of Marathi as a recognized section for discussion, under the subject of Modern Provincial languages of India. So far as I can see only once before was Marathi so recognized, when in 1933 the late Dr. S. V. Ketkar was the President of the Marathi Section at the 7th Session of the Oriental Conference held at Baroda.

As President of the Marathi Section this year, I would like to take a rapid survey of Marathi as a language, as well as the literature contained in that Language, rather than deal with any particular topic of Marathi as a matter of research. I am glad, however, that some papers have been received, which deal with Marathi also from special points of view. The object of my survey will be to give to our friends, who may be unacquainted with Marathi, a general idea of the origin of Marathi as a language, the main features of its formation, its geographical range as a spoken language, and lastly, the growth of the Marathi literature during the last eight hundred years.

Mahārāṣṭra is now definitely identified with a geographical region lying more or less between the Vindhya mountains to the North, the river Krishna to the South and the Arabian Sea to the West. It is surmised that the *racial* name of the Mahārāṣṭrī *Language* has an origin anterior to the *regional* name of Mahārāṣṭra.

The Mahārāṣṭriyas were a portion of the Aryan people, who first settled on the plains between the Himalaya and Vindhya mountains long before the Christian era. The region now properly known as Mahārāṣṭra was then a country full of primæval forests, and therefore, unsuitable for a settlement. Later on the exigencies of the times required a migration; and a portion of the people inhabiting the Āryā-varta migrated, first to the region now known as the Benares, then to the Aparānta or the northern Konkan, and then to the interior of the Central Mahārāṣṭra country.

The formation of provinces on the linguistic basis, as departments of political administration, is a modern notion. But in modern, as in ancient times, it would be a vain quest to seek a complete identification or coincidence between a people speaking a particular language and the region popularly known as belonging to those people. Assuming that the number of prevalent modern provincial vernacular languages in India is about fifteen, it can be claimed that Marathi takes the fourth rank. The first three are (1) Hindi or Hindustani as one may like to call it ; (2) Bengali ; (3) Telugu. The Hindi, having for its spokesmen (if I may use that word) 12 Crores, and Bengali 5 Crores of people, easily out-distance Marathi. But Telugu with its 263 lakhs of adherents can be regarded as nearly falling in the same rank as Marathi with its 213 lakhs. While 6 p. c. of the total population of India is Marathi-speaking, about 8 p. c. of the total Indian territory may be regarded as Mahārāṣṭra territory. It is believed that about 14 lakhṣ of people in India use Marathi as a subsidiary language. *Per contra* about 10 lakhs of people, whose mother tongue is Marathi, are believed to be using some other language as a subsidiary language. Kanarese, Telugu and Gujarati may be mentioned as examples of such subsidiary languages.

The regional extent of Marathi can be traced from Daman in the north to Karwar in the South along the Arabian Sea, and Daman in the West to Chanda in the east. If is roughly a rectangular triangle, with a western line of about 500 miles and a Northern line of nearly the same length. The hypotenuse is of course longer than either side, and goes over portions of the Southern Maratha Country, the Nizam's dominions, the Benares and the Eastern C. P. the Marathi language has as its immediate neighbours the Gujarathi, the Kanarese, the Hindi and the Telugu.

The Marathi belongs to the Aryan *race* of languages, while as a *family* it is directly related to the Prakrit. Its line of descent can be traced from the pre-Vedic Sanskrit, right down to the Mahārāṣṭri language, intersecting on its way the Vedic Sanskrit, the Classical Sanskrit, the Prakrits and the Apabhrams'a. Distinct signs or vestiges of its relationship with all these its ancestors can be pointed out not only in respect of roots, word formations, and grammatical peculiarities, but also cultural and spiritual consanguinity.

One class of philologists, among whom may be mentioned the late Mr. V. K. Rajwade, indeed claim that most of the etymological bases of Marathi are found in Sanskrit. Allowing for the unavoidable element of exaggeration in this view, it must be admitted that his researches, in the theme of the connection between Marathi and Sanskrit through admittedly Sanskrit roots, have very nearly proved the case of Marathi being a direct descent of Sanskrit. Personally I am of opinion that the whole of the Sanskrit Vocabulary can be claimed and made its own by Marathi as incorporated in a Marathi Dictionary. Only about 500 obsolete Sanskrit words, it will not be possible to be used in Marathi composition. There have been of course admixtures on the way from several other languages prevalent from century to century. But the benefits of this admixture have been mutual.

Languages have their own passport to cross the frontiers of other languages. Neighbourliness leads to association, and association to influence. In this manner the Marathi language has been influenced by some of its neighbouring Prakrits. Thus some methods of word formation by the mutation of original sounds, the prevalence of one or two letters taken from the Vaidik Sanskrit, etc., are common to both the Pali and Marathi. The retention of the letter न in preference to Sanskrit ण is a characteristic shared by Marathi along with the Pais'āci. Also, like the Māgadhi, Marathi has the occasional habit of substituting ळ for र and श for स. Even more are the characteristics which are to be found common to Marathi and Ardhamāgadhi, *e.g.*, the shortening of vowels, the dropping of व in past participles, the occasional use of hard instead of soft consonants. And from the Mahārāṣṭri Prakrit, Marathi has taken too many peculiarities to be enumerated. The same may be said about the features which Marathi shares with the Apabhrams'a.

But it should be remembered that the Marathi has more things in common with Sanskrit than any Prakrit language. It is a case, as it were, of a grand-daughter looking more like her grand-mother than her mother. It would be tedious to dwell upon the many grammatical similarities between Sanskrit and Marathi. Broadly, it may be stated, that the grammar of the Marathi language is based more or less upon the grammar of the Sanskrit. But the real debt which Marathi owes to Sanskrit is in respect of vocabulary and cultural and spiritual thought. I feel amazed to imagine how poor would Marathi be if, by some stratagem, the Aryan Sanskrit vocabulary and cultural and spiritual thought could be squeezed out of Marathi.

I am told that it is indeed claimed for the Marathi-speaking people, that their mode of speech represents the pronunciation and accent of the ancient Vedic Aryan Sanskrit more faithfully than any other Vernacular. I do not know whether this claim will be allowed to go undisputed. But some Vedic Paṇḍits who have heard the Vedas recited by the Brahmans of Mahārāṣṭra and those of other Provinces, are understood to have certified that Maratha pronunciation of Vedic texts is more pure.

The word Mahārāṣṭra (region) and Mahārāṣṭri (language) are believed to date from at least two centuries before Christ. According to Dr. Ketkar, Mahārāṣṭra is made up of two separate words—Mahar and Ratts (Rāṣṭriks) both indicating two races or nationalities, which may have combined to make a united people, more than two thousand years ago. Other scholars derive the word in other ways. Thus Dr. P. V. Kane is of the opinion that the word महाराष्ट्र simply indicates the fact that what was once a great forest महा-अरण्य, was successfully turned into a great permanently settled राष्ट्र, and hence the word महाराष्ट्र. This work of settlement naturally required great efforts, and the appellation of महाराष्ट्र may be a tribute to those Aryan pioneers and settlers, deferentially paid by those other races or nationalities who were impressed by that achievement. Dr. Bhandarkar derived the word महाराष्ट्र from रट्ट, a people known by that name.

In the case of Marathi the same thing has happened as in the case of other languages *viz.*, that it started as a spoken dialect current among the masses, then became standardized and steadied as a

language in which the classical literature of the contemporary generations was written, and then in its turn gave rise again to local dialects. Spoken dialects are more convenient and adaptable to the development of any language because they are free and untrammelled in their growth and movements, and not petrified and made rigid, like a classical language, by its grammar and syntax. The case is like that of an irrigation tank. It is fed towards the source by a number of original streams running in their own natural beds. Then the waters are collected and bunded up in a tank. And then they are let out in two ways (1) by an irrigation canal running in a definite channel with measured depth, measured embankments, measured flow level, and (2) uncontrolled springs that issue owing to the presence of a big water gallery on a higher level.

Who can point his finger to a generation or even a century in which a language was born as that particular language ? The Marathi can be traced and has been traced back to the fifth century A.D., with the aid of a supposed reference to it in the *Nārāda Smṛti*. Then definite Marathi words, and fragments of Marathi sentences, have been discovered in stone inscriptions and copper plates, carved in the 7th century. Great importance is attached in this respect to the stone inscription discovered at the famous temple at S'ravaṇa Belgola in the Mysore territory, which is dated 983 A.D. The course of the Marathi language begins to run smooth from the tenth or eleventh century, as can be definitely stated from researches in the Mahānubhāvi literature of that period. And at last the 12th century is signalized by the illustrious Jñānes'vari, which was a pioneer of the classical Marathi poetry, and still holds its place as a premier work of literature combining a treasure of spiritual knowledge and a marvellous display of the keenest poetical spirit.

Not only the earliest Marathi literature is to be found in poetry, but poetry held the field for about six centuries afterwards. Jñānes'var flourished at a time when the Yādava Maratha Kings ruled at Devgiri or Daulatabad and patronized learning. But the flow of spiritual culture through poetic channels thereafter went on unimpeded, though the Yadava Dynasty was overthrown and the Bhamani Kingdoms took its place.

The Marathi of the Jñānes'vari is so finished and polished, that it may be reasonably supposed to have an extensive background

of Marathi literature, preserved in writing or even more so as committed to memory and handed down orally from generation to generation. Unfortunately written works of Marathi literature of a time anterior to the 12th century are not available, though curiously enough works of Prakrit literature are not so scarce. Even what we have got of the Mahānubhāvi literature has been rescued, as it were, from the Mahānubhāvi Maths and Monasteries, where it remained concealed, and was given the extra protection of the use of secret codes and conventional phraseology.

For the first six hundred years Marathi literature showed the same characteristics almost uniformly. They were (1) the use of the verse as a channel for expression and (2) spiritual knowledge the entire theme. When not didactical it was historical—if *Purāns* could be described by that exalted phrase. But the poets honestly believed that whatever was related in the *Purāṇas* were historical facts. They had no idea of history as a subject of positive knowledge. But the *Purāṇas* were by themselves an unending bundle of myth, tradition, fiction, and folk-lore; and the poet who apparently dealt with a *Paurāṇik* theme could, if he liked, revel to his heart's content, in pouring out of the first fruits of his fancy and imagination, made lively and enjoyable by drawing upon the experiences of the contemporary social life in all its aspects around him. Gods and Goddesses, and demi-gods of both sexes, easily lent themselves to these poets as heroes and heroines. No frontier was recognized as between the human and divine. Occasionally a human soul was privileged to be admitted to the upper world; but the superior beings from high required no pass-port to come down into the human world and mix in the affairs of the human society. The God-in-the-Machine could be invoked to order, if he himself failed take the necessary initiative. Moreover, when the celestials came down to the mundane level, they had the sporting spirit to shed their own divinity, and to share in the joys and sorrows of the human beings whom they patronized and loved. But they were prepared at times also to give an exhibition of their sterner emotions, taking up a partisan attitude and vanquishing the foes of their friends. It was impossible that the spirit of the human Mahārāṣṭrian, however inclined towards spiritualism, could be satisfied for all time with the diet of religious sentiment. And an excursion into the *Paurāṇik* field enabled the poets of those times to

make their poems lively reading for the common class of men, without disturbing the spiritual level of the more cultural class.

The saint-poets however were not unconscious of the adverse times in which they were living. The Hindu Kingdoms had disappeared, and Mahārāṣṭra was overrun by invaders, who brought with them an alien religion and culture. But all was not lost, there was ground for hope, optimism prevailed. There was an abiding faith in the judgment of God, who would restore their own to them, and help the Hindu Dharma to come out triumphant with its base widened as Mahārāṣṭra-Dharma. Here I would like to quote the wise words of the late Mr. Justice Ranade, who in his book *viz. The Rise of Mahratta Power*, pays the following handsome tribute to the services rendered to Mahārāṣṭra by these spiritual poets in those times of adversity.

" The close connection between the religious and political upheaval in Mahāraṣṭra is a fact of such importance that to those who, without the help of this clue, have tried to follow the winding course of the growth of Maratha power, the purely political struggle becomes either a puzzle, or dwindles down into a story of adventures, without any abiding moral interest. Both European and Native writers have done but scant justice to this double character of the movement, and this dissociation of the history of the spiritual emancipation of the national mind accounts for much of the prejudice which still surrounds the study of the Maratha struggle for national independence."

" The struggle between the claims of the classical Sanskrit and the Vernaculars, of which we hear so much in these days, is indeed an old conflict, the issues in which were decided in favour of the vernacular or living languages long ago, and whatever scholars and antiquarians may urge to the contrary, there can only be one answer to the question,—the answer which was given by the saints and prophets when they laid Sanskrit aside as useless for their work, and spent all their energies in the cultivation and growth of their mother tongue. It may safely be said that the growth of the modern vernaculars in India is solely the result of the labours of the saints, and that the provinces, which showed most decided tendencies in the way of reform, also showed the most healthy development of their vernacular literature.

To Jñānes'var belongs the credit of being the pioneer of the generation which asserted the right of interpreting Sanskrit learning,

through the vernacular, *i.e.* the language of the people—Marathi. Formerly the Paṇḍit class wrote works of great erudition, but they were abstruse and intended for only their own Paṇḍit class. The common people were excluded from that cultural exchange. The Paṇḍits themselves could understand the Vedas. But along with the class of priests, they were adverse to bring them into the forum of the market place, perhaps believing that with the removal of the halo of mysticism that sorrounded them, the sense of sanctity would disappear and the Vedic learning would be exposed to corruption. Jñāneś-var took the right view in the matter; and off and on throughout his work, the *Jñāneśvari,* he justifies his use of the Marathi for writing a commentary on the *Bhagavad Gītā.* The way being thus made clear, his example was followed by succeeding saint-poets one after another. This revolt marked the beginning of what may be called the first part of the Renaissance in Marathi.

The social conditions of Mahārāṣṭra being nearly uniform from the downfall of the Yādava Kings of Daulatabad to the rise of Shahaji and Shivaji, the literature of the period also shows a uniform character. But towards the end of the Bhamani Kingdom with the rise of Shivaji, Marathi literature took a new turn. Mahārāṣṭra was stirred up with a new political life. Spiritual contemplation gradually fell into the background. Doing and daring came to the front. Shivaji set the example of revolt, and it was followed by the young contemporary generation, who shared his hope for getting back *Hindavi Svarāj,* and was therefore also prepared to share in his war-like activities. The marshal spirit of the Marathas was re-invoked, and the mountain tops, as well as the glens of the Sahyādri Mountain, were humming with echoes of military movements and the clash of arms. These conditions of social life naturally led to the rise of ballads—a kind of oral versified literature—which the uncultural masses loved to sing at village fairs and gatherings. This literature was in vogue all the while during Maharatta rule at *Rayagad, Satara* and *Poona.*

Side by side with ballads were composed and sung the *Lavanies* which means lyrical love songs. They were not short unicellular verses like sonnets, but extended over several stanzas. Their theme was revelry and love, both sentimental as well as practical. Love songs were neither composed nor sung nor listened to by the learned classes of the time. In fact they looked down with scorn upon

ballads, the chief enjoyment of the rural population, who could not understand and enter into the spirit of the spiritual lore, whatever efforts were made up by the *Purāṇiks* (sedentary preachers) or the wandering peripatetic *Kīrtankārs.* To the brave and the war-like soldiers an allowance is always made for indulgence in amorous activities, and the *Lavanies* arose out of the expression of the grateful sentiment.

And yet all the while prose writing was invisible. Of course prose alone holds the field so far as common conversation is concerned. It appeared also in formal writings such as deeds of gift or donation, letters of authorities, Government orders, and correspondence between private people, merchants, etc. News letters were in vogue, and these afford some very good specimens of contemporary Marathi composition. But all these writers were not conscious in a literary sense that they were writing prose literature. It was a case of Jorden saying to the professor in Molier's drama—*The Shopkeeper Turned Gentleman* —" upon my word, I have been speaking prose for these forty years, without being aware of it, and I am under obligation to you for informing me of it."

Conscious literary prose was born in Mahārāṣṭra in the early years of the nineteenth century. The occasion was the opening of schools, in which secular education might be given, and also English might be taught as a gateway to the vast region of the English literature. Owing to their contact with the English, the leading men in Mahārāṣṭra were already impressed with the literary taste and devotion to learning on the part of the foreigners. But when these put down the Maratha rule and took upon their shoulders the responsibility for guiding and training the future public life of the people in Mahārāṣṭra, it was only to be expected that English language should make its appearance as a welcome interpreter of western learning even in schools, which already contained classes for teaching the different Sanskrit S'āstras.

And now was realized the second part of what may be called the Renaissance in Mahārāṣṭra. It had a two-fold aspect. It meant new orientation in cultural ideas owing to acquaintance with western learning. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the new spirit was confined only to the galvanization of the Maratha intellect by western culture. For there arose also a spirit of inquiry into the unfathomed stores of Sanskrit learning itself; and the demands of this

spirit required that vernacular Marathi be the language of interpretation as between the old and the new. The Sanskrit *Paṇḍits* voluntarily turned, or were induced, to use Marathi for imparting learning to the new generation. Models of English text-books were taken up and copied for graded classes in schools. The attempt was made for the first time to introduce the budding mind to physical sciences which were gaining ground in the West. Traditional authority was pitted against the lessons of reason and intellect. And positivist thinking began to gain ground. The world of things mostly remains the same. But while things, that are entirely novel, naturally prove most attractive, the mind begins to look even at old things from a new angle of vision. The Bombay University came into being about the year of the Mutiny; but while the Mutiny was put down, the University abides to this day, and is also likely to give birth to new Universities, either regional or cultural. And the vernacular languages will have a full swing. The modern Marathi literature dates back only to about 1870 so that the whole history of that new Marathi literature extends over only about three quarters of a century. But during this period most of the departments of standard literature have been opened, and also activity is shown in the field of research following the methods of European Universities.

The present tendency of Marathi literature lies in the direction of realism and rationalism. The following words of a high literary critic can well be applied to the modern or rather the up-to-date Marathi writer:

" He does not state, he alludes. He does not teach, he indicates. He does not integrate, he disintegrates. He does not attempt to solve, he merely dissolves. Such is the effect on the modern writers of the emergence of the public, which is too diffused and too sceptical to be convinced by any general formula. The modern writer is driven away from the general towards the particular. And the reader who does not always possess the clue to his experience is often disconcerted and sometimes definitely at a loss. The writer's sole preoccupation is to convey for his own pleasure, and for the pleasure of those who share his conception of life, such forms as seem to him significant. Modern writers are inspired by the egoistic impulse. He cannot deal in token currency. He is forced to deal in kind. His medium of exchange is his own experience."

13-E. MALAYALAM

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By Dr. C. Achyuta Menon, B.A., Ph. D. (London),
Head of the Malayalam Department, University of Madras

Brother Delegates,

I am profoundly thankful to the Local Secretary, Sri Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar for the honour he has conferred upon me in asking me to preside over the Malayālām Section of the Conference. At the same time I have to tell you that you have missed the chance of listening to a worthier person who was to have occupied this Chair according to the original arrangement. Sri A. Gopala Menon, M.A., B. Com., whose reputation in the Academic world is well-known to you found himself at the last moment unable to come owing to his official pre-occupations as Director of Public Instruction, Travancore. Our Local Secretary whose resourcefulness is proverbial at once called on me to fill the gap. He is to me as to many others in South India an Ācārya. A disciple has no option, but to obey his preceptor and so I readily responded to the call without worrying myself whether I am equal to the task it entailed. This explains why I am in the position you see me today. An invitation from a person of Sri Rangaswami Aiyangar's eminence and age is a mandate to younger men like me and the responsibility of meeting an emergency due to the unavoidable absence of Sri A. Gopala Menon who is like a Kārnavan to me rendered my acceptance of the invitation an imperative duty.

Coming as this session does after the one held at Trivandrum, whose distant echo I heard even in London two years ago, with the memories of the antiquities and curiosities of Keraḷa still fresh in the minds of many it is too soon for the Conference to forget Keraḷa and

its culture which by the way, I may observe, deserves an All-India recognition. I may even venture to say that the organizers of this Conference must be credited with a better sense of proportion than the average historian of South India in whose scheme Malabar is nowhere as a separate entity. Not that isolated existence and conception will bring any material advantages to us, but that the treasures of knowledge accumulated through centuries should not be lost sight of through wilful neglect. Either in scholarship or literary production or artistic achievement Keraḷa lags behind no other linguistic division of India. Bhāsa's works were first discovered in Keraḷa where *Silappadhikāram,* the famous Tamil classic had its birth. Sometimes our South Indian historians condescend to accommodate us in a corner of the Cera Empire whose headquarters according to our tradition was at Tiruvañcikuḷam, and according to some of them at Vañci Karūr in Trichinopoly. Though our friends are not prepared to give the town its due status and prestige its importance which finds distinctive mention in ancient Greek and Roman chronicles and in Tamil classics like *Silappadhikāram* can hardly be minimized. We just now witnessed a regular warfare between scholars from Malabar and Tamiḷakam on this issue. Whether the controversy will reduce an ancient town into oblivion lying unnoticed in a far off place, or enhance its reputation in future history it will depend upon the champions who present the case on either side.

OUR ANCIENT CULTURE

The *Kathakaḷi,* in recent times has turned the search light of the world into Malabar and given the general impression that the tract of land that has produced such a vigorous idealistic art must have after all had a history of its own and a message to the world at large. The value of a culture is not dependent on the numerical strength of its coteries but its intrinsic worth. Sparta and Athens still live in human memory through the pages of their history. Their cultural reputation has far outgrown their territorial limitations. The military life of ancient Sparta bears a family resemblance with the material traditions of Nayars whose affinities with the cultural heritage of the Greeks are striking to a degree. The administration of the Kūṭṭams in which representatives of people and not kings once looked after the affairs of

Malabar reminds one of the City-State system of Athens. In one of his recent letters to me Mr. Percy Macqueen, I.C.S., who has developed a passion for the Ballads and Folklore of Keraḷa, has sent me an extract from a book [1] describing (century work in English) the Roman pantomine at the time of the Emperor Augustus. Let the extract speak for itself:

" The mimetic performances on the Italian stage are remarkable. The mimi seem generally to prefer tragedy or melo-drama and certainly they 'tear a passion to rags,' as none but Italians could. Nothing to them is impossible. Grief, love, madness, jealousy, and anger, convulge by turns. Their hands seem widely to grasp after expression; their bodies are convulsed with emotion, their fingers send off electric flashes of indignation; their faces undergo violent contortions of passion, every nerve and muscle become language. They talk all over from head to foot."

Need I add that this description can be easily applied to Kathakaḷi actors' dexterous dance and hand movements and the death scene enacted on a Kathakaḷi stage.

It is hard to believe that these affinities are mere coincidences. It looks as though the broad sea and land that now divide these two spots of the world were not once so vast and their people had closer contact between them and mutual borrowings and loans between their cultures were not in common. But the diversities that are apparent in their modern outlook and environment induce us to look upon a statement of the kind I have ventured as something fantastic. But the facts are there and it is for modern research to turn its light on this subject and discover the missing links.

THE NEED FOR A CENTRAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM IN KERAḶA

This reminds us of the urgent necessity of a Central Library and Museum for the whole of Keraḷa where materials indicating the various stages of our cultural evolution must be collected, preserved and kept for use for scholars. Our President in his address yesterday argued the case for a Central Library and Museum for the whole of India. I would wholeheartedly support the proposition with this reservation.

[1] *Rob Di Roma*, By William W. Story, Chapman and Hall, 1863, Vol. I, p. 196.

My own view is that such an object can be achieved satisfactorily only after establishing similar institutions at centres representing different cultural and linguistic units of India. The value of such institutions is proclaimed as he pointed out by the British Museum of London where you can get materials for research on any conceivable subject on the face of the earth. Even Malayalam scholars need not be ashamed of going there. All our relics from Tōṟṟampāṭṭu to Tippu Sultan's sword are there. The India Office Library, London, is another such institution where a good collection of Indian manuscripts and antiquities await the attention of Indian scholars.

SOUTH INDIAN CULTURE

Coming to the province of language, I may remind you of the theory which Dr. Caldwell advanced half a century ago that the Dravidian languages bear Scythian affinities which they have managed to maintain in spite of the irresistible influence of Indo-Aryan languages. Indian writers have in recent times endeavoured to show that the theory requires reaffirmation in a reverse form making South India the centre from which culture radiated to the Mediterranean and other regions of the world. When identical conditions are found in different countries it is not easy to determine their priority. But the geological evidence furnished by Professor Sahni in his Presidential Address at the recent Science Congress held at Madras[1] in which he has proved, on unimpeachable grounds, that South India is one of the oldest fragments of the earth, seems to favour the latter view which was first suggested by the eminent scholar Prof. Sundram Pillai. With the endorsement of the scientists whose materials have an advantage of those supplied by the historians in that they can give us something more tangible than conjectures—the theory is gathering momentum and South India and its culture are gaining an importance[2] in the cultural evolution of mankind which the historian of a generation ago was not prepared to admit.

I am glad that the Chairman of the Reception Committee emphasized this aspect in his address.

[1] January, 1940.

[2] Vincent Smith's picture of Ancient India originally contained no reference to South India. The situation changed when it was revised several years later.

This is an epoch—making remarkable development which is going to affect the outlook on India and its culture, which was till now dominated by Sanskritic traditions. I have no quarrel with them. They present only one side of the picture and the other side should not be ignored. While in England, Dr. L. D. Barnett the eminent Orientalist used to tell me that whenever westerners think of India their attention is absorbed by the vast output of literature produced on Hindustan and its legendary wealth while they know very little of the South which seems to have an earlier and longer lease of life in the evolution of mankind. But workers in that field are few and far between. Mr. Ramaswami Iyer, the specialist in biblical history suggested to me many coincidences, in place names in Europe and India which call for investigation. I do not propose to pursue the point further, as I have hardly time, but I would lay particular stress on the fact that South India's cultural history, when properly written, will revolutionize many of the accepted theories and conclusions about India's past that are now considered as final in many quarters. The field affords ample material for study and it is open to the scholars engaged in various aspects of the subject to tackle the problem once for all in a true academic spirit and raise the region below the Vindhyas and South of Tirupathi in the realm of scholarship which has often a tendency to colour historical truth. It is particularly appropriate that the question is being pushed to the forefront in this historic place which was for several centuries an important centre of learning and religious zeal and formed the northern boundary of Tamiḷakam. We will invoke the blessings of Lord S'rī Veṅkaṭācalapati to show us the right way in the problems we are engaged in considering.

THE PLACE OF KERAḶA'S CULTURE

On this background of South Indian antiquity our province deserves an honoured place. Our claims for such a recognition are by no means insignificant. The greatest philosopher of India S'rī S'aṅkarācārya is a son of Keraḷa. Solomon's ships first visited our shores. Our sandal wood found its way even to the town of Carthage which the Romans destroyed. Our language finds a place among the few in which the miraculous cure effected by Jesus Christ

on a paralytic patient is recorded in the holy city. Our Mother Kāḷi with her terrific aspect which we draw in a coloured relief on the floor is among the finds of Mohenjo Daro. At any rate, the similarity is remarkable and has not so far been traced elsewhere. In modern times when Portugese planned an adventurous trip to India it is the Calicut City that they first thought of.

Our Marumakkattāyam in which men and womem are given equal status in society though a puzzle to the anthropologist, still bears positive evidence of enlightenment and progress. It is an anomaly and an ideal at the same time. Though the system is considered antiquated in certain quarters, those who follow it are the most progressive communities of Malabar. The earliest form of Vedic culture is found among our Nambudiries. Our simplified marriage ceremony which has led some to characterize it as ungodly and unhuman still produces the happiest relationship between men and women. Our medical system with its special features like Navarakkizi, Uziccal, Piziccal, are gradually finding their way for special attention among outsiders who once realized only the efficacy of our black magic and witchcraft. Our Astrologers advance a similar claim. With all these, our true history is yet to be written. Our tolerance brought us trouble from without and our individualism born of excessive passion for personal liberty flourished under the old party system of Kūṛus created disharmony within. The new dispensation found us out of our moorings deserted by friends and foes alike. A knowledge of our past is therefore, essential to make us realize what we were.

A General Survey of Problems—Sanskrit Tradition

Let us now have a brief survey of what we have done in this respect. In the field of history as I have already indicated we have not begun to stand on our own legs. Our origins are still obscure. We are still swayed by two traditions which provide no common link between them—one Sanskritic and the other Tamilian. The first takes us to the realm of pure mythology giving the reins to Paras'urāma, the Brahmin warrior of old. There is hardly time for me to examine the question in detail, but I should like to invite your attention to one or two important aspects of the problem. Paras'urāma of mythology is

an interesting figure. He is unique in many things—the first among Purāṇic heroes to kill his own mother at the command of his father. In the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* he figures as the enemy of Kārtavīrya and the reclaimer of Gokarṇam from the sea when it was submerged in it owing to the digging of the earth by Sagara's sons. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* he appears as a champion of Vaiṣṇavic prowess and faces Dās'arathi Rāma with his Vaiṣnava bow. There he is discomfited and retires to Mahendra mountain for penance. Mr. Saletore in his *History* of *Karṇāṭaka,* chapter I, p. 10, claims him as the founder of the Tuḷuva kingdom and suggests that the local traditions obtained there about Paras'urāma bear some affinities with those current in Keraḷa. Our *Keraḷa Mahātmyam* weaves out another elaborate story about Parasurama's reclamation of Malabar from sea in expiation of his sin resulting from the extirpation of the Kṣatriya race. He does it at the instance of S'iva whom he approached when Brahmans to whom he made a gift of his land asked him to leave the territory which was no longer his. S'iva took pity on the poor hero who in spite of his valour had no arguments against the Brahmans and were obliged to go a-begging for an abode for himself. Suddenly he becomes almighty, hurls his maze from Gokarṇam which falls at the Cape of Comorin—probably the Cape is already there to receive it—and the sea in between recedes. The land thus reclaimed is Keraḷa. Apart from the incongruities inherent in these legends, there emerge from them two Paras'urāmas—one who retired to Mahendra and the other who was responsible for these miraculous deeds. Gokarṇam forms the common bond between the Karṇāṭaka and Keraḷa legends, but their settings are different. Again after the reclamation Paras'urāma made a present of Keraḷa to Brahmans—having not grown wiser after his first experience—The tradition thus makes Brahmans, the original inhabitants of Keraḷa. The question then arises what about the Nayars, Ezuvas, and the lower classes, who claim a much earlier pedigree according to historical accounts. The Paras'urāma problem thus bristles with all sorts of improbabilities and calls for a thorough re-examination. (I have already prepared a brochure on the subject.)

It may also be mentioned in passing that geological research confirms the theory that Keraḷa was under water for some time and upheavals have taken place in two or three distinct stages before it assumed its present configuration. Even in recent times land formations

have been noticed in the neighbourhood of Cochin and Vaṛkala. We shall leave the question at that, for the time being.

TAMIL TRADITION

We shall now proceed to analyze the Tamil Tradition. Here we are not in the land of imagination but on *Terra firma.* We have some solid facts to go upon. Only in their interpretation more light has to be thrown. *S'ilappadhikāram*, which is supposed to have been written by Ilan-ko-aḍigal, brother of Ceran S'enguttuvan, Cera Emperor, has its own contribution to make to the elucidation of our history. Tiruvañcikuḷam is believed to be his capital. There are differences of opinion *re.* its identification. But it is presumed on the authority of this work that Keraḷa was under the reign of the Perumāḷs at the time. But if the capital is transferred to the East Coast the theory may have to undergo some modifications. Apart from that our Tamilian historians are relieved to begin the history of Keraḷa with the Perumāls presuming that before that period Keraḷa was no separate province and only a part of Tamiḷakam. Even the language was Tamil. They are not prepared to enquire what the indigenous traditions of Keraḷa and its folklore have to say, in the matter, which give a glimpse of the pre-Perumāḷ period of the Kēraḷa history. The story of our Māmāṅkam tells us that the election of a Perumāḷ from outside to the Māmāṅkam Chair was the outcome of the internal disputes among the different parties that guided the politics of Keraḷa. An outsider was expected to be above party politics. When the Perumāl was from the neighbouring kingdom of Coḷa and Pāṇa and Cera they were called Coḷa Perumāḷ, Pāṇḍi Perumāḷ and so on. The last mentioned seemed to have its connection with the West Coast the longer we have a number of Ceramāns. If the honour is conferred on a son of the soil he is only a mere Perumāḷ which means only a big man or overlord. Perumāḷ period came to an end with the beginning of the Malayalam Era, that is 825 A.D. Even as early as the second century A.D. Ptolemy mentions Keraborthos to distinguish Malabar sovereigns with the kings of Tamiḷakam. Here the Tamil tradition is in conflict with that of Keraḷa.

The study of our folk-lore leads us also to the same conclusion. The *Ballad* relating to Aromalcevakar which is the earliest so far

discovered gives us a picture of ancient Keraḷa where kings had no place and the assemblies of peoples with Nāṭuvazhia as their presidents conducted the affairs of the country. In this connection, I wish to lay emphasis on the importance of the study of folklore and ballads, in their relation to history. Modern scholars have a tendency to ignore them as unworthy of their attention. But they fail to realize that in them we have something of our own unencumbered with the inhibitions of sophisticated intellect. Our customs and manners are described as they are, without comments, or embellishments and our emotions are placed in their natural setting and colour. I do not deny that there may be exaggerations in them when they deal with heroes of uncommon prowess but their general trend is reliable and true to nature. We see in them human beings of flesh and blood with their joys and sorrows, loves and jealousies which are often within our experience and as such we can take a personal interest in them. They mark the stage in man's life when he begins to interest himself in the affairs of his society of which he is a part and endeavours to emulate the example of those who have made their mark during their brief existence. Their value as a true record of human activities is therefore, invaluable. Says Mr. Brimpley Johnson.

"The ballad may be called the most human form of literary expression. It is fundamentally a song of the peoples, evolved by instinct before writing became a conscious art, when the singer, with little or no thought of self, spoke not in his own person but for mankind.

" Its direct and primitive appeal is universal," from the Skioldung who clad in scarlet, wields the sceptre, to the peasant who breaks the clod with his plough, " and though too often temporarily forgotten by those busy about culture or material progress, has survived throughout all time."

" Because, moreover the Ballad is at once simply human in feeling and intensely national in form and phrase ; it provides endless material to students of the nature of man and the origin of race. Variations of one tale in many lands are a part of history."

The anthropologist and historian can hardly afford to ignore folk-lore preserved in ballads. But it is this fertile field that they are persistently ignoring. My friend Mr. M. D. Raghavan whose paper we will be reading in one of our meetings, is an exception to this. Historians are still fighting shy of it.

You will thus realize that in the field of Keraḷa history particularly in its early period considerable work has to be done and the materials are awaiting for the historian and the language scholar. The field is vast and requires the co-operation of a band of scholars and research workers.[1]

Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon has done a good deal of spade-work but much remains to be done. He has confined his studies to foreign sources. In this connection I would urge that the three Governments under whom we are as three political divisions should consolidate their resources and found a common institution to carry on systematic investigations on the lines indicated.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND EPIGRAPHY

In the fields of Archæology and Epigraphy in which there are separate departments for the States as well as the British governed tracts, co-operation is easy and bound to be fruitful. Archæological departments of Travancore under the able guidance of Mr. R. V. Poduval and Cochin are both doing good work. The question of Tiruvañcikulam which has raised a controversy in recent times comes within the purview of the latter. Malabar being but a small slice of of the Madras Presidency receives but scanty attention from the Department of Archæology which has its headquarters at Delhi and provincial headquarter at Madras. I may invite their attention to the ruins at Panniyur, Ponani Taluq, S. Malabar, where the S'aivites and Vaiṣnavites fought a battle royal, 1000 years ago for its possession. Relics of the foundations of old temples in which all the Gods of Keraḷa once had their habitation are still to be found. Here is a site which the Archæology department may explore with the sure prospect of unearthing an enormous yield which is expected to throw considerable light on the various epochs of Keraḷa history. The place was once in charge of the Nambudiri priests whose quarrel called for the interference of the Nayar chieftains who ultimately restored order. But the temples and the Deities therein never came back to their own. S'aivism won a victory there and the Varāhamūrti's (Boar-incarnation) idol was thrown into the neighbouring tank which

[1] Brimpley Johnson, *Introduction to Ballads of all Nations*, Translated by George Barrow, p. xvi.

is still held sacred by the people of the locality on that account. There is still a proverb that "the temple of Panniyur will never be completed" as the different factions once existed there never allowed the work of construction to continue uninterruptedly for a reasonable length of time. Excavations at Panniyur I am sure, will give considerable work to epigraphists.

OUR LITERATURE

I may now pass on to our literary field which again has two distinct schools of thought—one the classical school that pins its faith on the method pursued by the Sanskrit critics and rhetoricians. Anything that is not after their model is anathema to them and they do not recognize its merit or value. The other school, which may be called after the English fashion the romantic school, despises everything that has a classical colouring. It is gratifying to learn that so early as the 13th century the author of the *Līlātilakam* (edited by the famous scholar S'rī Altur Krishna Pisharoti) who may be called the grammarian of Maṇipravāḷam, felt the necessity of drawing a distinction between the Sanskritic mixture and the indigenous literature by styling the latter as Pāṭṭu and the former Maṇipravāḷam. It is a pity that even after six centuries of progress our scholars are unable to take a similar balanced view. They are at their wit's end to analyze Ezuttaccan's pāṭṭus. Kathakaḷi and Tuḷḷal do not follow any model prescribed by the Sanskritists. We are thus left without a genuine school of criticism in Malayalam which takes stock of the genius of the language and its people and proceeds to examine its literary production according to the peculiar features portrayed in them. The late Mr. P. K. Narayana Pillai, B.A.,B.L., ex-Judge, was a pioneer in the field whose studies on Cerusseri, Ezuttaccan and Nambiyar are fine specimen of literary criticism in Malayalam. He combined classical learning and modern critical outlook and showed that a blending of both is in the interest of sound criticism in Malayalam.

A word in this connection about the linguistic test that is applied to Malayalam works when discussing their date will not be out of place. The usual method is to relegate it to the earliest period where there is a preponderance of Tamil words. When Sanskrit takes the place of Tamil they are assigned to the middle period.

Where the two are well balanced it is stamped with modernity. According to this method *Eravikuṭṭi pillai pāṭṭu* and *Rām-caritam* can be ascribed to the first period as the language employed is more or less the same as they belong to the South Travancore where the language is practically Tamil. In *Unninīli Sandeśam* we come across big Sanskrit compounds as well as pure Tadbhāva forms which according to the above method can be assigned to two different dates. Some of Keraḷa Varma's works which abound in Sanskrit combinations can be easily dated several centuries ago. While contemporary records and ballads available in Central and North Keraḷa, such as the chronicles of Zamorins etc., are comparatively free from Tamil or Sanskrit influence. The ballads of North and South Malabar are in pure Malayalam. The test is therefore defective. The language of a work may be taken therefore as an index of its author's predilections or the place of its origin. The variety of literary forms in Malayalam only suggests the various influences it was subjected at different period of its growth and it is their background that has to be investigated in deciding the question of their dates.

Limitations of time and space prevents my elaboration of the topics which I have alluded to further. Some of the papers that are going to be read here will throw more light as bringing forward more details. I shall therefore conclude with a reference to another important aspect of research which should receive the adequate attention of scholars. I mean the field of comparative study particularly in philology and traditions. I have already observed that South Indian Culture and its peculiar features are now engaging the attention of modern scholars. It is now embedded in the four main languages of the Presidency, *viz.*, Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese and Malayalam. Unless the common features and affinities of these languages are thoroughly studied, our knowledge of South Indian Culture cannot be complete. A comparative vocabulary is therefore a desideratum. We in our University have taken up the work and we hope to follow it up with another on their grammatical affinities which will be a continuation and an extension of the pioneer work done by Dr. Caldwell.

CONCLUSION

I shall now conclude my general survey in which I have been able to deal with only a few outstanding problems. It is only in

recent times that research in South Indian Languages is being undertaken. They formed a sealed work till now except to the small coteries of scholars working in their respective fields. At this stage errors are bound to occur but they will disappear as we progress and gain new experience. South Indian Antiquities form a mine that is bound to yield enormous treasure of knowledge, if properly explored.

We are gradually getting over the general apathy towards our own languages both among ourselves and authorities. With the dawn of nationalism we have begun to feel the pulse beat of a new spirit and love our mother-tongue more than ever. This is fully shared by Malayalam along with her sister languages. Our poetry and prose and art are surging with this new life and showing symptoms of restlessness and revolt which mark the inward urge for freedom and expansion. May this new enthusiasm continue to inspire us for further efforts and take us to the desired goal to the glory of our motherland is my ardent prayer.

13-F. HINDI

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

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GENTLEMEN,

It is a matter of regret that Dr. Dhirendra Verma, who was elected president of this section, could not come owing to considerations of health. He would have been an asset to the Conference and would have, of course, guided the deliberations of this sectional meeting more successfully than I can hope to. That knowing this full well you have elected me to take his place, makes me sincerely grateful to you.

The fact that the Conference is being held in a place which is so distant from the Hindi-speaking tract and yet so near Tiruvananta-puram the birth place of the King-poet S'rī Rama Varma of Keraḷa known as *Garbha S'rimān* who composed melodious songs of rapturous beauty in Hindi also, gives the honour you have done me, an added value in my eyes and makes me more grateful. Though the Garbha S'rīmān who was born in 1815 A. D. belongs to the beginning of the modern age, the fact of his being a Hindi poet, reminds one of the great appeal that Hindi made in the olden times to some people of practically all parts of the country. In the present we are only talking of Hindi as a medium of interprovincial communication but in the past it had in some measure really become one. According to D. C. Sen, ' Hindi had already grown to be the *lingua franca* of all India ' in the early Moghul period.[1] In Gujarat of the medieval times, to use the words of K. M. Jhaveri, it " was the recognized language of

[1] Sen, *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, p. 600.

the cultured and the learned."[1] It was a prevalent fashion there to compose verses in Hindi. Even Premānand (16th century) who on the admonition of his Guru, strove to create high class literature in Gujarati, began his literary life by composing verses in Hindi and directed his son Vallabha to follow the spirit of Hindi while writing Gujarati.[2] In Mahārāṣṭra such worthies as Cakradhar, (said to have flourished in the 13th century), Jñānes'var and Nāmadeva who flourished in the fourteenth century and later, Ekanāth and Tukā Rām considered it worthwhile to occasionally address to the Lord of their love and adoration the outpourings of their heart in Hindi.[3] Even Ibrahim Adil Shah (Acc. 1637 A.D.) of Bijapur composed his work on music entitled *Nava Rasa* in Hindi. Muhammad Kuli Kutub Shah (reign 1519-1550 A.D.) of Golkonda, said to be the first poet of Dakkani Hindustani, preserved pure Hindi in some of his poems. But *Brajabuli* which D. C. Sen calls the ' thoroughly Hindiized form of Bengali " and in which many poets composed beautiful songs, is the highest tribute to the spirit of Hindi. Govindadās's poems in this beautiful mixed language could do honour to any literature.

But Hindi could not have attained this popularity in non-Hindi parts of the country, if it had no great literature of its own and no message that would appeal to the whole people, to deliver. Indeed, the greatness of our old literature is recognized on all hands. Not only Hindi, but the whole of India prides in Sūrdās and Tulasidās. But the regrettable fact is that the whole range of our ancient literature has not come to full light. The fact is that the world is so much with us and we are so engrossingly living in the present, that we pay only lip service to our past. We rightly realize the necessity of giving encouragement to the new and rising literature. But it is hardly realized that the ancients, who have given their best to us and have thus deeply laid the foundations of the present in the past, have to be brought before the world before the substantial realization of the glory that was Hindi's in the past, can come. The searches being conducted by the Nagari Pracharini Sabha, show that there is no dearth of material. Only a fraction of our literature has yet seen the light of day. The rest is lying in manuscript form, and if it is

[1] K. M. Jhaveri, *Milestones of the Gujarati Literature*, p. 66.

[2] *ibid.*, p. 125.

[3] *Kosotsava Smārak Sangraha*, N. P. Sabha, Benares, pp. 92-98,

not rescued early, most of the precious material will be irretrievably lost, as some has already been lost. As an instance in point, I may mention only two of such works: the *Hajara* of Kalidās Trivedi and the *Gosain Carita*, a life of Tulasidās by Benimādhavadās. We know from the authority of Siba Singh Sengar himself that, they were in existence in his time. But now they are little more than mere names recorded in his *Saroja*. The library of Siba Singh Sengar at Kantha, Unnava, U. P. which must have been a rich one, as is clear from the *Siba Singh Saroja*, is said to be in danger of destruction. And the same may one day come true of the MSS. in the possession of private individuals or even of public bodies.

The need of the hour is, therefore, twofold : firstly, to collect the MSS. at centres where they can be protected from the ravages of the forces of destruction and made easily accessible to the researchers and secondly, to get them gradually published.

We have got some MS. libraries with public bodies as well as private individuals. Those with the former can very well be made the nuclei for bigger libraries. I may in this connection mention the Royal Asiatic Society library, the Āryabhāṣā Pustakālaya of the Nagarı Pracharini Sabha and the Sangrahālaya of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. The possessors of such libraries—most Darbars in the Rajputana, Central India and other tracts possess them, as do many Upastrayas and Bhandars—will be doing good to the cause of research, if they bring out catalogues of their MSS. and conduct their libraries on modern lines.

The other and no less, perhaps more, important work is to get all the works that are and may be coming to light, published under good editorship. A periodical publication on the lines of the *Bibliotheca Indica* exclusively devoted to the publication of ancient Hindi literature, would be the best medium for the purpose.

Of course, these are huge undertakings and will require plenty of resources. But where there is will there always is a way, and if public bodies connected with Hindi take up the work in right earnest, they will find that the heart of man is always sound and never lets right causes die for want of support.

This twofold activity is necessary for facilitating the study both of language and literature. It will, even though the ancients, owing to the absence of voice-recording devices in ancient times, cannot be

brought in person to speak for the benefit of the linguist, open the whole field of observation that can be available for studying the behaviour of sounds, their association with sense and other cognate matters so far as Hindi is concerned, and will make it possible to follow the course of development the written language underwent during successive stages in its various subdivisions.

It will also lay bare to us the heart of Hindustan as it throbbed through successive centuries since the rise of Hindi as a literature, because the Madhyades'a or what is now roughly the Hindi speaking tract has been the centre of most of the cultural activities swaying the couutry. It will thus enable us to evaluate the contribution of the Hindi literature to the general culture. We will also be in a position to construct a complete history of the Hindi Literature. At present we can only claim to have an acquaintance with its main currents. But some of the ripples that they occasionally broke into, the under-currents that they hid underneath and the cross-currents that were thwarted by or engulfed in the main currents and were causes of complications, have not been fully detected, owing to the inaccessibility to the necessary material.

As an instance in point, I will draw your attention to one such subcurrent of the Hindi Literature which may be termed as the Nirañjan current of Hindi Poetry.

As is evident from the name, the Nirañjan current is also a spiritual current like the Siddha, Nātha and Nirguṇa currents. I have got in my possession extensive Banis of Haridās, Turasidās and Sevadās Nirañjanis. I have also collected a few poems of Khemaji, Kanhardās and Mohandās. And Manohardās, Nipat Nirañjan and Bhagvandās have been mentioned in the Siba Singh Saroja, Grierson's *Modern Vernacular Literature*, various search *Reports* of the Nagari Pracharini Sabha and the *Mis'ra Bandhu Vinoda*. The extensive Banis of the first three in my collection give the sure impression that they form a sub-current and the poems of the others help to confirm the impression.

Raghodās, the Dadupanthi author of the *Bhaktamal* (completed in 1770 V. S. or A. D. 1713), a work written on the model of Nābhadāsa's work of the same name, and to fill the gaps left by the latter, gives some information about the Mahants of the Nirañjan Sect. He has mentioned twelve Nirañjani Mahants, and they include Haridās. Turasidās, Khemaji, Kanhardās and Mohandās mentioned above.

Of these, Haridās appears to be the earliest author. Raghodās makes him the disciple of Prayagdās, whom he, again according to Ragho, left to enter the sect of Gorakhnāth. Sundardās who held Prayagdās also in great respect and knew him personally [1] mentions Haridās as one of the great Gurus [2] like Gorakhnāth, Kantharnāth and Kabīr, which precludes the possibility of his having been initiated at the hands of Prayagdās. The way in which Sundardās has made the mention, even suggests that he may have been earlier than Dadu (born in 1544 A.D.) and supports Jagaddhar Sarma Guleri according to whom Haridās composed a number of works between 1520 and 1540 A.D. He is known as Hari Puruṣa in his sect.

Guleri gives the following list of his works—

1. Aṣṭapadī yoga Granth,
2. Brahma Stuti,
3. Haridās Granth Mālā,
4. Hansa Pramoda Granth,
5. Nirpakha Mūla Granth,
6. Raga Gunda,
7. Pūjā Joga Granth,
8. Samādhi Joga Granth and
9. Sangrāma Joga Granth.

In my collection I have got his *Sakhis* and *Padas*.

Haridās resided in Didwana. Raghodās is very loud in his praises of him. He calls him one who had no hopes (निरास), had extinguished all desires and was always in communion with God in his heart, whom he had pleased by thought, word and deed.

But he also appears to have been short of temper. Ragho speaks of him as Har himself in wrath (हर ज्यूं कहर). The commentary further speaks of him as having visited Pipali, Nagore, Ajmere, Toda and Amer where he is said to have performed various miracles.

He pays homage to both Gorakh and Kabīr, both of whom had evidently through their *Banis*, influenced him, and considers the former to be his Guru.

[1] *Sundar Granthāvali*, Intr., p. 78.

[2] कोउक गोरष कूँ गुरु थापत कोउक दत्त दिगंबर आदू।
कोउक कंथर कोउक भर्थर कोई कबीरा के राखत नादू॥
कोउ कहै हरदास हमार जु यूँ करि ठानत बाद विवादू।
और तु संत सबै सिर ऊपर सुन्दर के उर हैं गुरु दादू॥

—सुन्दरविलास, १, ५

At another place, he mentions him as one of the famous saints fighting the battle of Spirit against forces of evil—

अंगद भुबन परस हर दासा ज्ञान गह्यो हथियार रे॥

He was a vigorous writer and levelled trenchant criticism against the Siddhas and the Jains. He sang the glory of God who to him is both Nāth and Nirañjan.

Like Haridās, Turasidās was also a voluminous poet. I have got in my possession a huge collection of his Bani containing his Sakhis to the extent of 4202 couplets, Padas 461 in number, four small compositions called Granthas, namely *Granth Cau akṣari*, *Karaṇi San Jog Granth*, *Sadh Sulachan granth* and *Granth Tatva guṇabheda* and a few s'lokas and s'abdas.

He was a well-read man. In the different Prakaraṇas of his *Sakhis*, he has given detailed and sustained discourses on different topics concerning Bhakti, Yoga and Jñāna. Indeed, he was a great Bhakta but he was at the same time also a great exponent of the Nirañjani's philosophical outlook, spiritual aspirations and mystic practices. Turasidās was to the Nirañjanis, what Sundardās was to the Dadu panthis. Raghodās has rightly spoken of the excellence of his *Banis*.[1] It is also possible that Ragho in speaking of his Bani meant his voice rather than his compositions. The verb ल्याये हैं (has brought) supports the latter interpretation.

According to Ragho, he had attained the knowlege of Reality and withdrawn his heart from everything else.[2] Deed is the thing that shines at Turasi's place,[3] he says. His place of residence was Serpur.

An MS. of Tursidās's Bani which has been noticed in the course of the search conducted by the Nagari Pracharini Sabha, contains also a copy of इतिहास समुच्चय transcribed by one Turasidās, the disciple of Udhodāsa's disciple, Lāldās in 1745 V. S.[4] If this is in Turasi's own hand, and there is nothing which would go to prove that it is not, we get the time of his flourishing. Raghodās refers to him in the present

[1] तुरसी जु वाणी नीकी ल्याये हैं।

[2] तुरसी पायो तत्त आन सों भयो उदासा।
तुरसीदास पायो तत नीकी बनि आई है।

[3] राघौ कहै करणी जित सोभित देषौ है दास तुरसी कौ अषारौ

[4] इति श्री महाभारथे इतिहास समुच्चये तेंतीसमों अध्याय। ३३। इति श्री महाभारथे संपूर्ण समास। संबत् १७४५ वृषे मास कार्तिक सुदि ७ बार सनीवासरे। नगर गंधार सुथाने सुभमस्तु लिषतं स्वामी जी श्री श्री श्री श्री १०८ ऊधोदास जी को सिष्य स्वामी जी श्री श्री श्री श्री १०८ श्री श्री लालदास जी को सिष्य तुरसीदास बाँचे जिसको राम राम॥

tense. He must have been old enough to have attained such a great fame as a man of spiritual enlightenment. This also does not make his having transcribed a portion of the *Mahābhārata* in 1745 V. S. improbable. This makes him a junior contemporary of the famous Tulsidās.

Mohandās, Kanhar and Khema were also good poets and show considerable grasp of spiritual knowledge. All the three were Mahants —Mohandās at Devapur, Kanhar at Chatsu and Khemdās at Sivahadi. Kanhardās was so great a saint that Raghodās considered him a partial Avatār. According to him, Kanhar had gone beyond the pale of the organs of sense, had conquered taste and took as food only what he got in alms. Though he was highly revered, he did not even get a hut erected for himself. He was much given to singing of the praises of God (अति भजनीक). Ragho also thinks that he caused all who kept him company to be released from bondage (संगति के सबही निस्तारे). Of course, all the three flourished before Raghodas (1770 V. S.)

Sevadās is, again, a voluminous Nirañjani poet. My collection of his Banis comprises 3561 Sakhis, 402 padas, 399 Kundaliyas, 10 small granthas, 44 Rekhtas, 20 Kavittas and 4 Savaiyas.

He was a direct descendant in the spiritual line of Haridās Nirañjani. We have fortunately the *Sevadas paraci*, purporting to be a sort of versified biography of Sevadās in existence. It was written by his disciple's (Amardās's) disciple Rūpadās in V. S. 1832 on the twelfth day of the dark half of Baisākh. According to Rūpadās Sevadās died in the year 1798 V. S. on the first day of the dark half of Jyeṣṭh and Kabīr was his Satguru. The *paraci* is full of miracles which need not detain us.

Bhagavandās Nirañjani, a disciple of the Naga Arjundās composed *Prema Padārath*, *Amritadhārā*, *Bhartṛhar S'atak Bhāṣā* the *Gītā Māhātmya* (1740. V. S.). *Kārtika Māhātmya* (1742 V. S.) and *Jaimini As'vamedha* (1755 V. S.). The dates given above within brackets are given in the books themselves.

Nipat Nirañjan was according to *Siba Singh Saroja* born in 1650 V. S. Siba Singh considered him as great a saint as the famous Tulasidās. It is possible that Siba Singh based the assumption regarding the date of his birth given above, on the date of composition given in one of the two books in his possession. Siba Singh had two of his books, *S'antarasa Vedānt* and *Nirañjan Sangrah* in his possession. The first is still in the possession of a successor of Siba Singh.

The last pages of it are now missing. *Sant Sarasi* often attributed to him in histories is a mistake for Santarasa Vedānta, which had crept into the *Siba Singh Saroja* itself, at least as it is printed (Saroja, p. 438).

Manohardās Nirañjani wrote *Jñānamañjari Jñāna Vacan Cūrṇikā* and *Vedānta bhāṣā*. The first was composed in 1716 V. S.[1] and the last also perhaps thereabouts.

All these poets gave vent to their spiritual aspirations and achievements in songs unadorned by artificial devices, whose simple beauty is very impressive. Some of them whose extensive Banis I have read claim to have reached the highest peak of spiritual enlightenment by merging their individual being in the Universal Being. The path that led them to this height, is just like the Nirguṇis' path, a backward journey. The outward flow of mind which creates the world, the circumstance that limits our real unlimited nature, has to be withdrawn and made to flow inwards. The process of *sañcāra* has to be turned into *prati sañcāra*, so to say, before the final salvation can come. It is therefore that Haridās went in for making the river flow back to its source,[2] and recommended the backward path to the traveller intending to reach Truth.[3] Sevadās requires one to ***dive back*** if one wants to gradually go beyond the pale of the three guṇas, the organs of sense mind and speech and have the acquaintance of the invisible God within.[4] And Turasi says, when one turns within, then alone does the aspirant become aware of the (spiritual) path.[5]

This backward path of the Nirañjanis is mainly, a path of Yoga vitalized by intense love and devotion. The whole occult technique of the Nirguṇis is present in them. They aim at finding the Suṣumnā between the Iḍā and piṅgaḷa where the successful aspirant hears the Anāhatanāda, has the direct vision of the Nirañjana and drinks through the Bank nali in the S'ūnyamaṇḍal the spiritual elixir.

[1] संवत सत्रह सै माही वर्ष सोरहे माहि ।
वैशाख मासे शुक्र पक्ष तिथि पूनो है ताहि ।

[2] उलटी नदी चलाणैंगे ।

[3] उलटा पंथ संभालि पंथी, सति सवद सतगुरु कहै ।

[4] सहजि सहजि सब जाहिगा गुण यंद्री मन बाणि ।
तूं उलटा गोता मारि करि अंतरि अलख पिछाणि ॥

[5] जब उलटा उर माँही आवै तब भल ता मध (? ग) की सुधि पावै ॥

The thread that constantly joins them with Truth,[1] is the remembrance of name, the *nāmasmaraṇa*, in which yoga and love join hands. It is a loving remembrance in which the aspirant's whole being has to join accompanied at the same time with what is called Trikuṭi,—Bhṛukuṭī-or-Triveṇi-abhyāsa, and what approximates to the Bhrūmadhya dṛṣti of the *Gorakṣa paddhati* and the *Gītā*. This practice which involves the Surati or inward attitude, the mind and the breath at the same time, has been referred to by the Nirañjanis over and over again. The highest stage in the practice is reached when with every inspiration and expiration of breath the name is automatically repeated, and the whole being of the aspirant becomes a continuous prayer.

The love element in the Nirañjan poetry is no less pronounced than the yoga element. The senses submit to no forceful suppression. It is only by making them drink of love that they can be brought under control. Haridās takes the careless aspirant to task for not doing so.[2]

In order to merge in the Universal Soul, the individual soul has to be filled all over with an intense and all-consuming love of the devoted wife to her lord, which urges complete self-surrender without wishing for any recompense and compels acceptance.[3] They have all poured out the woes of their heart like wailing wives suffering the pangs of separation.[4]

[1] सुमिरण डोरी साच की सतगुरु दई बताय—सेवादास

[2] पाँच राषि न पेम पीया दसौं दिसा कू जाहिं ।
देषि अबधू अकलि अन्धा अजहूँ चेतै नाहिं ॥

[3] मैं जन बाँध्यों प्रीति सू ॥
निकट बसौ न्यारा रहौ एक मंदिर माहिं माधवे ।
कै मिलि हौ कै तन तजौं अब मोहिं जीषण नाहिं माधवे ॥
प्राण उधारण तुम मिलौ ॥
अबला मनि व्याकुल भई, तुम क्यों रहे रिसाह माधवे ।—हरिदास
सुरति सुहागणि सुन्दरी, बस्यौ ब्रह्म भरतार ।
आन दिसा चितवै नहीं, सोधि लियौ करतार ॥—सेवादास

[4] हरिदास—
अंतरि चोट विरह की लागी । नष सिष चोट समाणी ॥
तुरसीदास—
कोउ बूझौ रे बाँभना जोसी कहि कब आवै मेरा राम ।
विरहिनि झूरै दरस कूँ जिय नहिं विश्राम ॥

It is this element of love that according to Turasidās, should be the vital part in every spiritual path. With it every path is true and conversely, without it every path devoid of essence.

Of their direct ineffable experience, too, which at the successful end of the spiritual journey, comes upon one like a blinding torrent of effulgence and stays on after stabilization (or jarna) like a cool flickering light, and which seems to resolve all apparent contradictions and is itself expressed in contradictory terms, they have the same things to say as the Nirgunis. The Guru joins the light (within him) with the lights of endless suns, says Haridās Sevadās sees the flickering light in the Trikuti. The spiritual experience is like the flash of lightning without clouds, like playing on the Vīṇā without hands and like rain without clouds, in the words of Sevadās. It is like the deaf hearing the secret talk not involving mouth (tongue), the lame climbing the tree where the one having feet cannot climb and like the blind seeing the light, to quote Turasidās.[1]

In all things spoken above, there is similarity between the Nirguṇis[2] and the Nirañjanis. It is therefore that Raghodās speaks of them as having the same attitude of mind as was Kabīr's. But inspite of this he has treated them as a class apart without counting them among the Nirguṇis like Kabīr, Nanak and Dadu. And the

ज्यूं चात्रिग घन कूँ रटै पीव पीव करै पुकार ।
यूँ राम मिलन कुँ विरहिनी तरफै बारंबार ॥
प्रम भक्ति बिन जप तप ध्यान रुखे लागैं सहत विग्यान ।
तुलसी प्रेम भक्ति उर होय । तब सब ही मत साँचे जोय ॥
अनंत सूर निकट नूर जोति जोति लावै ।
नैना माही राम जी झिलमिल जोति प्रकास ।
त्रिपुटी छाजा बैटिकरि को निरषै निज दास ।
बिन घन चमकै बीजली, तहाँ रहे मठ छाय ।
हरि सरवर तहाँ बोलिए जहाँ बिण कर बाजै बीण ।
बिन बादल बर्षा सदा तहां बारा मास अखंड ।

[1] बहरा गुझि बानी सुनै सुरता सुनै न कोय ।
तुरसी सो बानी अघट मुष बिन उपजै सोय ॥
पंग उठि तरवर चढै सपगै चढ्या न जाय ।
तुरसी जोती जगमगे अंधे कूँ दरसाय ॥

[2] For the Nirguṇis' viewpoint see Barthwal, *The Nirguna School of Hindi Poetry*, Indian Book Shop, Benares.

reason appears to be that even with all this similarity there is some dissimilarity between the two.

Kabīr carried war against the gross forms of worship and condemned the iniquities of the social order of the Hindus outright. The Nirañjanis also oppose idolatry, Avatār-worship and rituals as methods to be followed by them to attain salvation. But they also held a complacent attitude towards them as forms of worship to be followed by the ordinary people who are evidently not supposed to have such high spiritual aspirations as the Nirañjanis. It is therefore, that Haridās has instructed his disciples to worship Govinda without being either inimical to the temple or in love with it.[1] Turasi sees the imageless in the image also, though as an argument for rising above it, and considers *ācār*, the formality of ritual etc., to be of some redeeming value after all.[2] They consider the Varṇāsram, to use the words of Turasi, an attribute of the body and not of the spirit, but do not appear to entertain any wish to stand in antagonism to the traditional social discipline, though they do want that the world should live like a universal fraternity and no distinction of caste and creed should be made the basis for the distinction of high and low.[3]

This attitude places the Nirañjanis by the side of the earlier saints like Rāmānanda and Nāmadeva. The latter bent before the image of Viṭṭhoba to address his prayers to the invisible God.[4] The former who declared the images and the *tīrthas* to be mere stones and

[1] नहिं देवल सूँ बैरता, नहिं देवल सौं प्रीति ।
किरतम तजि गोविंद भजौ, यह साधौ की रीति ॥

[2] मूरति में अमूरति बसै अमल आतमाराम ।
तुरसी भरम बिसराइ कै ताही कौ लै नाम ॥
जाकै आचार हूँ नहीं, नहीं विचार अहलेस ।
उभै माहिं एक हु नहीं तौ धृग धृग ताकौ वेस ॥

[3] तुरसीं बरणाश्रम सब काया लौं, सो काया करम कौ रूप ।
करम रहत जे जन भये ते निज परम अनूप ॥
जन्म नीच कहिये नहीं जौ करम उत्तम होय ।
तुरसी नीच करम करै, नीच कहावै सोय ॥
जनम ब्रह्मन भये का भयौ करम कृत चण्डार ।
बहुरि पिंड परैं होयगा सुद्र घरहु अवतार ॥
हिंदू तुरक एक कल लाई, राम रहीम दोइ नहिं भाई ॥—हरिदास

[4] Farquhar, *Outlines of Religious Literature in India*, p. 300.

water, is said to have prescribed the worship of Sālagrām. It is this tendency, perhaps, that made Bhagvandās, a later Nirañjani to compose works like *Kārtika Māhātmya* and *Jaimini As'vamedha.*

It is probable that it was through Rāmānand that both the love and yoga elements came to the Nirañjanis. They are present in the works of most of his disciples like Kabīr, Raidās and Pipa for which the common source must be seen in the Guru. This view is supported by poems like *Jñāna-tilak* and *Jñāna-līlā* attributed to Rāmānanda as also by *Siddhānta-paṭal.* According to this last work, in the *upades'a* given by Rāghavānanda to Rāmānanda, yoga certainly features.[1] In Mahārāṣṭra, legends connect Rāmānanda with the Nāthpanthi family of Jñānadeva, and Udhhava and Nayan who call themselves Nāthas, trace their origin to Rāmānanda through his disciple Anantānanda.

As for the love element, we would not have been able to understand what in reality the *das'adhā-bhakti,* of which according to Nābhāji all the twelve disciples of Rāmānanda were abodes, is, but for the clear explanation of it found in the *Bani* of Turasidās Nirañjani which it would not be out of place to give here in brief.

Turasidās has in this explanation, given to the names of the nine aspects of the Saguṇis' *navadhā-bhakti* a new content in keeping with the absolutist outlook of the Nirguṇis and the Nirañjanis. Thus besiders *s'ravaṇa*[2], *kīrtana* and *smaraṇa*[3] which can easily be fitted to the absolutist attitude, *pāda sevana*[4] is the mental service to the feet of the effulgent Lord residing in the Hṛdaya-lotus, *arcanā*[5] is seeing

[1] शब्द सरूपी श्री गुरु राघवानन्द जी ने श्री रामानन्द जी कू सुनाया भेरे भंडार काया बाढ़ त्रिकुटी अस्थान जहँ बसे श्री शालिग्राम । अमर बीज मंत्र १७ ।

[2] सार सार मत श्रवन सुनि, सुनि राषै रिद माहिं ।
ताही कौ सुनिबौ सुफल, तुरसी तपति सिराहिं ॥

[3] तुरसी ब्रह्म भावना नाम कहावै सोय ।
यह सुमिरन संतनि किया सार भूत संजोय ॥

[4] तुरसी तेज पुंज के चरन वे हाड़ चाम के नाहिं ।
वेद पुराननि बरनिए रिदा कँवल कै माहिं ॥

[5] तुरसी प्रतिमा देखि कैं पूजत हैं सब कोय ।
अदसि ब्रह्म कौ पूजिबौ कहौ कौन विधि होय ॥
तुरसीदास तिहूँ लोक मैं प्रित्मा (प्रतिमा) ओंकार ।
वाचक निर्गुन ब्रह्म कौ वेदनि बरन्यौ सार ॥

the image of OM in the whole universe, *bandan*[1] is to consider the Sādhu, Guru, and the Lord as one and to salute them, *dāsya*[2] is the disinterested service of Hari, Guru and Sādhu, *ṣakhya*[3] is not the proud feeling of equality with God but the feeling of friendly affinity with Him engendered by the belief that all attitudes lead to Him, and *ātma-nivedan*[4] is the spirit of humility. This is said to be the navadhā-bhakti which leads to *nivṛtti* as opposed to the navadhā-bhakti leading to *pravṛtti*[5]. Adding to it the *Prema*[6] state which is the crowning result of and the justification for, going through all the above nine aspects, we have the *das'adhā* of Nābhāji.

Within the short time at my disposal, I have attempted to place before you, among other things, only a bare outline of the contribution made to the Hindi literature by the Nirañjanis. I need hardly say, it was saints such as these, the ṣincere outpourings of whose heart enriched the Hindi literature in no mean measure that helped to make Hindi in mediæval times, the language of spiritual communion in North India. No tribute paid to their sacred memory can be too high.

[1] तुरसी गुर गोविंद संतनि विषै, अभिन भाव उपजाय ।
मंगल सूं बंदन करै तो पाप न रहई काय ॥

[2] तुरसी बनै न दास कूं आलस एक लगार ।
हरि गुर साधू सेव मैं लगा रहै यक तार ॥
तुरसी निहिकामी निज जनन की निहि कामी होय सोय ।
सेवा निति करयौ करै फल बासना जु षोय ॥

[3] बराबरी को भाव न जानै । गुन औगुन ताकौ कछू न आनै ॥
अपनौ मिंत जानिबौ राम । ताहि समरपै अपनौ धाम ॥
तुरसी त्रिभवन नाथ कौ, सुहृत सुभाव जु एह ।
जेनि केनि ज्यूं भज्यो जिनि, तैसें ही उधरे तेह ॥

[4] तुरसी तन मन आतमा करहु समरपन राम ।
जाकी ताहि दे उरन होहु छांडिहु सकल सकाम ॥

[5] एक नौधा निरबरति तन एक परवरति तन जान ।
तामैं अति कन रूपनी ताका करहिं बषान ॥

[6] तुरसी यह साधन भगति तर लौं सींची सोय ।
तिन प्रेमा फल पाइया प्रेम मुक्ति फल जोय ॥

With the discovery of fresh material, many other so far unknown currents will gradually come to light. Even the discovery of individual authors will go to show the richness of the currents they belong to, and through them, of the literature as a whole.

In the end I thank you, gentlemen, for the patient hearing that you have given me.

For the Presidential Address of Section 13-G. **Urudu** *please see CONTENTS.*

14. MODERN INDIAN LANGUAGES—NON-LOCAL

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

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THE STUDY OF MODERN INDIAN LANGUAGES

I HAVE to express my grateful thanks to the Selection Committee for electing me once again to the honour of presiding over the Modern Indian Languages Section of the present session of the All-India Oriental Conference. I wish some other student of Indian Linguistics had been chosen who could bring a freshness of outlook and a more exacting scholarship in the treatment of the subject; but the insistence of a number of friends in various branches of Indology prevailed upon me to accept once more the chairmanship of this section, the last but not the least important department of investigation into the culture of India. The study of Modern Indian Languages is gradually assuming an importance which was not contemplated for them a couple of decades ago, thanks both to the scientific interest of the linguistic investigators on the one hand and to the growing sense of provincial patriotism on the other which is one of the immediate offsprings of the Federation Idea and which is creating an atmosphere everywhere in favour of the various modern Indian literary languages, each in its own area. The great literary languages—Bengali, Oriya, Urdu, Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, Telugu, Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam—have always had some recognition in the school and the law-court; the universities are now taking them up, and already the movement for setting up the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction and examination is well under way, some universities like that of Calcutta having already established Indian Modern Languages for teaching in the class-room and for

using in answers in examinations, and most universities in India having made provision for the study of literature in the Indian Modern Languages in the college and for their higher investigation in the post-graduate stage. Indian Archæology and Epigraphy have benefited largely through the organized endeavours of the *Archæological Survey of India*. Indian Modern Languages, in their scientific study, received the greatest impetus from what was mainly a one-man endeavour,—*viz.*, the *Linguistic Survey of India*, inaugurated and completed after labours extending over more than a quarter of a century by Sir George Abraham Grierson, whose official position and whose uncommon enthusiasm for the subject of his choice received the willing co-operation of numbers of collaborators, European and Indian, collecting materials for him from languages and dialects belonging to the four linguistic families found in India from time immemorial—the Austric, the Dravidian, the Indo-Aryan and the Tibeto-Chinese. Sir George Grierson has been enabled through a close study of his materials to give for the first time a correct linguistic atlas of India: the disinterested scientific attitude shown in the *Linguistic Survey of India* is unfortunately lacking to-day, particularly among Indian politicians; and it looks as if it will take a long time to have a worthy successor of Sir George Grierson's linguistic maps and his figures for the various languages and dialects. The elder generation of scholars, pioneers in the field of linguistic investigation in India, have long passed away—John Beames, Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, A. Rudolf Hoernle, Bishop Caldwell, A. Kittel A. Trumpp, and others:; only Sir George Grierson is still with us. Jules Bloch and Ralph Lilley Turner who represent the second generation in this field of research are still inspiring Indian workers in the field, who have so far been ploughing lonely furrows. But from these Indian scholars we have received a number of monographs on specialized languages, like Eastern Panjabi, Awadhi, Brajbhakha, Konkani, Bengali, Assamese, Bhojpuriya, some of the dialects of Kashmir, and a few more, which present before the world the first fruits of Indian scientific endeavour in this line.

The number of scientific workers in the field of Indian Modern Languages is slowly on the increase. By "scientific workers" we are to mean such investigators as possess the right historical perspective and the correct sense of linguistic development, combined with

the ability to collect facts and to arrange them in their proper relation to each other. The scientific mind is the logical mind, and the logical mind in linguistic investigation cannot ignore any of the various factors visible or invisible which affect language. Language is both a physiological and a psychological phenomenon, and the physiological expression of language in its phonetics and phonology should form the basis of all linguistic study. This fact is gradually becoming more and more accepted by the new generation of workers and students in India. A proper training in Phonetics is now becoming recognized as an essential equipment for a linguistician; and this attitude is bound to improve the quality of our work in the study of Indian Languages, while it will open up new vistas in the development of speech in India, when Phonetics takes its proper place in recording the facts of the spoken languages and dialects. What is wanted is greater facility for the Indian student and future investigator into language for studying this vitally important branch of Linguistics, which up till now has not been started to be regularly taught in both its theoretical and experimental sides anywhere in India. Lahore inagurated the study of Experimental Phonetics for the first time in India, and Poona comes as the second: the Experimental Phonetics department started by Dr. Firth at Lahore has been kept in abeyance for some years past after his return to England, and the one started at the Deccan College in Poona by Dr. Katre has not yet began to work.

The line of demarcation between the strictly scientific "linguistician" and the scholar (particularly when he is a native speaker of the language) with some general knowledge and a good grasp of the language and literature is a very wide and a hazy one. They are bound to be mutually complementary. In any case, the materials gathered by the scholar who is not a linguistician are indispensable. The lexicographer, the grammarian of the old type, the editor of old texts, the commentator, the collector of proverbs and dialectal and other special terms, the technical writer, the compiler of encyclopædias, the folk-lorist who gleans in the field of popular literature —all these are doing as much service for the study of a language and the culture that is behind it as the scientific historian of language on the one hand and the maker of creative literature, *viz.*. the poet, the novelist or the general literary man on the other. They supply the bases upon which the superstructure of scientific linguistics can be

built. We have for the greater languages of Modern India quite a mass of material of this type. Foremost among these, would be the dictionaries and the texts. For these, there has been a considerable amount of individual enterprise supplementing the work done by societies and institutions like the Vangiya Sahitya Parishad, the Nagari Pracharini Sabha, the Gujarat Vernacular Literature Society, the Tamil Sangam, the Bharata Itihasa Samsodhaka Mandali, the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu, the Kamarupa Anusandhana Samiti and other institutions. Some important lexicographical works completed or progressing can be mentioned: the second edition of the Bengali dictionary of the late Janendramohan Das (this very useful work now gives over a *lac* of words, and the author's lamented death shortly after the publication of the second edition we all mourn), the Bengali lexicon of Pandit Hari Charan Banerji of Santiniketan (progressing), the Oriya trilingual lexicon of Rai Bahadur Gopala-chandra Praharaj (progressing) the *Candrakānta Abhidhān* in Assamese (complete), the Hindi *S'abda-sāgar* (complete some years ago), the *Tamil Lexicon* of the University of Madras (complete), the Marathi lexicon now being published from Poona, the Sinhalese dictionary (in the course of publication from Colombo Museum), and similar other works. It is understood that a lexicon of Panjabi is in the course of preparation at Lahore under the auspices of the University of the Panjab. Progress in at least lexicography and in the editing and publication of texts old and new can very well be expected, now that most of the Indian universities have decided to become centres for the fostering of the Modern Indian Languages. Calcutta has taken the lead in this matter, and Dacca, Allahabad, Mysore, and other universities have also come forward.

The inclusion of Modern Indian Languages in the curricula of the various Indian universities, and the avowed or implied aim of the Indian universities to develop into strictly regional institutions employing the local languages as their proper media of instruction and examination and giving them their proper dignity as the mother-tongues of their students and alumni in all spheres of university life, is fraught with great implications for the future of both their scientific study and their development as instruments of human thought and emotion. Bengali, Hindi, Marathi, Tamil and the rest, employed upto the highest courses in the universities as English now is, whether for

study as a discipline in literature or for linguistic investigation, would mean a greater and greater intensification of scholarly and scientific attention paid to them: and this from the point of view of the Indian Languages and Modern Indian Culture is as it should be. The exalted and scientific atmosphere of the university alone can counteract or transform extra-university amateurism. Promise of this desirable state of things is already in evidence everywhere—of an express desire to cultivate the Modern Indian Languages both as modern vehicles of expression and as expressions of Indian civilization.

It has been truly said that the English school and the English university gradually created a twofold caste among the literate or educated classes in India—the caste of those who read English, and that of those who do not. In the initial stages of the spread of English education in the different provinces of India, the new learning in English was as new wine in the old bottle of Indian society, and the cleavage between those who got intoxicated with this wine and those who did not taste it or scorned to taste it was as sudden and violent as it was profound. Bengal has passed that stage some eighty years ago: a few of the other provinces are in the midst of its throes still. But gradually it has been a victory—a victory which had to make large concessions—of the *Zeitgeist*, naturally enough, symbolized by English literature and the European mind. The old learning in Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic had to patch up a peace with the new learning in English; and the Indian mind with its Sanskrit or Persian background had to put forth its best energies to convert the world of European culture into a comfortable enough if not always a very happy abode for itself. The Modern Indian Languages gradually came to discover as affording the inevitable meeting place of the old and new. This discovery was made in Bengal during in the first half of the last century, and the mind of English-educated Bengal was so much elated at the value of this discovery in the second half of the same century that the brilliant Bengali literary renaissance of the last century was achieved. Assimilation of European (that is, modern) thought and culture is the key-note or the mainspring of this literary renaissance in Bengali, and it has had (or is having) its parallels in the other languages also; and among certain groups or coteries at the present day in the various parts of India, the more 'advanced' mind of Europe in matters relating to life and art is acting as too strong a

stimulant to keep them contented with a steady or slow assimilation—it is causing them to feel impatient, to make an absolute and a whole-hearted surrender to it. On the ideological plane we are now conscious of diverse and frequently conflicting tendencies and movements.

Be it as it may, it is now abundantly clear that the English-educated *Intelligentsia* of India have taken up the Indian Modern Languages. Politics with its new orientation towards the needs of the masses (which has been Mahatma Gandhi's greatest contribution to it) has encouraged and strengthened this attitude. The recognition (and in some cases even exaltation) of the Indian Modern Languages by the universities is symbolic of this. Another great symptom of the new feeling for the Modern Languages of India is the formation of an Indian P. E. N. Association in which all the Indian-languages are represented. Poets and Playwrights, Editors and Essayists, and Novelists, using the Modern Indian Languages, are seeking to form themselves into an All-India *Bund* or Union for a closer knowledge of what is going on in the literary life of the different areas in the local tongues. The bulletin of the *Indian P. E. N.*, in its sixth year in 1940, has been doing very useful work in the direction of both 'vulgarization' and collection of general information regarding doings in the literary world of the Indian Modern Languages which can be put to scientific use. It has for some time been attempted to start a journal which was to be a sort of a clearing house for the contemporary literary output in Indian languages, and the Indian P. E. N. has arrived at the opportune moment: its English medium is a link, both among the educated in India and between India and the outside world.

I should mention in this connection the work that is being done by the *Linguistic Society of India.* Founded in 1928 at Lahore, it has never had more than a dozen active members who so far have been able to bring into existence a *Bulletin* of its own devoted to Indian Linguistics. The Bulletin is continuing its good work, and the redaction of it has been transferred from Lahore to Calcutta last year (1939). With adequate support from those interested in the scientific study of Indian languages, ancient, medieval, or modern, the *Bulletin* can hope to be the main authoritative organ for the publication of linguistic research and recording in India.

Mention also is to be made of the publication, in 1938, of Dr. Baburam Saksena's work on Awadhi, which will certainly become a classic of its kind in Indian Linguistics. It has been offered to the public in a most delightful *format*, apart from the wealth of accurate information it presents; and we can very well congratulate the public, the author and the printers for this erudite and well-got-up work.

The future looks full of promise: although what we have achieved so far is after all not very much. We have been able to give fairly comprehensive accounts of some of our Indo-Aryan mother-tongues, and to trace along the orthodox pathway of Old Indo-Aryan, Middle Indo-Aryan, and New Indo-Aryan—of *Sanskrit*, *Prakrit*, and *Bhāṣā* —the main facts of their evolution: in the case of the Dravidian languages, lacking the earlier back-grounds comparable to Prakrit and Sanskrit, there has been a greater ground for speculation. The paucity of properly-trained investigators, who have assimilated the modern spirit in linguistic research in its more important branches and who can benefit by the work of European continental scholars, is of course the main reason for our comparative poverty of achievement in this science. We have been rather late in the field: the science which India can claim as her very own, because she was one of the first peoples to achieve notable results in it, attracted the attention of Indian intellectuals long after Europe and America had raised its magnificent structure. Added to this, our average educated person has not yet become alive to its importance. It has so long been a neglected subject, an unwelcome hanger-on in the language courses. It was not looked upon as a subject of any national value, like, for instance, the physical sciences. Very few Indian universities has given to Linguistics (or Comparative Philology) an independent status. Now the situation promises to change for the better. But we are not as yet sufficiently strong in numbers, nor in the sense of any great success achieved. We have been trying to assimilate modern methods of linguistic study, following in the footsteps of our European masters who have raised the edifice of Modern Linguistics and are both embellishing it with towers and strengthening its foundations. India has not yet to her credit any epoch-making discovery in Modern Linguistics, either in its general side or in the study of the evolution of any linguistic family connected with her—Indo-European, Dravidian, Austric or Tibeto-Chinese.

When this is achieved, we may claim that our period of apprenticeship is over. We who belong to the present generation of apprentices trained in European *guru-kulas* in the meanwhile express our gratitude and our admiration for the science as well as the human sympathy of our masters. We have still to look for guidance to Europe while we are making our advent in a field of work which is ours than anybody else's by right of birth. We have the means to know our Indian languages from within, with all the minutiæ of detail which a foreigner not to the manner born can never hope to attain. When we can combine with this the broad view of science, when we can supplement the special with the general, the study Linguistics in India can then be said to be well-established.

The foundations of Modern Indian Linguistics have been truly and properly laid by Bhandarkar and Beames, Hœrnle and Trumpp, and Lyall and Grierson, who belong to the first generation, and by Tessitori, Jules Bloch and Turner of the next. The broad lines have been laid down. Now is our first work—to supply accurate materials, phonetic and morphological, from the various forms of spoken Modern Indian Languages. Such work has started, from centres like Lahore and Jammu, Calcutta and Allahabad, Poona and Mysore, and Madras and Cochin. The detailed survey of Kannada dialects forming a sort of *Linguistic Survey of the Mysore State* which I understand has been started by the University of Mysore under the able guidance of Professor A. N. Narasimhayya, is an example which should be followed by other Indian Universities which have in view the scientific study of the languages in their territories. There is a great deal of pioneer work going on in various places, of a varying quality, though sincere and often quite painstaking, in the better known or lesser known dialects, like Garhwali, Maithili, Bhojpuriya, Bengali in its various forms, etc., besides more mature work. Quite hidden things, often quite unexpected in their character, are being revealed. New problems are occasionally presenting themselves, making the situation quite intriguing.

Professor Jules Bloch in his masterly survey of the general history of Indo-Aryan (*L'Indo-Aryen*, Paris, 1934) has indicated a good many of these problems. There are problems for OIA. and for MIA., both kinds of which are equally problems for NIA. In consciousness of most Indians, there is a common Indian type which has

evolved out of a welter of races: a common Indianness in most vital matters of life and culture. This appears to be clear in the sphere of language also. Syntactical agreement goes deeper into the being of speech than lexical or morphological agreement which can be very well on the surface only. And this syntactical agreement is a link which has gradually forged itself binding both Aryan and non-Aryan speeches together. The gradual approximation of Aryan and non-Aryan (Dravidian, and Kol or Munda) is perhaps the most important fact which requires to be studied in the domain of Indian Linguistics.

Among the knotty problems of Indian Linguistics, Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Kol (Munda), the following are a few that can be mentioned. In *Phonology*, the question of vowel length in normal speech and in versification; Accent, Stress, and Pitch; the Glottal Stop; the Aspirates and their Recursive Pronunciation, and the connection of Tone with this; the development of a New Stage in the history of Indo-Aryan,—a Quaternary Stage, through under-articulation of consonants. (Similar modification of consonants has brought Tamil on the verge of a new stage in its development, phonetic and morphological). In *Morphology*, the problems appear to knit together Aryan and non-Aryan very closely. The grammatical categories of Old Indo-Aryan gradually change, and the change is along the lines of Dravidian, and of Austric also to some extent. This, and the etymology and of non-Aryan elements in Indo-Aryan, have both some basic connection which goes back to the days of Aryan and non-Aryan impact in the OIA. and MIA. periods. The very intimate character of racial and cultural mixture in India makes the history of Aryan and non-Aryan very closely interlinked. The line of research started by Kittel and Gundert for Comparative Aryan and Dravidian Linguistics has been supplemented by the brilliant investigations of Jean Przyluski and others in resolving the question of Austric and Aryan culture-contacts resulting in linguistic inter-mixture. Professor R. L. Turner in his monumental *Nepali Dictionary* (1931) has given some 450 "Indo-Aryan Reconstructions," which are of words in OIA. and MIA., "of non-Indo-European, uncertain or unknown origin." These have been mainly reconstructed from current NIA. words, making Nepali the basis. One of our immediate tasks should be to supplement this list with fresh materials gathered from the other NIA. languages, and to go into the question in detail once

again. It is to be seen how far these words represent Indo-Aryan (Indo-European) speech-material, and how far they are non-Indo-European. There should a detailed phonological reconnaissance, particularly with regard to the relation between forms with dentals and those with cerebrals (is it likely that in the non-Aryan elements absorbed by Indo-Aryan in the OIA. and MIA. periods there was an alveolars series of dentals indifferently modified into cerebrals and dentals—thus making a postulate allowable that some non-Aryan dialect or speech-group, like Assamese, dialectal Gujarati and other forms of present-day Indo-Aryan speech, possessed alveolars only, and no separate dentals and cerebrals ?), and with regard to the vowel elements. Professor Turner's Comparative Etymological Dictionary of New Indo-Aryan which he took up in connection with the *Linguistic Survey of India* is eagerly expected, as this work (the first fruits of his labours in this direction are already presented in the *Nepali Dictionary*) will supply for all workers, for some time to come a solid basis on which they will be able to start further work.

The process of dissolution of Old Indo-Aryan through the leaven of non-Aryan appears from all aspects to be a vital question. It has its appeal not only to the mere 'linguistician' or the student of language, but also to the anthropologist, the historian, and the 'religiologist' or student of religion.

A reference in this connection is necessary to the affiliation proposed by Hevesy Vilmos (Guillaume de Hevesy, Wilhelm von Hevesy), the Hungarian scholar, of the Kol (Munda) languages to the Ural (Finno-Ugrian) branch of the Ural-Altatic group. The Austric Family of Languages established by Pater Schmidt is definitely dissociated by Hevesy from the Kol (Munda) languages of India, which are explained as a modified form of an ancient Finno-Ugrian speech which came to India in the wake of a prehistoric invasion or immigration. Hevesy has propounded his views in a number of books and monographs in German and French, and recently Dr. B. Bonarjee of Budapest has given *resumés* of these in some of the Indian oriental journals. This proposed affiliation if found to be correct will add another racial, linguistic and cultural complexity to the already complex origin of the Indian people. Hevesy has approached the subject not only from linguistics but also from anthropology and comparative culture-study. His linguistic arguments have not yet been thoroughly

examined by any linguistician equally at home in both Kol (Munda) and Finno-Ugrian: and until that is done, it will be best to reserve our opinion on the matter. We can for the present continue to take note of the lexical and morphological agreements between Kol (Munda) on the one hand and the other Austro-Asiatic languages and their Austronesian cousins on the other, in those non-Aryan elements in Indo-Aryan which cannot be traced to Dravidian.

I have just indicated the situation for the Modern Indian Languages—it has not much changed during the last few years; and I have no new or striking point to disclose in the evolution of Indo-Aryan, much less of Dravidian, or Austric, or Tibeto-Chinese. The general nature of the problems of Indian Linguistics should be widely known and appreciated.

There is another matter connected with the Indian Modern languages—that of a National Language for India. The necessity for a common National Language has been felt as the natural corollary of the creed of a Single and Undivided India. This creed is not a mere subjective conviction—it is based on the great objective fact of India forming a distinct geographical and cultural as well as a political unity, notwithstanding wide and far-reaching provincial diversities, which are the results of the variance in proportion of the constituent pan-Indian racial and cultural elements. A common national language India found in pre-Muhammadan days in Sanskrit, which has become through its intimate connection with the life of the land the vehicle as well as the symbol of the characteristic culture of India. For the last 2,500 years at least for the whole of India, and for 3,000 years at least for Northern India, Sanskrit has been the main language of culture for Indians. As the official language of Muhammadan states in India, Persian became to a very limited extent the culture language also for Northern India and for the Deccan, particularly among the Moslems of foreign antecedents.

English now has largely overshadowed both—but while Sanskrit remains undisturbed in its own domain of Hindu religion and philosophy and Hindu religious life, Persian is being slowly put to the background—especially when with the sense of an Islamic revival a greater stress is being put on Arabic. But it is not likely that Arabic will ever attain to the importance of Persian in the cultural life of India, in spite of the natural sentiment of the orthodox elements in the

Islamic world in India in its favour: it is too foreign, while Persian shares certain common Aryan characteristics with the Indo-Aryan languages. English now has a four-fold prestige in India—it is the official language; it is the language of higher education and consequently the natural language of intercourse among educated people; it is the vehicle of science and of all advanced knowledge not available within India; and it is the great vehicle of world culture, a window through which light and air can come from the outside. No Indian language dead or living can stand before English when all this is considered. English has permeated down to the masses in the towns of Dravidian India, particularly in the Tamil-land.

Side by side with English, we have Hindustani, or, to use the widely current Indianized form of the name, 'Hindusthani' which implies a slightly more Sanskritized form of it. It is in a simplified form the common language of conversation among the Aryan-speaking masses of Northern India who cannot use English. Nationalist India has taken its stand on the wide intelligibility of Hindustani (or Hindusthani), not only in Northern India but also in the more important Hindu pilgrim centres and among Muhammadans of North Indian origin in the South. There is no doubt that Hindustani (Hindusthani) is the Representative Modern Language of India, understood by over two-thirds of the Indian people. This position of Hindustani (Hindusthani) is the result not only of historical and political conditions extending over centuries but also of the expanding or colonizing power of the common people of the Upper Gangetic Valley (U. P. and Bihar) and the Panjab who have carried this language with them. Two facts restrict the power of Hindustani (Hindusthani): it is a great *Umgangssprache*, a 'circuit language' or widely understood colloquial speech, or a *Verkehrsspraehe*, a language of common intercourse or exchange, no doubt; but it cannot be described as a *Kultursprache*, a language which brings higher culture with it: the people who speak it (or, rather, 'dialects immediately related to it) or use it cannot be regarded as culturally superior to the speakers of other languages—its present-day output in literature is not at all superior to or more extensive than that in some other Indian languages; and secondly, it has unfortunately been split up into a Hindu form and a Muhammadan form which are now very hard to reconcile. Even the most ardent supporter of Hindustani (Hindusthani) would not suggest that it can take

the place of English as a *Kultursprache*, and it would be long indeed before Hindustani (Hindusthani) could aspire to be the vehicle of a pan-Indian culture, much less of a World Culture; like English. When we speak of a 'National Language, a *Rāṣṭra-Bhāṣā* or a *Qaumī Zabāu*, we should understand clearly that there is no modern language in India which can claim to be both an *Umgangssprache* and a *Kultursprache* at the same time. Constituted as they are, like many other important modern languages outside India both in Asia and in Europe, the Indian Modern Languages are forced to seek the assistance of some other language in the matter of words relating to science and higher culture. It has been Sanskrit in the case of almost all Indian languages, and Persian (and through Persian, Arabic) in the case of the Musalman form of Hindustani, *viz.* Urdu. But Sanskrit has been a feeder of the Indian vernaculars ever since their original deviation from Old Indo-Aryan started more than 2,500 years ago in the early Prakrits, and ever since the Aryan language was taken to South: there are loan words from Sanskrit relating to higher culture even in the older Prakrits like Pali, and in the later Prakrits and Apabhramsas, as well as in all the stages of the Bhāṣas or New Indo-Aryan languages: and such loan-words are seen in Tamil of the older period going back traditionally to the first few centuries A. C., and in the Ancient Kannada lines found in the Greek drama of the 2nd century A. C. Persian and Perso-Arabic have started to influence languages of Muhammadan inspiration in India only from the 16th-17th centuries, particularly in the 18th and 19th centuries: their impress on the Indian literary languages created new literary speeches like Urdu only during the last three hundred years.

A Modern Indian Language can aspire to be a *Kultursprache*, even for its native speakers, only by virtue of the words of higher culture it has borrowed or can borrow from Sanskrit, or from Perso-Arabic. Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati—all pride on their Sanskrit element, without which they would descend into the level of mere forms of *patois*; so, too, for the Perso-Arabic elements in Modern Urdu, and Sindhi. The Indian National Congress is anxious to improve the position of Hindustani (or Hindusthani) as an *Umgangssprache*, which it already is, by making it also a *Kultursprache*, which it is not. Sanskritic Hindi and Persianized Urdu have already established themselves as literary languages, which may

be described as *Kultursprаches* within restricted limits. The Congress now wants to create a new *Kultursprache* out of literary Hindi and literary Urdu, and this new National Language will take its culture words equally from Sanskrit and Arabic, and from English as well, where it cannot create new words from its native or its naturalized foreign elements. How this will be possible the future alone can show. How to decide the percentage of the various elements, and who is to decide? As things stand, it appears that outside of the groups of the sponsors of this proposed National Hindustani, very few people seem to be enamoured with it. One may say that still three-fourths of India is habituated to Sanskrit or is Sanskrit-minded, and foreign Perso-Arabic words will not have much of an appeal.

In the Mysore session of the All-India Oriental Conference held four years ago I suggested that a great impetus could be given to Hindustani (or Hindusthani) as an *Umgangssprache* if we could adopt the simplified form of it as used in the streets and bazaars, which ignores grammatical gender in both the noun and adjective and the verb, and the plural form as well in the verb, and employs an active (or impersonal) construction for the past tense of the verb transitive in place of the customary passive one (*e.g.*, 'wōh rājā dēkhā, wōh rānī dēkhī' or 'wōh rājā-kō dēkhā, wōh rānī-kō dēkhā', instead of 'us-nē rājā dēkhā, us-nē rānī dēkhī'). I also advocated the use of the Roman script for writing this simplified 'Hindusthani.' If this simplified and Romanized *Bāzār Hindustānī* (or *Laghu Hindī*, as the name has been suggested by some writers of Hindi with whom I discussed the matter at Benares last autumn) is to aspire to become from a mere *Umgangsprache* a *Kultursprache* of some sort, it must take culture words, either from Sanskrit or from Perso-Arabic. The sentiment of the Muhammadan thought-leaders is so strong in favour of the Perso-Arabic that unless the kind of nationalism that is transforming Turkey and Iran can be an active force among the Moslem *Intelligentsia* of India, Sanskrit will not be easily acceptable to them; and the Hindus equally cannot be expected to sacrifice Sanskrit for Arabic and Persian. So the prospect, of any kind of Hindustani developing into a single culture language acceptable to all, appears to be remote.

As I have studied the question, it seems that by Hindustani, or preferably 'Hindusthani,' the vast majority of the Hindus understand

Hindi as written in the Devanāgari character, with all the resources of the Sanskrit dictionary at its disposal. Any other form of Hindustani which has the Persianized vocabulary of Urdu would not be acceptable to these people, for the simple reason that it would be largely unintelligible. The Hindi-Urdu split, and the manner of bridging it proposed by the Congress, are acting as very heavy handicaps for Hindustani to develop into a Culture Speech, a true National Language for the whole of India.

Then there are provincial jealousies and oppositions, which have to be met. Such jealousies would lose a good deal of their edge if Hindustani (Hindusthani, Hindi or Urdu) is declared simply to be *primus inter pares*, the first among equals, and if while making the study of it (in one of its literary forms, Hindi or Urdu) obligatory for any scholar outside of the Hindustani-using area, scholars within the Hindustani-employing tracts are also made similarly to learn some other Modern Indian language.

In the recent linguistic happenings in the world, some strange things have taken place. Turkey and Iran, Muhammadan lands both of them, are both falling back upon their native elements, eschewing all foreign accretions (which are Persian and Arabic for Turkish, and Arabic for Persian) which the languages of these two countries have gathered through the forces of Islam acting on them during the past few centuries. The Jews in Palestine, particularly the new colonists from Europe, peculiarly situated as they are, have performed a miracle —they have revived Hebrew, dead these 2,500 years not only as a language of public life and education but also (although in restricted groups) as the language of the home. Turkish *muezzins* are calling the faithful to prayer in the Turkish language—'*Tangri ulugh dyr*' in the place of the Arabic 'Allāhu akbar,' and the Iranians are reviving terms of Avestan and other old Iranian origin for words of spiritual and cultural import.

I think in our anxiety to have what we do not as yet have but would like exceedingly to have, namely, a tip-top National Language, national in the truest sense of the term, we are trying to force matters. Let us accept the limitations of our circumstances when the forces are too strong, and try to work out our salvation within these limitations. Musalman India may ultimately arrive at the mentality of Musalman Turkey and Musalman Iran with regard to the value of the

national bases in life and culture and language, and look at Sanskrit from a different angle. But in the meanwhile, taking note of the position of Sanskrit in the history of India, Hindu India can agree, and gladly agree, to the cultivation of Sanskrit—not only for the sake of Sanskrit and the distinctive culture of India, but also for the sake of the Modern Indian Languages. After all, the appeal of Sanskritic Hindi to a Mahārāṣṭrīya, a Bengali or a Malayli Hindu is primarily the appeal of its Sanskrit element, and to some extent also of its Devanāgari alphabet. Prof. Jules Bloch in his survey of Indo-Aryan has sought to emphasize upon the importance of Sanskrit in the evolution of Indian languages from century to century. It has remained like a firm rock in the midst of the impermanent movement of the Aryan speech in India for thirty centuries, and its words have ever been re-inforcing the Aryan elements in Indian civilization. It has served as the strongest bond of union among the languages of India, and has been their great strengthener also.

At the last All-India Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum, its president Prof. F. W. Thomas, whose knowledge of Sanskrit and its literature is as vast as his love for it (as well as for the culture of India, and for the Indians of the present day also) is deep, advised Indians to cultivate Sanskrit and make *it* once more India's National Language, rather than any Modern Language (which, if truly national or of native Indian inspiration, would after all be a faint echo of Sanskrit). Looking at the conflict between Hindi and Urdu, and at the lack of enthusiasm and the presence of even active hostility in connection with compulsory Hindustani or Hindi in the South and 'Congress' Hindustani in the North, one feels inclined to revise one's opinion, and to ask whether instead of devoting our energies in the Sisyphus' labour of evolving a pan-Indian Culture Language out of Hindustani (Hindusthani), it would not be better to concentrate on Sanskrit and adapt a simple form of it for modern needs in India. Since we are drawing upon Sanskrit—either by borrowing existing words or by building up new words as required with the help of Sanskrit roots and affixes—for modern scientific and other technical terms for Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati etc., and also for the main Dravidian languages, it would not be inconsistent to go a little further and advocate Sanskrit itself. Of course the grammar of Sanskrit will not be as easy as that of, say, Bazaar Hindi: but by restricting the

conjugational forms to the present, the imperfect, the future, the imperative and the optative (the *laṭ*, *lañ*, *lṛṭ*, *loṭ* and *liñ* of the Sanskrit grammarians) and by using periphrastic combinations on the model of the Modern Indo-Aryan Languages for expressing the various tenses (*e. g.* 'asti, āsīt, sthāsyati or bhaviṣyati, astu, syāt; karoti, akarot, kariṣyati, karōtu, kuryāt: progressive tenses—kurvan + asti, āsīt, sthāsyati; perfect tenses—kṛtavān + asti, āsīt, bhaviṣyati'), Sanskrit may be made to keep abreast of our modern languages in these matters. Its own vocabulary, and its capacity to build new words with its own roots and affixes, will give it the facility to express most new ideas; and as in medieval times scholars in India writing in Sanskrit were not afraid of adopting Persian and Arabic words, and as Greek, Iranian and other foreign words were borrowed into Sanskrit earlier, we at the present day need not be afraid of adopting in our contemporary Sanskrit suitable English and other foreign words wherever they prove more suitable than a native coining. I have seen Sanskrit of this type in a modern continuation of an old family history of a distinguished Bengali family written in Sanskrit: 'sa jajiyatiṃ kṛtvā adhunā pens'anam bhuñktē' —'he now enjoys a *pension*, after having served as a *judge*' (the word 'jajiyati'='function of a judge' being used in Bengali as a hybrid made up of 'jaj'=English *judge*,+the Arabic affix '-iyat,' + Bengali affix '-i'). We need not apprehend that the Language of the Gods would be brought down to such desperate straits as in the above sentence: but it would not be so difficult to wean, in the first instance, at least a considerable section of Hindudom in India, to make the spontaneous homage, rising above mutual rivalries and jealousies, of the Modern Indian Languages to Sanskrit the basis for its re-establishment into something like the position it has enjoyed so long.

1. VEDIC SECTION

(SUPPLEMENT)

THE PADAPĀṬHA OF THE SIXTH MAṆḌALA OF THE ṚGVEDA[1]

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AMONG the indigenous sources designed to help the preservation and the understanding of the hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, the *Padapāṭha* or "word-text" occupies a unique place. It resolves the Saṁhitā-text into the *Pada*-form : every single word is represented separately from its phonetic connection in the *Saṁhitā*-text, the components of each compound are marked out through insertion of an *avagraha*, and the *pragṛhyas* are indicated with an appended *iti*. This analytical method, as I have said elsewhere,[2] would presuppose a sound knowledge of the rules of phonetics, accents and compounds and Vedamitra S'ākalya, to whom the authorship of the *Padapāṭha* of the *Ṛgveda* is ascribed shows a remarkable mastery over these rules. The *Padapāṭha* is, therefore, not only the first but also the most important milestone in the march of Vedic interpretation in our land and the right understanding of the *Pada*-forms is at any time one of the preliminary requisites for the proper initiation into the textual study of the hymns.

But the modern student of the Ṛgvedic text is often faced with the question : Is the *Padapāṭha*, as it is handed down to us, absolutely infallible in all places ? Or, is there any room for a divergence of opinion, consequently for improvement, in the cases of certain *Pada*-resolutions ? Seldom, if ever, have Indian commentators of the Veda ventured to differ from S'ākalya ; and, what is more, their differences are hardly warranted. Whilst commenting on *ṚV*, X, 29, 1 Yāska,[3]

[1] As the special types required for marking the accents on Vedic passages cited were not available only the ordinary types have been used.—Ed.

[2] *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. I, pp. 17-18.

[3] *Nirukta*, VI, 28.

for example, reads in the first pāda, the two words *vā yo* as a single word (*vāyo*), apparently in order to account for the loss of accent in *adhāyi*, but here S'ākalya's authority has greater weight than Yāska's. In the second pāda of *ṚV*, IX, 86, 38 Sāyaṇa reads *tāḥ* instead of *tā* (so Pp.) but in view of the fact that either *bhūvanāni* from the preceding stanza or *romāṇī* (cf. IX, 75, 4) may be supplied to *tā vī dhāvasi* in the pāda under consideration, Sāyaṇa's difference with the Padapāṭha appears uncalled for. Skandasvāmin, whose *bhāṣya* on only the first Aṣṭaka is available so far in book form, criticizes the Padakāra in four places[1] namely, I, 21, 4 ; I, 24, 2 ; I, 39, 2 ; and I, 117, 24, though in my opinion, hardly successfully.

Modern interpreters, particularly western, of the *Ṛgveda* have, on the other hand, felt often constrained to suggest emendations of the *Pada*-resolutions, and the purpose of the present paper is to study the *Pada*-forms of the Sixth Maṇḍala of the *Ṛgveda* in the light of the both the traditional explanations and the modern researches in Vedic philology. (I have confined myself here to the Sixth Maṇḍala only inasmuchas as I am engaged at the moment in translating and annotating this Maṇḍala).

In the following I have grouped into three divisions all those occurrences of the Pp. of the Sixth Maṇḍala, which claim our attention. The first group contains the passages in which the Pp. needs to be emended ; the second, those concerning which it is difficult to determine whether the modifications of the Padapāṭha suggested by modern Vedic scholars are really warranted ; the third, those whose Pp. is correct but has been unnecessarily modified by modern scholars.

A. Passages Where the Pp. Needs to be Emended

(i) VI, 13, 1 :

tvad[2] *vis'vā subhaga saubhagāny*
agne vi yanti vaniro na vayāḥ |[3]
sruṣṭī rayir vājo vṛtratūrye[4]
divō vṛṣṭir īḍyo rītir apām ||[5]

[1] Raja, *The Ṛgvedabhāṣya of Skandasvāmin*, Madras (1935), p. XIV (preface).
[2] Read *tuat* to suit metre.
[3] See VII, 43, 1 d.
[4] Virāṭasthānā verse.
[5] cf. IX, 108, 10—Read *iḍyaḥ* as *īḍi·aḥ* ; cf. *īlenyaḥ-rayiḥ* in IX, 5, 3. I take *īdyaḥ* referring to Agni ; see, however, Oldenberg, *Noten*, I s. v.

The meaning of the first half is clear : " From thee, as branches from a tree, O auspicious Agni, do all our blessings spring. . ." These ' blessings ' (*saubhagāni*) are enumerated in the second half, namely, " Obedience (or, complaisance), wealth, booty in victory over the enemy, rain from heaven, (and) the flow of waters." Then, *s'ruṣṭi* in pāda *c* is evidently *sruṣṭiḥ*, but the Pp. gives it as *s'ruṣṭī* instr. sing. That is to say, the Padakāra has failed to see that the lengthened *ī* of the word in the pāda is only due to the exigencies of Sandhi. Sāyaṇa, here indiscriminately following the Pp., explains *s'ruṣṭī* as an adverb meaning *kṣipram* ' quickly.' [1]

(ii) VI, 13, 4 :

> *Yas te sūno sahaso gīrbhir ukthair*
> *yajñair marto nis'itiṁ vedyānaṭ* |
> *vis'vaṁ sa deva prati vāram agne*
> *dhatte dhānyam patyate vasavyāiḥ* [2] ||

Here in pāda *c*, *vāram* is resolved in the Pp. as *vā āram* (two words), which is hardly warranted. As may be seen from Sāyaṇa's commentary thereon, *vā āram* would ill suit to the context. We have therefore to accept Grassmann's suggestion that *vāram* is one word, to be kept in the Pp. as it is. We may take *prati* with *vāram* in the sense of ' every time ', or = *prati vāram* ' according to his desire,' and translate the whole stanza [3] : " That mortal who hath effected thy awakening, O son of strength, by means of songs, hymns, prayers and premeditation,[4]—he, O god Agni, earns every time (or, according to his desire) all corn and possesses treasures."

(iii) VI, 18, 10 *ab* :

> *agnir na s'uṣkaṁ vanam indra hetī*
> *rakṣo ni dhakṣy asanir na bhīmā* |

Here *hetī* has been resolved by the Pp. as *hetiḥ* under the assumption that the long *ī* was the result of the Sandhi, but *heti* is manifestly instr. sg. and should be kept as such in the Pp. The two pādas may be translated : " As the fire burns the dry wood, so burn

[1] Should we however keep *s'ruṣṭī* (instr.), we must connect it with *īḍyaḥ* : " Thou art to be prayed with complaisance."

[2] Arnold : *Ved-Met.*, p. 305 : *vasavyaiḥ*.

[3] Pādas *ab* : cf. I, 9, 10 ; 15, 11 ; VI, 2, 5 ; 5, 5 ; VII, 90, 2 ; VIII, 19, 5.

[4] *vedyā* (instr. sg.) would correspond to *vēdana* in a series of similar in notions in VIII, 19, 5.

down the evil spirit, O India, like the terrible flash of light, with thy dart (missile)."

(iv) VI, 29, 2 *a*:

ā yasmin haste naryā mimikṣuḥ ।

In this pāda, the Pp. resolves *naryā* as *naryāḥ*, which Sāyaṇa explains as *nṛbhyo hitā rāyaḥ*. This is evidently wrong, for *nāryā* is nom. pl. n. 'manly qualities, powers'; cf. I, 72, 1 *b*: *haste dadhāno naryā purūṇi*, the same also in VII, 45, 1 *c*. In the Pp., therefore, we must have *naryā*, not *naryāḥ*.[1] The sense of the pāda is: "In whose[2] hands manly powers lie[3] . . ."

(v) VI, 33, 5 *ab*:

nūnaṁ na indra aparāya ca syāḥ
bhavā mṛḷika uta no abhiṣṭau ।

The Pp. resolves *mṛḷika* in pāda *b* as *mṛḷīkāḥ*. Were *mṛḷīka-* an adj. occurring anywhere in the *ṚV.*, we would accept Padakāra's resolution as correct, but two parallel passages, namely, VI, 48, 12 and VIII, 48, 12 *d* (*mṛḷīke asya sumatau syāma*) induce us to expect *mṛḷīke* (loc. sg. n.) also here in VI, 33, 5 *b*. Again *mṛḷīke* would suit perfectly well with *abhiṣṭau* in the same pāda. We would then translate the pādas: "Now and in future, O Indra, be thou engaged in (showing) mercy and in (rendering) aid to us."

B. Passages in Which the Pp. has Evoked Doubtful Modifications at the Hands of Modern Scholars

I now come to the second group of passages in which it is difficult to decide whether the modifications of the Pp. suggested by modern Vedic Scholars are really warranted, or whether there is reason to pause before resolving to change the traditional *Pada*-form. Evidently no unanimity among the Vedists can be expected in these cases, for if there be some scholars who would at once hazard an emendation of the passages appearing doubtful at the first sight, there are others who would be cautious in the matter of a conjectural

[1] Geldner (VST. III, 80) however differs.

[2] *Yasmin*: attraction for *Yasya*.

[3] *Mimikṣuḥ*: 3 pl. of √*mykṣmikṣ*—with *ā* 'to belong to' 'to cling to' 'to lie in.'

emendation, unless of course they are forced to suggest one in the light of indisputable internal or external evidence bearing on the text in question.

We begin the consideration of this group with VI, 3, *7ab* where *rukṣa*=(*Pp. rukṣaḥ*) in *vṛṣa rukṣa oṣadhiṣu* has already evoked considerable comment. Accepting Padakāra's resolution, Sāyaṇa explains *rukṣaḥ* (√*ruc*-) as *dīptaḥ* "radiant", "brilliant", qualifying the preceding substantive *vṛṣā*. Roth *Kürzungen des Wortendes*, p. 3) however proposes to resolve *rukṣa* as *rukṣē*, and this for *rukṣēṣu* =*vṛkṣeṣu*. Though Pischel (*Ved. St.* II, 100) accepts this proposition of Roth,[1] Oldenberg prefers *rukṣaḥ* 'brilliant' to this "Conglomeration of hypotheses". If an emendation be absolutely necessary, I would suggest *rukṣa*=*rūkṣa*=*rūkṣē* "in dry or withered (wood)."

In VI, 17, 10*a* we have *maha* (before *ugra*) which the Pp. has resolved as *mahaḥ*. Oldenberg proposes to resolve it as *mahe*, reminding us of *maha ugrāya* in VII, 24, 5*a*. But, phrases like *maho arbhāya* (I, 146, 5), *maho rāye* (IV, 31, 11; V, 15, 5, etc.), and occurrences of *mahas* in IV, 22, 3*b*; VI, 32, 4*b*; VIII, 16, 3; and X, 61, 27 suggest that also in VI, 17, 10*a* is used that archaic *mahas* which remains undeclined in the above-mentioned Ṛgvedic passages.

VI, 20, 8 remains admittedly a very obscure stanza for want of enough information about the Tugra-Vetasu saga referred to therein. It is therefore difficult to know what exactly is meant by the last three words *upa sṛjā iyadhyai*. The Pp. resolves *sṛjā* as *sṛja* which according to Sāyaṇa is equivalent to *sṛjat*. Grassmann proposes to read *upāsṛjad* in the text itself without giving any satisfactory explanation for offending thereby the metrical form of the stanza. If, on the other hand, we accept Baunack's assumption (*KZ*. 35, 523) that we have here *sṛjai* (1 conj. which would be *sṛjā* when coalesced with the following *iyadhyai*), we shall have to take the pādas *cd* as Indra's own speech, and to supply some suitable verb like "spoke" to the pādas *ab*. Oldenberg (*Noten*, s. v.) says that both the text and the Pp. of the stanza as handed down to us are correct; but beyond that he keeps quiet.

VI, 50, 1*c* begins with a compound *abhikṣadām* which, as the accent would require, has been resolved in the *PW*. as *abhikṣa-dām* "granting unasked for." This resolution has been accepted by

[1] Cf. also Bartholomæ, *KZ*., XXX, 583.

Knauer (*KZ.* 27, 53) and Oldenberg (*Noten*, s. v.). But if we remind ourselves of II, 29, 2*c* wherein *abhikṣattāraḥ* "granters (of good things)" occurs (from *abhi*+$\sqrt{}$ *kṣad*—"to apportion," "to distribute," "to lavish"), we feel that the Padakāra's resolution of *abhikṣadān* as *abhi-kṣadan* might not be incorrect.

In the first half of VI, 59, 3 the words *ivādane* have been resolved in the Pp. as *iva-ādane.* With Oldenberg I also feel like asking: Why *adane*, and not *adane* ("fodder") in the Pp.?

The first pāda of VI, 61, 13 is: *prayā mahimnā mahināsu cekite.* Pp. has resolved *mahināsu* as two words *mahinā āsu.* If that be correct, the sense would be:

"Those (rivers) which, great by their greatness, distinguish themselves amongst these (rivers)." In that case *āsu* would refer to the other rivers mentioned in previous verses. But Grassmann and others take *mahināsu* as one word. In that case, the pāda would be translated:

"Those (rivers) by virtue of their greatness distinguish themselves (even) amongst great rivers." In favour of Padakāra's resolution, one may point to some parallels such as *mahāntam mahinā* (VIII, 12, 23), *mahānto mahnā* (I, 166, 11) etc., while *apāsām apāstamā* in the same pāda would strengthen Grassmann's reading. As Ludwig and Oldenberg remark, one can hardly be certain as to which of the two readings is correct and original.

C. Passages in which the Pp. is Correct in Spite of the Doubts Raised by Modern Scholars

We have now to consider the third group. I have collected here those passages whose Pp. has been modified by modern scholars, rather unconvincingly in my opinion. As will be shown below, the Pp. is correct in its treatment of those passages.

. . . *dhruva ā niṣattaḥ* . . . in VI, 9, 4 *c* has been resolved in Pp. as *dhruvaḥ ā ni-sattaḥ.* Grassmann, Hillebrandt, Pischel and Oldenberg reject the Pp. of *dhruva* and take it as *dhruve.* Now this emendation is unwarranted as Geldner remarks in his *Kommentar* (under III, 6, 4): the resolution of the Pp. is confirmed by such passages as *dhruvaḥ sīda* (VS. 27, 45), *dhruvā sīda* (*ibid.*, 15, 64).

VI, 17, 14:

sa no vājāya śravasā iṣe ca
rāye dhehi dyumata indra viprān |
bharadvāje nṛvata indra sūrin
divī ca sma idhi pārye na indra ||

Here, in pāda *b*, *dyumata* has been resolved as *dyumataḥ* (acc. p. 1) in the Pp. Grassmann and Lanman (521) take it as *dyumate* (qualifying *rāye*). But this change is clearly unnecessary, for *dyumata indra viprān* is strikingly parallel to *nṛvata indra sūrīn* in pāda *c*, leaving thereby no doubt in our mind about the correctness of the Pp. in this case.

In VI, 38, 4*c* we reed *vardhāhainam uṣaso yāmann aktoḥ*. The resolution of the first three words in the Pp. is *vardha aha enam*. But Roth (*ZDMG*. 48, 679) resolves the same as *vardhān aha* etc., The unplausibility of Roth's contention has been rightly exposed by Oldenberg in his *Noten* (p. 393). I shall therefore be content here with an additional remark that the pāda is addressed by the poet to himself and may be translated: " magnify thou also him (Indra), at the arrival of dawns from darkness (*i.e.* at every morning)."

Pischel (*Ved. Stud.*, I, 43) and others take *aviṣā* (Pp. *aviṣā*) in VI, 39, 5*c* as *aviṣāḥ*; but *aviṣā* is clearly qualifying *vanāni*, hence the necessity of an emendation does not at all arise, the Pp. being decidedly correct.

VI, 45, 33:

tat su no viśvā arya ā sadā gṛṇanti kāravaḥ |
bṛbūṁ sahasradātamaṁ sūriṁ sahasrasātamam ||

The first half of the stanza is the same as VIII, 94, 3 *ab*.—Pischel (*ZDMG*. 40, 124 f.) and Weber (*ibid*. 29, A 1) take *arye ā* for *aryāḥ ā* of the Pp. As I have dealt with this stanza at length in my *Dānastutis des Rigveda* (p. 24), I shall merely state here that the Pp. is quite right in its resolution of *arya ā*. The stanza may be translated: " That may all people, (also, the noble patrons, well (know) about us: the poets praise always Bṛbu, the greatest among those who donate thousands, the excellent patron, the greatest among those who spend thousands." For different interpretations, reference may be made to Bloomfield *RV. Repet.* I, pp. 291 f.

With the close of this group, I have for the moment almost come to the end of my investigations into the Pp. of the Sixth Maṇḍala of *Ṛgveda*. There are of course still some places about the Pp. of which I am not very clear. Further research will be necessary to remove the obscurities yet obstructing the way of Vedic interpretation. As regards the Sixth Maṇḍala the Pp. of the following passages still leaves considerable uncertainty about it:

VI, 3, 3c: *heṣasvataḥ surudho nāyaṁ aktoḥ nāyam* : Pp. *na ayām*. Others take *nāyam* as one word, see Oldenberg, *Noten*. s. v. Geldner's reading seems to side with Pp., cf. his *Kommentar*, s. v.

VI, 4, 7cd: *indraṁ na tvā śavasā devatā vāyu* etc. *vāyum* Pp. *vāyūm*. So also *Nirukta* I, 17: "Like Indra, like Vāyu, the gods feel thee with strength." Cf. *VS*. 33, 13. But this hardly gives us any satisfactory sense. Moreover, the metre of *c* requires something after *devātā*: should we resolve *vāyum* as *vā āyum*? The metre in that case will be in order, but it is uncertain what *āyum* should mean: *āyu* is an epithet of Agni (X, 20, 7) "Agni of the Āyu-clan"; *āyu* may also be an adj. formed from *āyu-*" age " duration of life"; Cf. I, 169, 4; IX, 97, 17; X, 46, 7*d*.

VI, 50, 10c: *atriṁ na mahas tamaso' mumuktaṁ. amumuktam*: Pp. *amumuktam*. Grassmann suggests *mumuktam* imperat. So also Bartholomae (*Studien*. I, 90 and 106) and Oldenberg (*Noten*. s. v.) Cf. VII, 91, 5; X, 161, 1. But perhaps *amumuktam* is impf.; *na* "like" being applicable to the whole sentence.

VI, 60, 4*a*: *tā huve yayor idam. tā huve*: Pp. the same; but the metre requires something; Grassmann proposes to read *tā ā* but as Lanman (p. 341) shows, this is improbable. Oldenberg suggests *tāv ā*; or is it a seven-syllabled pāda?

VI, 62, 8*ab*: *yad rodasī pradivo asti bhūmā heḷo . . . bhūmā*: Pp. *bhūma*; but should it not be resolved as bhumā, nom. sg. of *bhumān* adj. from *bhuman* subst. "abundance"?

3 A and B. ISLAMIC CULTURE

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY M. ABDUL HAQ, M.A., PH.D.,
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GENTLEMEN,

I deem it a great privilege to welcome you here to attend the Tenth Annual Session of the All-India Oriental Conference. This session, as most of you are aware, should have already been held in December last at Hyderabad, which is one of the most important centres of Indo-Islamic culture in India under the august patronage of His Exalted Highness the Nizam. But owing to certain unavoidable circumstances the Conference could not be held there this year. Therefore the Executive Committee accepted the invitation of the Tirumalai Tirupati Devasthanam Committee to hold the session at Tirupati this month, and I believe the decision will be welcomed by the scholars as they have been given an opportunity of conducting their deliberations.

I must at the very outset thank my friend Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar for extending his kind invitation to me to preside over the deliberations of the Arabic and Persian section of this Conference. I am conscious of my own limitations and therefore would have declined to undertake this heavy responsibility but for the fact that the Conference is being held in a place so near our own field of activity.

I sincerely thank him for the opportunity he has given me of contributing my humble mite towards the proceedings of this Conference.

We are meeting here under the shadow of events of grave importance in our own country and abroad, and it seems as though we are

passing through a time of great changes in which culture and civilization appear to be threatened by sheer force and aggression. In a time such as this it is only fair and necessary that we should deliberate calmly and deeply over subjects we have made our own and evolve a course which will lead to their progress and usefulness in yet greater measure. It is only then we can hope to give a lead in the matter and secure for these branches of learning and culture their right place in the scheme of things.

On this occasion I wish to place before you all a few suggestions for our common guidance. The first thing that suggests itself to me is the need of preparing a general descriptive catalogue of the various manuscripts libraries and private collections of Arabic and Persian manuscripts, wherever they are available in India. The work may be undertaken by the Universities in different Provinces. The craze for the collection of manuscripts is in itself a good hobby but will not have any creative value unless its contents are clearly and especially brought to the notice of scholars.

A similar attempt is being made by the University of Madras with regard to Sanskrit manuscripts all over the country. A scheme such as this is bound to give very great impetus to research and the consequent enhancement of knowledge. Many manuscript libraries of Arabic, Persian and Urdu exist all over India, but excepting one or two libraries the others do not possess descriptive catalogues of their own. If the work, as I have suggested, is undertaken by the scholars in the different Provinces and Universities and if it succeeds, the effects will be very beneficial and far-reaching indeed.

Following on the above scheme, almost as its corollary, is the idea of research bulletin which should give information to scholars in the country as to the various pieces of work which are being carried on in these languages and researches conducted. This will apparently avoid much of overlapping and wastage of precious intellectual energy which would be put to other untouched sources of knowledge. Most of us who have been to the West will bear me out when I say that this sort of scheme is very successfully worked there and duplicating in research has almost been eliminated.

Speaking of the facilities offered in the Western countries it would not be out of place to mention that there is no doubt that these libraries contain vast and invaluable treasures of these branches of

learning and the value of work in them cannot be over-estimated. But there are libraries in Constantinople which are like the 'unfathomed caves' of the poet in which lie buried 'full many a gem of the purest ray serene.' The simile is literally true for there are shelves in the Library of Tope Kapu Serai which lie yet unopened and untouched. The research scholar certainly stands to gain a good deal by his visit to these treasures of oriental learning though the absence of any scientific catalogue of these libraries renders the work of research tedious and difficult.

It would be necessary hereafter to advise future scholars and research workers to visit places like Constantinople, Koniah, Damascus, as I feel sure it would considerably widen the field of research work.

The Arabic and Persian manuscripts as they are scattered all over the world, have made some great scholars at the Imperial Khedievial Library, to think of obtaining photographed copies of Arabic manuscripts scattered all over the world. This stupendous scheme, to become a successful proposition, will take time. They have already secured photographed copies of innumerable volumes of rare manuscripts available in the different Manuscripts Libraries of Constantinople. I am sure the idea of co-ordination among the various research scholars and centralization of libraries is gaining ground. If we sincerely undertake to collect the information regarding our public and private manuscript libraries we would be doing an immense service to the future generation.

Before conclusion, I welcome you once again and hope fervently that we would be able to do some solid work in the field of search.

ARABIC AND PERSIAN WORDS IN THE TAMIL LANGUAGE

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The Tamil language is a noble language which has its roots deep down in the soil of the past. Since its origin it has passed through many periods but each has left its trace behind in the growth and development of the language.

The Tamil language had an isolated growth. Sprung from the Dravidian family, it branched off from the primal stem and received and continues to receive innumerable influences from other languages and literatures around it as well as those of an earlier time. But one of the most striking qualities of the Tamil language is its power of assimilation. Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Portuguese, French and English have poured their influences on the Tamil language, yet the character and the language remain unmistakably Tamil.

The event which, more than any other, effected the enrichment of the language with Sanskrit words, was the contact of the Tamils with the Aryans. It is not that certain Tamil words became Sanskritized but that Sanskrit words were actually incorporated into the language and were after a time, regarded as Tamil.

Long after, another influence was brought to bear on the language through the invasion of India by the Muslims.

The Muslims, who from the eleventh century onwards, began to pour into Hindustan from the north-west, chose to settle down in the country and make it their own home. The contact and intercourse, which, in consequence, followed between the two peoples whether in times of war or peace, covering a period of nearly eight hundred years, have inevitably produced far-reaching effects on the language and

literature of the country. While this Islamic influence pervaded the Deccan from the end of the thirteenth century, it did not spread through the Indian peninsula till after the middle of the seventeenth century in the reign of Aurangzeb (1658-1707) which witnessed the high-watermark of the Muslim power in India. But the Indian peninsula had had trade intercourse with pagan Arabia and Persia from the earliest times. The Arabs who had had dealings with the Tamils for trade purposes before the advent of Islam, brought also with them the religion of Islam to the land of the Tamils and the west-coast. Thus the influence of the Islamic Arabia which was purely commercial and missionary, was at work from the seventh century onwards in the extreme south of India, though it did not manifest itself as a power till the political influence reached it from the Northern India in the end of the seventeenth century.

During these centuries of Islamic influence in India, every language in the country was gradually permeated with words and expressions of the language of the ruler in a varying degree according to the nature of the contact. The Tamil language is no exception to it.

It is a fact, though not recognized as much as it ought to be, that the history of a nation and the character of its inhabitants may, to a very large extent, be learned from its language alone. That a very large part of India was at one time under Muslim rule may be deduced, not only from the number of words of Arabic, and Persian origin, which we use, but from their type—words connected with Revenue, Law and Order. The word *vakil* is Arabic, and the word *Salām*[1] is but the Arabic *Salām*, peace, used to greet a person throughout India. Similar inferences may be drawn as to the type of Muslim administration of India, from a study of the vocabulary they bequeathed to us, and in this way much valuable information may be gained of the history of the country.

So, even before the birth of Islam in Arabia, the Tamil language had already been influenced by Arabic contact, and had thus shown its capacity for assimilating and adapting, while still retaining its own unmistakable character. The following words will illustrate the fact :

சுக்கான் (sukkān), rudder

Arabic *sukkān.*

[1] The word சலாம் (*salām* is used in *Minatchi Ammai Pillai-t-tamil* by Kumārakurupara Svāmikal (16th Century A.D.)

மாலுமி (mālumi), captain of a ship, Arabic *Mu'allim*.

நங்கூரம் (nangūram), an anchor, Persian, *langar*.

In all languages there is a distinction between that which is written and that which is spoken, the literary and the colloquial. In some, the line of demarcation may be clear and sharp drawn, as in Arabic and Tamil; in others it is vague and uncertain as in modern English where the two types blend into each other gently and unobtrusively. As it has been observed already that much may be inferred as to the history of the nation itself from a scientific study of the language. This is abundantly true, even if the study were to be confined to literature of the country alone; it is far more so if it be extended to the study of the colloquial. In the former, we can, as it were, see the broad outlines of history, the birth of some new influences, its nature, its type and growth and the general part it played in national development. But in the latter, we have the very stuff of which history is made; here we can see reflected the intimate, familiar lines of the peoples themselves.

For centuries the written language in Tamil was the possession of the few. Education, such as we know it, is of very recent growth. Illiteracy was the rule, not the exception, and in very early times those who could read or write were to be found only in *Sangams* and *mutts*. The writers were imbued with the ideas and points of view of the ruling class rather than of the people. Thus it has come about that the language of literature is a language of its own, tending to reproduce that spoken by the ruling class, and thus greater difference ensued between the written and the spoken word. But with the advent of the Muslims new ideas in the political and social development of the people pervaded the country. Barriers between class and class began to give way over and over again before the pressure of the Muslim influence, as also the linguistic barriers broke down under the same pressure. Of course this process is a gradual one extending over many centuries. A cursory examination of Tamil literature in the past centuries will confirm this view.

When language barriers are breaking down, the resistance of a certain type of mind becomes more intense. It is then that the purist

issues his anathemas, while the linguistic snob brands as vulgar any expression or phrase that does not happen to be in general use among his own little coterie. The merits of the phrase or word is not taken into consideration. It may be far more vivid, more accurately descriptive, may even be beautiful in sound and rythm but by this or that particular authority it is clased as colloquial. A most cursory examination of a few of the Arabic and Persian words that have come into colloquial Tamil will illustrate this:

சோதாப்பயல் (sōdāppayal), a lazy fellow,
sōdā, Arabic *shuhadā* + Tamil *payal.*

மௌசானவேலை (mausāna vēlai), an attractive work,
Maus, Arabic *mawj.*+Tamil *vēlai.*

ரொக்கப்புள்ளி (rokkappulli), a wealthy man, a strict man in accounting.
rokkam, Arabic *ruq'a*+Tamil *pulli.*

தமாஷ் செய்தல் (tamāṣ seydal), to make fun of, to poke fun at.
tamāṣ, Persian *tamāshā*+Tamil *seydal.*

சபாஷ்[1] (capāṣ) well done! bravo, excellent, a term of cheering.
capāṣ, Persian *shābāsh.*

It is essential that the Arabic and Persian words that have come to stay in the colloquial Tamil should be included in any study of the Tamil language. The strangeness of this suggestion may cause scholars to hesitate, but once tried the pleasing combination can give them nothing but delight.

The present paper is written with a view to encourage a more scientific study of Tamil etymology than is commonly to be found in other works on the subject. At present one cannot find a single book containing the facts about a given word which it most concerns a student to know.

My object in undertaking a work of this kind is not only to trace back the Arabic and Persian words in the Tamil language to their correct root, but also to give the new meanings which these words take in Tamil. It may be said that this work will not be a dictionary of the usual character, for there will be comments, discussions, and

[1] The word சபாஷ் (*sapāṣ*) is used in *Tiruppukal* by Aruṇagirinathar (15th Century, A.D.)

even suggestion and speculations about a particular word; for when words are cited in available dictionaries, they are wrongly explained. For example, *sunnat* is explained in some Tamil Lexicons thus: *Circumcision, as the practice of the Prophet.* The meaning is absurd on the face of it. Every Muslim knows what *sunnat* is.

These and such other defects will, I hope, be made good in the work projected by me.

AL QAḌI-UL-FADIL AND HIS DIARY

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Al Qāḍī al Fāḍil Abdul Rahim ibn Ali al Baysani (529-596) the famous writer and stylist of the Ayyubiah Period is a well-known figure in both the literary and political circles of the age. It is superfluous to mention that his meteoric career began during the time of the last of the Fatimides, Al Adid billah, and it was due to Al Qadi al Fadil's wholesome influence that Saladin rose to power in the Fatimide Court and subsequently succeeded the Fatimide Caliph as the Ruler of Egypt. Saladin very soon found in Al Qadi-al-Fadil a man of diverse capabilities and immense energy and he found out that he was indispensable to him. Consequently he rose to the coveted position of the Vizier of the Sultan. His political career can very easily be traced out after the study of contemporary and later records of the Wars of the Crusades. The later writers have often referred to the place of eminence he occupied among the writers of his age but his interest in editing the chronicles of the Fatimides is not sufficiently known. The object of this short paper is to bring to light the fact that he maintained a regular diary for a number of years in which he recorded the important events of his time.

Various writers have referred to this work of Al Qadi al Fadil and given it different titles, the more common being the Mutajaddidat and the Taliqat. The information derived by these writers is from the references that Maqrizi and other historians have made to this work in their books. C. H. Becker in his article on Gestichite Agyptens pp. 24-25 endeavours to draw distinction between Muta jaddidat and Taliqat whereas in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II, pp. 607 Brockelmann conjectures thus : " During his official career he

also edited an official journal *Mutajaddidat* of which al Maqrizi gives many specimens in the Khitat. These are not only notes on official letters and the answers to them but reports also on the happenings in the Kingdom or on gifts of honour granted by the Sultan." In the absence of any direct evidence this was the only natural conclusicn at which any scholar could have arrived but during my recent researches I came across a certain reference which clears the point and establishes this work to be of unique nature. Commenting on one of the letters of Al Qadi Ul Fadil the famous Egyptian poet Ibn Sana'al Mulk writes in his book *Fusu-al fusul.* " He, may God bless him had asked me to relate to him strange news and happenings in remote countries and distant lands, so that they may be appended to his tract (Notes) in which he wrote everything about fresh events as they happened day by day or even hour by hour. He had a separate treatise for each year which commenced with the beginning of the year and ended with its close. He, may God bless him, informed me that he commenced his work from the year 560 A. H. and it continued till his death on the 7th night of the month of Rabi II (27th January 1200) in the year 596 A.H. It is evident from this passage that Al Qadi al Fadil kept a regular diary for nearly thirty-six years and it may be reasonably presumed that the Ta'liqat appended to his diary or *Mutajaddidat* contain the reports sent by his friends and agents. This diary has been copiously used by writers like (Maqrizi) who in his book *Khitat* has quoted from the book at least in twenty different places which could be easily compiled chronologically.

SOME NOTES ON TA'RĪ*KH* HALAB

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IT is the famous but imperfectly known Chronicle of Ḥalab called Bu*gh*yat al-Ṭalab fi Ta'rī*kh* Ḥalab of Ibn al-' Adim who was the first as is well-known, to write a special history of Alleppo. However, Hājjī *Kh*alīfa, perhaps erroneously, attributes a history of Ḥalab to Ibn al-' Azīmī whose other historical works form an important source of Ibn al-' Adīm. It is unnecessary for me to point out the importance of Ibn al-' Adim's work. It is a veritable mine of information about Ḥalab and its surroundings, and about all those important persons who were even very slightly connected with it. His trustworthiness is enhanced by the fact that he seldom omits to mention his sources. Some of the works largely drawn upon by him have not come down to us at all ; and in cases where they have come down to us (e.g. The short History of Ibn al-' Azīmī) his accuracy of quotation is clearly vindicated.

Now, in Istanbul a set of ten volumes of the Bu*gh*yat are distributed between three different collections and my remarks apply only to this set as the only other extant volume in Paris is merely a repetition of one of these volumes. An analysis of the length, contents and the classification of Collections in a tabular form is as follows :

(1)	*A*ya Sofia, Ms. No. 3036......	518 pages (259 folios).........	Introductory.		
(2)	Aḥmad *Thālith*, 2925...	...252 folios...	Biographies	of names beginning	with Alif.
(3)	,, ,,	300 folios	,,	,,	,,
(4)	,, (Also Paris, Ms. 2139)	313 folios	,,	,,	,,
	——Gap——				
(5)	Faizulla, 1404............	304 folios	,,	,,	letter Ḥa
(6)	Aḥmad Thalith	340 folios	,,	,,	letters Ḥa and *Kh*a
(7)	,, ,,	344 folios	,,	,,	*Kh*a and Dāl
(8)	,,	206 folios	,,		Ra and Za
(9)	,,	304 folios	,,	,,	Za and Sin
	——	——g a p——	——		
(10)	Aḥmad Thalith	270 folios	,,	of those known by Kunya.	

All these ten volumes belong to the same set because they are written in the same hand, were owned by the same people and were even read by the same persons. Suyuṭī too made memoranda on two volumes saying that he had read the work at Mecca and had greatly drawn upon it.

As it will take too long to make a comprehensive survey of all these volumes I shall merely make some observations on the nature of the work, the probable extent of the original work, and how much of it has survived to us, with a few remarks on the claim of its being autograph. To be able to judge the extent to which the *Bughyat* has come down to us we must try to find out the plan and nature of the complete work. 'Alī b. *Kh*aṭīb an-Nāṣiriya al-Jibrīnī (d. 843) in his al-Durr al-Munta*kh*ab fi Takmilat Ta'rī*kh* Ḥalab says that it was arranged alphabetically and that its rough copy was in about 40 thick volumes and its fair copy would have been of an equal length had its author not died before the completion of its fair copy. Further he remarks that before giving the biographies in alphabetical order Ibn al- 'Adīm had added five introductory chapters as follows:

(1) Ḥalab, its different names, its foundation and its titles.
(2) Its Suburbs.
(3) Its Excellence.
(4) Its Conquest.
(5) Its streams, massoleums, mosques, etc.

But al-Jibrīnī's account we cannot take as final as he himself says, later on, that in his time little of Bug*h*yat was found and that he had access to only a few ajza of the fair copy before the Timurid advent. But in the absence of any other more detailed and precise account we shall try to examine our ten volumes in the light of al-Jibrīnī's statement.

Now the Aya Sofia MS. the first in our set is, in my opinion, a fragment of the Introduction of Bug*h*yat, because there are no biographies in it, and only a fragment because it does not give all the five chapters enumerated by al-jibrīnī. It begins abruptly in the account of the suburbs and breaks off with the Conquest which is not described at all. Judging from the length at which Ibn. al-' Adim has written the extant chapters, it is safe to conclude that the Introduction may have extended over at least three volumes. In passing, I may mention that the first few folios of the Aya Sofia MS. are

hopelessly mixed up and most probably contain a few folios from its abridgment Zubdat al-Ḥalab of the same author; *e.g.*, the opening passage of "the Account of Anṭakia under 'Umar and 'U*th*mān" is repeated word for word later on in the same MS. (page 156) which is in fact more elaborate. Moreover, pp. 16-54 are expressly mentioned in the MS. as autograph Zubdat. The relationship between Bug*h*yat and Zubdat is an interesting question which I hope to treat elsewhere.

After the Introduction begin the biographies in an alphabetical order. After the alphabetical list, however, there were a few supplementary chapters, We know of at least two of them. Our last volume begins with *Dh*ikar-al-Marufīn bil-Kina; Secondly, in Volume 2, fol. 55a, the author says that he would describe a certain lady in the *Dh*ikrun-nisā; at the end of the book.

No copyist is mentioned in any of the volumes, while the Aya Sofia and Faizulla MSS. are claimed to be autograph. As all the volumes are in the same hand, as a have said before, the whole set must be considered autograph. Further, we have the evidence that the present volumes were read in A. H. 655 (*i.e.*, during the lifetime of the author). Moreover, there is a correction on the margin in the Aya Sofia MS. in the same hand as that of the text and it is dated as Muḥarram, 658. This shows clearly that these volumes were transcribed in the lifetime of the author and we have reason to believe that they belong to the fair copy.

But al-Jibrini says that the fair copy was not completed during the lifetime of the author; thereby he may have meant to say that Ibn. al- 'Adim did not live long enough to complete his autograph fair copy, from which we may conclude that perhaps the present volumes were the only ones made fair by him. On the other hand, our tenth volume is one of the last volumes for it deals with the supplementary section on "Kunya" which shows that he may have nearly reached the end unless he may have decided to fair out the later volumes first, which seems improbable.

The MSS. are in very good condition and on the whole fairly accurate and hences less tiresome for editing. Their publication is not only desirable but almost indipensable for any study of that period and that region will always remain incomplete without having access to that important work.

I may point out that I have prepared a complete list of names of all the persons whose notices appear in the extant volumes of the Bugẖyat, with their folio numbers for purpose of ready reference and brief summaries of some of the important notices, which are ready for publication.

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اجلاس انڈین اورینٹل کانفرنس - مقام تروپتي (مدراس)

خطبۂ صدارت

(ڈاکٹر مولوي عبدالحق صاحب، آنریري سیکرٹري
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ایک زمانے میں انڈین نیشنل کانگرس کے ساتھ سوشیل کانفرنس کا بھي سالانہ اجلاس ہوتا تھا - سنہ ۱۹۰۰ع کي کانفرنس کے اجلاس کے صدر جسٹس راناڈے تھے - اُنھوں نے اپنے خطبے میں ہندوستان کے گزشتہ ایک ہزار سال کي تاریخ پر تبصرہ فرمایا تھا - جس میں انھوں نے مسلمانوں کي آمد اور ان کي تہذیب و تمدّن کے اثرات پر جو اہل ہند کي معاشرت، مذہب، سیاست اور خیالات پر پڑے اور ان فوائد پر جو اُن سے مترتب ہوئے، ایک مورخانہ اور فاضلانہ نظر ڈالي ہے - یہ مختصر مقالہ ہزار سالہ تاریخ کا ایک منصفانہ اور محققانہ لب لباب ہے، جو فاضل مصنف کے وسیع اور گہرے مطالعہ کا نتیجہ ہے - اس ضمن میں وہ لکھتے ہیں کہ

" علاوہ سر چشمۂ قوت ہونے کے، اسلامي حکومت نے سینکڑوں طریقوں سے ہندوؤں کے آداب و اطوار اور ذوق کے لطیف بنانے میں مدد دي - مسلمان حکومت کے فن کو پرانے ہندو حکمرانوں سے بہتر سمجھتے تھے - فن جنگ مسلمانوں کي آمد سے قبل نہایت ناقص تھا - بارود اور توپ و تفنگ کا استعمال ان کي بدولت رائج ہوا - بہت سي دستکاریوں اور صنّاعیوں میں وہ بقول بابر کے " جدت و ایجاد " کو کام میں لائے - ان کے نام اور ان کي اصطلاحیں جو غیر ہندو ہیں، یہ بتاتي ہیں کہ ان کي اصل بدیسي ہے - انھوں نے شمع، کاغذ، شیشہ، گھر کے ساز و سامان اور زین سواري وغیرہ کو رواج دیا - انھوں نے موسیقي (گانے اور بجانے دونوں میں) اور طب اور ہیئت کے علم میں بہت بڑا اضافہ کیا اور ان کي تقلید میں ہندوؤں نے بھي ان دونوں علوم اور نجوم و کیمیا میں اصلاح و ترقي کي - اور مسلمانوں ہي کي بدولت جغرافیہ اور تاریخ پہلي بار علم و ادب کے شعبے قرار

پائے - اُنھوں نے سڑکیں، پل، نہریں، کاروانسرائیں اور ڈاک خانے بنائے اور فن تعمیر کے اعلیٰ نمونے پیش کئے اور فن باغبانی کو ترقي دي - نیز ہمیں نئے پھلوں اور پھولوں سے آشنا کیا - نظام مالگزاري جو اکبر کے زمانے میں توڈر مل نے رائج کیا تھا، موجودہ طریقۂ مالگزاري کي بنیاد بھي اُسي پر ھے - وہ تمام تجارت سمندر کے راستے دور دراز ملکوں سے کرتے تھے اور اُنھوں نے اہل ہند کے دل میں یہ احساس پیدا کیا کہ ہندستان بھي آباد دنیا کا ایک حصہ ھے اور دوسرے ممالک سے تعلق رکھتا ھے اور معاشرتي لحاظ سے دوسروں سے منقطع نہیں - ان تمام اعتبارات سے مسلمانوں اور ہندوؤں کي متحدہ قوتوں کا تمدن، جس کے نمایندہ دہلي کے مغل تھے، ایسي نمایاں ترقي کا حامل تھا، جس کا وجود میں آنا دسویں صدي عیسوي کے قبل ممکن نہ تھا *"

غرض یہ اور دوسري برکات جو مسلمانوں کي بدولت ہندوؤں کو نصیب ہوئیں یا جو ہندو مسلم اتحاد سے وجود میں آئیں، جسٹس راناڈے نے بڑي تحقیق سے اور نہایت بے لاگ طور پر بیان کي ہیں - لیکن ایک بات جو خاص طور پر قابل ذکر تھي، وہ بھول گئے - جسٹس راناڈے اس میں بے قصور ہیں - یہ شکایت اُن تمام مورخوں سے ھے، جنھوں نے ہندستان کي تاریخ پر کتابیں لکھي ہیں - وہ بادشاھوں اور راجاؤں کے شجروں اور نسب ناموں، اُن کي لڑائیوں اور فتوحات، اُن کے درباروں اور جشنوں، اُن کے جلوسوں اور تفریحوں کے حالات بڑي آب و تاب سے بیان کرتے ہیں، لیکن ذکر نہیں کرتے تو اس چیز کا جو تاریخي اور سیاسي، معاشرتي اور تہذیبي اعتبار سے ہندو مسلمانوں کے اتحاد اور یک جہتي کي سب سے اہم اور عظیم الشان یادگار ھے - یوں تو ہماري بہت سي یادگاریں ہیں، لیکن ان میں سے بعض مٹ گئیں یا مٹنے والي ہیں، بعض ایسي ہیں، جنھیں لوگ بھول جائیں گے اور کچھ ایسي ہیں، جو پرانے آثار کے کھوج لگانے والوں اور قدیم تاریخ کے محققوں تک رہیں گي - لیکن اردو زبان دونوں قوموں کي شرکت اور اتحاد اور دونوں قوموں کي معاشرت و تہذیب کے میل کي ایسي یادگار ھے جسے زمانہ کبھي نہیں بھلا سکتا -

وہ دو قومیں جن کي یک جہتي اس درجے کو پہنچ گئي ہو کہ وہ دنیا میں ایک نئي زبان پیدا کرسکتي ہوں، وہ کیونکر جدا ہوسکتي ہیں ؟

اس کا سارا دوس موزخوں اور سیاست دانوں یا سیاست کاروں پر ھے -
موّرخوں نے تاریخ کا صحیح مفہوم نہیں سمجھا - یا تو وہ اسے قصہ خوانی
سمجھتے رھے یا تعصب نے ان کی آنکھوں پر پٹی باندھ دي - سیاست داں
یا سیاست کار ذاتی اغراض اور ھوس طلبی یا قومیت اور اسی قسم کے نئے
الفاظ اور اصطلاحوں کے پھیر میں پڑکر جدائي کے فاصلے کو بڑھاتے رھے - خدا کے
ان نیک بندوں نے اس بیش بہا اور عزیز چیز کو جو باوجود اختلافات ،
جنگ و جدل اور انقلابات کے باقی تھي ، اپنی تنگ نظری ، تعصب اور
نفسانیت کے نذر کردیا - اس کے بعد یہ کہنا کہ " دل بدلو ، دل بدلو "
ایک صدائے بے ہنگام ھے -

میں نے یہ ذکر اس لئے چھیڑا ھے کہ آج کل ہر چھوٹی بڑی کانفرنس ،
انجمن ، سمیلن اور سبھا اور ہر اخبار اور رسالے میں قومی زبان کا مسئلہ زیر بحث
ھے اور نئے نئے نکتے اور نئے نئے دلائل پیش کئے جارھے ہیں - ساری بحث یہ ھے
کہ ہندستان کی قومی زبان ہندی ھو یا ہندوستانی یا اردو - ان میں سے
ہر زبان کا حامی اس بات کا مدعی ھے کہ اسی کی زبان قومی زبان ہونے کا
حق رکھتی ھے - اس ساری بحث میں غور طلب امریہ ھے کہ کیا ایک ایسے
ملک میں جہاں مختلف عناصر جمع ھیں، سب کے لئے ایک ھي زبان کا
ہونا مناسب ھے ؟ اور اگر ایسا ہوتو پھر وہ کیسی زبان ہونی چاہیے ؟

ایک ہی زبان ہونے سے اگر یہ مطلب ھے کہ ملک میں دوسری کوئی
زبان نہ رھے تو یہ دعوی سرے سے نا مقبول اور غیر معقول ہوگا - اگر اس سے یہ
مُراد ھے کہ مقامی زبانوں کے علاوہ کوئی ایسی مشترک زبان بھی ہو، جو باہم
تبادلۂ خیالات ، کاروبار ، تعلیم وغیرہ کا ذریعہ ہوسکے تو اس کی معقولیت میں
کسی کو انکار نہیں ہوسکتا - اب دیکھنا یہ ھے کہ کوئی ایسی زبان ھے، جو اس
خدمت کو انجام دے سکتی ھے ، اگر ھے تو وہ کونسی ھے -

اس کے لیے ہمیں تھوڑی دیر کے واسطے اپنی گزشتہ تاریخ پر نظر ڈالنی
پڑے گی - مستند اور قطعی تاریخی شہادتیں اس امر کی موجود ہیں کہ
مسلمانوں کی آمد پر ہندستان کی حالت سیاسی ، اقتصادی ، معاشرتی ،
اخلاقی اعتبار سے نہایت ابتر اور درہم برہم تھی - طوائف الملوکی کا بازار گرم

تھا، آپس میں نفاق اور پھوٹ تھي - ہر رجواڑہ خود مختار تھا۔ آمد و رفت اور رسل و رسائل کے ذرائع مفقود تھے - نہ کوئي ایک نظام تھا، نہ کوئي ایک حکومت تھي، نہ ایک مُلک تھا، نہ ایک قوم تھي، نہ ایک زبان تھي - مسلمانوں کے تسلط کے بعد اس وسیع خطّے کے پریشان اجزا ایک شیرازے میں مرتب ہوکر ایک مُلک کہلائے، ایک نظام قائم ہوا اور ایک نئي تہذیب اور ایک نئي زبان کي بنیاد پڑي، جو حقیقي ہندستاني تہذیب اور ہندستاني زبان ھے - یہ ایک دن کا کام نہ تھا - یہ صدیوں کي مسلسل محنت، سینکڑوں اعلیٰ دماغوں کي کاوش اور باہمي اختلاط، عام روا داري، میل جول اور رفاقت کا نتیجہ تھا۔ اس سے قبل ملک کي کوئي عام اور مشترک زبان نہ تھي - ہر علاقے کي بولي الگ اور اس کي مختلف شاخیں تھیں - چونکہ مختلف علاقوں کے تعلقات ناخوش گوار یا منقطع تھے اور آمدورفت کے وسائل بھي کافي نہ تھے، اس لئے کوئي زبان ایسي بننے نہ پائي، جو سارے ملک کي عام زبان ہوتي - جب اسلامي حکومت کو یہاں استقلال ہوا اور مسلمان یہاں مستقل طور پر بس گئے اور اس ملک کو اپنا گھر بنا لیا اور یہاں والوں سے گھل مل کر ایک ہوگئے تو لا محالہ ایک کا اثر دوسرے پر پڑا اور آپس کے ربط ضبط سے خود بخود ایک نئي تہذیب (کلچر) اور ایک نئي زبان بنتے بنتے بن گئي، جو ہم سب اہل ہند کا بلا امتیاز مذہب و ملّت موروثي ترکہ ھے - یہ کوئي ارادي چیز یا کوشش نہ تھي - یہ عین فطرت کا اقتضا اور ضرورت وقت کا تقاضا تھا - دنیا کي تاریخ میں یہ ایک عجیب اور حیرت انگیز واقعہ ھے - بقول ڈاکٹر تارا چند کے "سب سے بڑھ کر یہ کہ ایک لساني امتزاج وجود میں آیا - مسلمانوں نے اپني تُرکي اور فارسي ترک کردي اور ہندوؤں کي زبان اختیار کرلي - مسلمانوں نے اپنے فن تعمیر اور مصوري کي طرح اس میں بھي حالات اور ضروریات کے لحاظ سے ترمیم و اصلاح کي اور اس طرح ایک نئي ادبي زبان پیدا کي جو اُردو ھے - پھر ہندو مسلمان دونوں نے اسے اپني زبان بنالیا - "(۱)

یہ تہذیب اور زبان اُس وقت سے اب تک برابر چلي آرھي ھے اور اس سے قبل کسي نے ان کے ہندي یا ہندستاني ہونے میں شبہ نہیں کیا تھا - صدیوں کي متفقہ محنت اور کوشش کو خاک میں ملاکر دو تین ہزار برس پہلے کي

(۱) Influence of Islam on Indian culture P. 139

تہذیب اؤر زبان کو رائج کرنا سراسر کوتہ بینی ھے ' کیونکہ یہ اصلی ہندستانی تہذیب اؤر زبان نہیں ہوسکتی - اصلی ہندستانی تہذیب اؤر زبان وھی ہوسکتی ھے' جس میں سب کے ہاتھہ اؤر دل و دماغ لگے ہوں اؤر جس کی تعمیر آپس کی دلجوئی اؤر محبت سے ہوئی ہو - سرتیج بہادر سپرو نے بالکل سچ کہا ھے کہ " ہندو مسلم اتحاد کو اس سے بڑھ کر کوئی نقصان نہیں پہنچ سکتا کہ اردو کو جو ہندوؤں اؤر مسلمانوں کے اتحاد سے بنی ھے' مٹانے کی کوشش کی جائے - اؤر یہ کہنا کہ اردو ہندو مسلمانوں کا مشترکہ ترکہ نہیں ھے' تاریخ کو جھٹلانا ھے " - سر تیج بہادر سپرو نے اُس بات کو جتایا ھے جسے لوگ سیاسی گرد و غبار میں نظر انداز کرگئے ہیں -

میں نے اس موقع پر مشترک زبان کا ذکر اس لئے چھیڑا ھے کہ اس وقت یہ نہایت اہم مسئلہ ھے - میرا یقین ھے کہ تمام سیاسی چالیں اؤر حکمتیں اؤر سمجھوتے بیکار ہوں گے اگر زبان کا مسئلہ یوں ھی تنگ نظری کا شکار رہا - اس لئے جو لوگ اپنے ملک کی بھلائی کے خواہاں ہیں' انھیں اس پر غور کرنا لازم ھے اؤر انھیں ایک ماہر لسانیات کے اس قول کو پیش نظر رکھنا چاہئے :-

" جو چیز لوگوں کو ایک یعنے متحد بنائے رکھتی ھے وہ ایک عام اؤر مشترک زبان کے حق میں ہوتی ھے - "

" جو چیز کہ ایک زبان بولنے والوں میں جدائی پیدا کرتی ھے' وہ زبان میں تفریق پیدا کرنے کے حق میں ہوتی ھے - "

لیکن ملک کی عام اؤر مشترک زبان ہونے کا دعوی ہر بولی نہیں کرسکتی - اس کے لئے چند شرطوں کا ہونا لازم ھے اؤر وہ یہ ہیں :-

۱ - وہ زبان دیسی ہو' بدیسی نہ ہو -

۲ - کسی خاص فرقے یا رقبے تک محدود نہ ہو -

۳ - ملک کے بہت بڑے حصے میں سمجھی اور بولی جاتی ہو -

۴ - ہر قسم کے خیالات اؤر جذبات کے ادا کرنے پر قادر ہو -

۵ ــ ادنیٰ سے اعلیٰ تعلیم تک کا ذریعۂ تعلیم ہوسکتي ہو۔

٦ ــ زمانہ کا ساتھ دے سکے اور حالات کے مطابق ڈھل سکے ۔

اس امر کے ثبوت کي مطلق ضرورت نہیں کہ اردو خالص دیسي زبان ھے ' باہر سے نہیں آئي ' یہیں پیدا ہوئي ' یہیں پلي بڑھي اور پروان چڑھي ۔

یہ بھي ظاہر ھے اور محتاج ثبوت نہیں کہ یہ کسي خاص فرقے کي زبان نہیں اور نہ کسي خاص رقبے میں محدود ھے ۔ یہي نہیں کہ یہ شمالي ہند ' سنٹرل انڈیا ' سي ۔ پي میں لاکھوں کروڑوں اشخاص کي مادري زبان ھے اور ان مقامات میں ہر جگہ بولي اور سمجھي جاتي ھے ' بلکہ ہندستان سے باہر بھي مختلف مقامات میں رائج ھے اور سب سے بڑي بات یہ ھے (جو اس کي فوقیت کي بیّن دلیل ھے) کہ اس کے بنانے اور ترقي دینے میں صرف ہندوؤں اور مسلمانوں کا ھي ہاتھ نہیں بلکہ انگریز ' پارسي اور سکھ بھي شریک ہیں ۔ اور ان میں سے ہر قوم کے لوگ اردو کے مصنّف اور شاعر گزرے ہیں اور اس وقت بھي موجود ہیں ۔ اور آپ کو یہ سن کر حیرت ہوگي کہ تخمیناً ایک سو یوروپین ایسے ہیں جو اردو کے شاعر ہوئے ہیں اور بعض ان میں سے صاحب دیوان ہیں ۔ یہ بات ہندستان کي کسي دوسري زبان کو نصیب نہیں ۔

ادنیٰ و اعلیٰ اور ہر قسم کي تعلیم کا ذریعہ اردو زبان آج سے نہیں تقریباً سو سال سے ھے ۔ اٹھارھویں صدي میں دہلي کالج میں تمام علوم و فنون مثلاً فلسفہ ' طبیعیات ' کیمیا ' ہیئت ' معاشیات ' قانون ' ریاضیات وغیرہ اردو میں پڑھائے جاتے تھے اور ان تمام علوم پر اردو میں بہت سي اچھي اچھي کتابیں ترجمہ اور تالیف کي گئي تھیں اور آج جامعۂ عثمانیہ میں تمام علوم کي اعلیٰ تعلیم اردو میں دي جاتي ھے ۔ ہندستان کي زبانوں میں یہ شرف بھي اسي زبان کو حاصل ھے ۔

زبان صرف بول چال ھي کے لئے نہیں ہوتي ۔ انسان محض بولنے اور بڑ بڑانے کي کل نہیں ھے ۔ زندگي کا پھیلاؤ دور دور تک ھے اور اس کے شعبے اُسي قدر وسیع ہیں ' جس قدر کہ کائنات ۔ زبان زندگي کا اہم اور مفید جز ھے اور زندگي کے ہر شعبے کے ساتھ اس کا لگاؤ اس قدر گہرا ھے کہ انساني تمدّن اور تہذیب کي ترّقي جو ہم اس وقت دیکھتے ہیں ' اس میں بہت کچھ

اس کا دخل پایا جاتا ھے - اس لئے اختیار کرنے کے قابل وھي زبان ہوسکتي ھے جو تہذیب و تمدن کي ممد ہو اؤر اُن تمام افعال و اعمال کے انجام دینے میں کار آمد ہوسکے جن کا تعلق حیات انساني سے ھے - اگر وہ زمانے کا ساتھ نہیں دے سکتي اؤر حالات زمانہ کے مطابق انساني ضروریات کو پورا نہیں کرسکتي تو ایک مقامي بولي ہوگي اؤر ملک کي مستند زبان ہونے کا دعوي نہیں کرسکتي - اس کے لئے ضرورت ھے کہ ہم اردو زبان کي تاریخ پر نظر ڈالیں اؤر دیکھیں کہ گزشتہ زمانے میں اس نے کیا کیا ' اب اس کا کیا رنگ ڈھنگ ھے اؤر آیندہ اس سے کیا توقع ھو سکتي ھے اؤر ھمیں اس کے لئے کیا کرنا چاہیے - یہ موقع تفصیل کا نہیں' لیکن اس کے کارنامے کے سمجھنے کے لئے في الحال ایک اجمالي نظر بھي کافي ہوگي -

یہ زبان عوام کي تھي ' بول چال کي تھي - دلّي سے چلي اؤر حکومت کے لشکر ' صوبہ داروں ' اہل عملہ ' پیشہ وروں' تاجروں کے ساتھ وسط ہند ' راجپوتانہ ' گجرات اؤر دکن وغیرہ میں پہنچي - اہل علم ایک مُدت تک اسے عوام کي بولي سمجھ کر حقارت سے دیکھتے رھے اؤر وہ علم و ادب کي سرحد میں قدم نہ رکھنے پائي - آج جو دنیا کي شائستہ ترین اؤر علمي زبانیں کہلاتي ہیں' وہ بھي ایک وقت عوام کي بولیاں تھیں اؤر ابتدا میں ان کے ساتھ بھي یہي سلوک ہوا تھا - غرض عوام کي یہ بولي آپ ہي آپ ملک میں پھیلتي چلي گئي' کیونکہ فطري صلاحیت اؤر زمانے کے حالات اس کي تائید میں تھے - سب سے پہلے درویشوں اؤر صوفیوں نے اس کي قدر پہچاني - سچّا صوفي جس طرح انساني نفس کے نشیب و فراز اؤر پیچ و خم سے واقف ہوتا ھے' اسي طرح وہ زمانے کا مزاج شناس بھي ہوتا ھے - اس کا واسطہ ہر طبقے اؤر ہر قوم و ملّت کے لوگوں سے ہوتا ھے لیکن' عوام سب سے زیادہ اس کے گرویدہ ہوتے ہیں - اس لئے عوام کے دلوں کو موہنے کے لئے عوام ہي کي بولي کارگر ہوسکتي ھے - اس کي شہادت ہمیں آٹھویں صدي ہجري سے مسلسل ملتي ھے - ابتدائي صوفیا کے اقوال ہندي یا اس ملي جلي زبان میں' جسکي قسمت میں سارے ہندستان کي زبان ہونا لکھا تھا' ان کے ملفوظات میں جا بجا ملتے ہیں ' جو اُن کے مریدوں نے بڑي احتیاط سے محفوظ رکھے ہیں - مثلاً بابا فرید شکر گنج ' بندہ

نواز گیسو دراز، امیر خسرو، قطب عالم، شاہ عالم، سید محمد جونپوري، شیخ بہاءالدین باجن، شیخ عبدالقدوس گنگوهي، شاہ محمد غوث گوالیاري وغیرہ انھیں بزرگوں میں سے ہیں - لیکن ان کے علاوہ ایسے صوفیا بھي گزرے ہیں جن کي مستقل تصنیفات پائي جاتي ہیں - جیسے شمس العشاق میرانجي، شاہ برہان الدین جانم، سید میراں حسیني شاہ، قاضي محمود دریائي، شاہ علي محمد جیوگام دہني، خوب محمد چشتي، بابا شاہ حسیني وغیرہ - یہ آتھویں صدي سے گیارھویں صدي تک کے بزرگ ہیں -

ان کے کلام میں دو چار باتیں قابل غور ہیں - جن کي بنا پر یہ ملي جُلي بولي ہندي سے ریختہ اوڑ ریختے سے اردو ایک مستقل زبان ہوگئي - اوّل تو یہ کہ ان سب کا کلام فارسي رسم خط میں ھے اوڑ یہ رسم خط شروع سے اس کے ساتھ ھے - یعنے ہندستان کي ایک بولي نئے لباس میں سج دھج سے جلوہ گر ہوتي ھے - دوسري بات یہ ھے کہ ہندي الفاظ کي بہتات ھے اوڑ عربي فارسي بہت کم - جیسے

آپیں جوگي سب جگت چیلا
آپیں الیک (۱) نات رہے یکیلا -
اپني اچھیا کر سب چیلے نپایا
نیکي بدي کے دو مُدرے بھایا -

(برھان الدین جانم)

ان چار مصرعوں میں صرف نیکي بدي کے دو فارسي لفظ آئے ہیں اوڑ یہ بھي ایسے ہیں، جو ہندستان کي اکثر زبانوں میں بلا تکلف استعمال ہوتے ہیں اوڑ یہ خیال بھي نہیں آتا کہ یہ ہندي ہیں یا فارسي -

اے دنیا کے لوگ کیڑے مکوڑے
گھیو شہد پر دوڑاتے گھوڑے
ڈوبتے بہت نکلتے تھوڑے -

ان تین مصرعوں میں صرف دو لفظ یعنے دنیا اوڑ شہد آئے ہیں، باقي سب ہندي ہیں اوڑ یہ دو لفظ ایسے معمولي ہیں کہ ہر جگہ سمجھے جاتے

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(۱) الکھ ناتھ -

ہیں - یہ دو مثالیں میں نے جان کر ایسی دی ہیں کہ ان میں فارسی عربی لفظ بھی ہیں ' ورنہ صفحے کے صفحے ' پڑھ جائیے کہیں ایک لفظ بھی فارسی عربی کا نہیں آتا -

و تیسرے ' چونکہ ان بزرگوں کا مقصد تلقین و تعلیم تھا ' اس لیے ان کے کلام میں مذہبی اور صوفیانہ عربی اصطلاحوں کا آنا لازم تھا ' لیکن ساتھ ہی وہ ہندی اور سنسکرت کے ٹھیٹ الفاظ اور عارفانہ اصطلاحیں بھی بے تکلف استعمال کرتے ہیں ' یہاں تک کہ حمد و نعت میں بھی وہ عربی الفاظ کے ساتھ سنسکرت کے مذہبی لفظ لکھ جاتے ہیں - مثلاً

پانچوں وقت نماز گزارو دائم پڑو قرآن

کھاؤ حلال بولو مُکھ ساچا راکھو درست ایمان -

چھوڑ جنجال جھونٹی سب مایا جی من ھووے گیان

کلمۂ شہادت مکھ بِسارو جس تے چھوٹو ندھان -

دین دُنی کی نعمت پاؤ جنّت راکھو شانوں

محمود مُکھ تھیں تل نہ بسارے اپنے دھنی کا نانوں -

(قاضی محمود دریائی)

اس میں نماز ' قرآن ' ایمان ' دین ' جنّت ' حلال کے لفظ تو البتہ فارسی عربی ہیں اور ان کا ھونا نا گزیر تھا ' ورنہ باقی سب ہندی سنسکرت کے لفظ ہیں -

شاہ برھان الدین جانم کا ایک رسالہ کلمۃ الحقائق نثر میں ھے ' جس میں مُرید کی طرف سے سوال اور مُرشد کی طرف سے جواب ھوتا ھے - ایک سوال و جواب مثال کے طور پر یہاں نقل کیا جاتا ھے :

سوال - " یہ تن الادھا(۱) دستا ' و لیکن جیتا بکار(۲) ٹوٹنے نہیں بلکہ ستنتر(۳) بکار روپ(۴) دستا ھے ' تک تل قرار نہیں ' جیوں مرکٹ روپ " -

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(۱) علیحدہ (۲) تغیر (۳) قلب ماھیت (۴) بندر

جواب - " اے عارف ظاہر تن کے فعل سوں گزریا و باطن کرتب دستے ' اس کا نانوں سو ممکن الوجود(۱) - دوسرا تن سو بھي کہ اس کا اینداراین(۲) کا بکار و چیشتا کرنہارا سو وھي تن ' نہیں یو خاک و سوکھ دوکھ بھوگن ھارا - جیتا بکار روپ وھي دوسرا تن ' تو توں نظر کر دیکھ ' یہ تن جنم سوں گزریا تو گن اس کا کیوں رھے " -

اس مثال میں دیکھیے چند عربي لفظوں کے ساتھ کس قدر ہندي لفظ اور سنسکرت کي اصطلاحیں آئي ہیں :

چوتھے ' ان کي نظموں کي بحریں سب ہندي ہیں اور بیان کا اسلوب ' کلام کا رنگ ' نیز استعارات و تشبیہات بھي زیادہ تر ہندي ہیں - مثلاً اُن کے ھاں بھي ہندي شعرا کي طرح عورت ھي عاشق ھے اور خدا یا گرو معشوق - یہ بعض اوقات تصوف اور معرفت کي باتیں عورت سے خطاب کرکے یا عورت کے حالات میں بیان کرتے ہیں - جیسے : " یہ دنیا سسرال ھے اور عالم آخرت اس کا میکا ھے " اور اس طرح بطور استعارہ عورتوں کے تمام مناسبات مثلاً زیور پہننا و مہندي لگانا ' چرخا کاتنا وغیرہ استعمال کرتے ہیں - دو ایک مثالیں یہاں لکھي جاتي ہیں :

نا میں کیتي بندگي تري نادھر کیتي یاد
دائم کیتي آکل تیرے سلگوں تھے فریاد -
تیں بھي میرا لاڑ چلایا کبھو نہ ہوا اُداس
آپ سندیسا تورُ گسائیں تیري منجھ آس -

(میرانجي)

نیر کا پینا مجھ کوں لاگا - لوگ دیواني دیکھ ہنسیں
جگ کي ھانسیں کیا مجھ ہوئے - کہو سرجن کہاں بسیں

(جانم)

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(۱) حواس (۲) ؟

دکھہ جیو کا کس کہوں اللہ دکھہ بھر یا سب کوئي رے
نر دو کھي جگ میں کو نہیں میں پر تھي پھر پھر جوئي رے
(قاضي محمود)

(۱)
نینوں کا جل مُکھہ تنبولا ناک موتي گَل ہار
سیر نماؤں ' نیہہ اپاؤں اپنے پیر کروں جوھار -

پانچویں ' ایک بات ان کے کلام میں یہ پائي جاتي ھے کہ عربي فارسي یا ہندي کے لفظ وہ اسي طرح لکھتے ہیں ' جو عوام کي زبان پر تھے ' اصل کي طرف رجوع نہیں کرتے تھے - بات یہ ھے کہ وہ فارسي عربي کے لفظ نہیں رھے تھے بلکہ اُس زبان کے لفظ ھوگئے تھے ' جو عام طور پر بولي جاتي تھي - مثلاً علحدہ کو الادھا ' وضع اور نفع کو وضا اور نفا ' بعد ازاں کو بزاں ' شروع کو شرو وغیرہ وغیرہ - یہ نہیں کہ وہ جاہل تھے ' صاحب علم لوگ تھے ' مگر وہ جانتے تھے کہ جس زبان میں وہ لکھہ رھے ہیں ' وہ فارسي عربي نہیں بلکہ ایک دیسي زبان ھے اور وہ لفظ خود اصل میں عربي کے ہوں یا فارسي کے ' اب تبدیل ہیئت کے ساتھہ اس دیسي زبان کے ھوگئے ہیں - اس سے ظاھر ھے کہ فلسفۂ زبان اور اصول لسانیات پران کي کس قدر نظر تھي -

ان بزرگوں کا کلام سب نظم میں ھے اور خال خال نثر میں - مولیر کے ایک کیریکٹر کو یہ معلوم کرکے بہت حیرت ہوئي تھي کہ وہ چالیس سال سے نثر بول رہا ھے اور اسے خبر تک نہ ہوئي - لیکن اگر زبان کے ارتقا کا غور سے مطالعہ کیا جائے تو معلوم ھوگا کہ انسان ہزاروں سال تک نظم میں باتیں کرتا رہا اور اسے خبر نہ ہوئي - اس کے آثار اب تک نثر میں موجود ہیں اور بغیر اس کے نثر وجود ھي میں نہیں آسکتي تھي -

اِسي زمانے میں جس کا ذکر میں نے اوپر کیا ھے ' دوسرے شعرانے جنھیں اپنے جذبات کے اظہار کا اس سے بہتر موقع نہیں مل سکتا تھا ' اس زبان کو بڑے چاؤ سے اختیار کیا - سب سے پہلا مرتب اور منضبط کلیات ہمیں سلطان

(۱) یعنی : آنکھوں میں کاجل ' منہ میں پان ' ناک میں موتی ' گلے میں ھار ' اس سج دھج سے میں سرجھاوں ' محبت کروں اور اپنے پیر کو آداب کروں -

محمد قلي قطب شاہ بادشاہ گولکنڈہ کا ملتا ھے - اس کا سنہ تخت نشیني ۹۹۰ ہجري ھے - اس کا کلام بہت ضخیم ھے - علاوہ غزلوں' قصیدوں' مثنویوں قطعوں' رباعیوں' نوحوں' نعت منقبت وغیرہ کے اس نے مقامي عمارتوں' پھلوں' پھولوں' تہواروں' میلوں اؤر دوسرے مضامین وغیرہ پر متعدد نظمیں لکھي ہیں - اس کے بعد شاعروں کا ایک سلسلہ شروع ہو جاتا ھے - ان میں سے بعض (خصوصاً نصرتي) کا تخیّل اؤر قوت بیان حیرت انگیز ھے - انساني جذبات' مناظر قدرت' رزم و بزم کے معرکے' اخلاقي نکات' صوفیانہ اسرار' عاشقانہ راز و نیاز وغیرہ مضامین پر جب ان کا کلام پڑھتے ہیں تو یہ دیکھ کر تعجب ہوتا ھے کہ انہوں نے اس ابتدائي زمانے میں جذبات و خیالات کے اظہار میں کس قدر ترقي کرلي تھي - ایک عجیب بات یہ ھے کہ ابتدا میں جس زبان کو وطن میں کسي نے نہ پوچھا' پردیس میں اس کي ایسي قدر ہوئي کہ اس میں بلا مبالغہ سینکڑوں بہت اچھے اؤر بعض بے مثل شاعر اؤر ادیب پیدا ہوگئے اؤر وہ وہ چیزیں لکھ گئے جو آج بھي قابل قدر ہیں - خصوصاً اُس زمانے کي بعض رزمیہ مثنویاں اس پایہ کي ہیں کہ اردو زبان کو اپنے عروج میں بھي نصیب نہ ہوئیں - اردو زبان کے ارتقا کے لئے ان کا مطالعہ ضروري ھے -

ان شعرا کے کلام میں بھي زبان کي وھي خصوصیتیں پائي جاتي ہیں' جن کا ذکر میں صوفي شعرا کے ضمن میں کرچکا ہوں - البتہ اتنا تغیّر ضرور ہوا کہ مثنویوں' قصیدوں' رباعیوں' قطعوں میں انہوں نے فارسي بحریں اختیار کرلیں اؤر غزلوں میں ہندي فارسي دونوں قسم کي بحریں ہیں - فارسي زیادہ' ہندي کم - باقي اؤر خصوصیتیں وھي رھیں - فارسي کا زیادہ دخل ولي کے وقت سے شروع ہؤا - ایسا کیوں ہؤا ؟

اس سوال کے جواب میں یہ کہا جاتا ھے کہ جب ولي دلّي آئے تو شاہ سعداللّٰہ گلشن نے انھیں یہ ہدایت کي کہ " یہ اتنے سارے فارسي مضامین جو بیکار پڑے ہیں ان کو اپنے ریختے میں کام میں لاؤ' تُم سے کون مواخذہ کرے گا" یہ روایت ممکن ھے کہ صحیح ہو اؤر غالباً صحیح ہوگي' لیکن صرف اتني سي بات زبان میں اس بڑے تغیّر کا باعث نہیں ہوسکتي - اس کي اؤر بھي وجوہ ہیں -

یہ زبان جسے ہم دلي کي زبان کہتے ہیں' صوفیوں اور درویشوں اور محمد تغلق کے ساتھہ گجرات اور دکن میں آئي - محمد تغلق نے جب دولت آباد کو ہندستان کا دارالحکومت بنایا تو ساري دلي کو وہاں لا بسایا - اور ہر پیشہ اور ہر فن کے لوگ وہاں آباد ہوگئے - اور ان کے ساتھہ یہ زبان بھي وہاں پہنچي - اور ایسي پہنچي کہ کچھہ دنوں کے بعد ادب و انشا کي مالک بن گئي اور شمال پر جو اس کا مولد و منشا تھا' فوقیت لے گئي - لیکن محمد تغلق کے بعد جنوب کا تعلق شمال سے منقطع ہوگیا اور یہاں خود مختار حکومت قائم ہوگئي - اس کا اثر زبان پر یہ پڑا کہ اس میں کچھہ زیادہ تغیر و تبدل نہ ہونے پایا - اتنا تغیر تو ضرور ہوا جو کسي زبان کے ایک مقام سے دوسرے مقام پر جانے سے ہوتا ھے - مثلاً تلفظ کي وجہ سے الفاظ کي ہیئت بدل گئي' رسم خط میں ذرا ظہور فرق آگیا' بعض مقامي الفاظ داخل ہوگئے یا شعرا نے اظہار خیال کي ضرورت سے کچھہ فارسي عربي یا مقامي لفظوں سے کام لیا' باقي اس کا رنگ ڈھنگ اور اسلوب وھي رہا جو اصل دہلوي زبان کا تھا - شمال کي حالت اس سے مختلف تھي - وہاں فارسي چھائي ہوئي تھي - مکتبوں اور مدرسوں میں' دربار اور دفتروں میں' خط و کتابت اور تالیف و تصنیف میں فارسي ھي کا چلن تھا - ہندو مسلمان دونوں کي حالت یکساں تھي - ہندوؤں نے تو اس کے حاصل کرنے میں بڑا کمال دکھایا - ان میں فارسي کے ایسے فاضل ادیب اور شاعر گزرے ہیں کہ ان کي بعض تصانیف اب تک مستند سمجھي جاتي ہیں اور مدتوں داخل نصاب رھیں - متواتر مطالعہ' مشق شعر و سخن' روز مرہ کي نوشت و خواند' صحبت اہل علم' نیز اُس وقت کے ماحول اور رواج کي وجہ سے فارسي ان کے دل و دماغ میں رچ گئي تھي اور تقریباً اُن کي اپني زبان ہوگئي تھي - اس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ انھوں نے اس زبان میں جو دو قوموں یعنے ہندو مسلمانوں اور دو زبانوں یعنے ہندي فارسي کے میل سے بن رھي تھي' بے دھڑک فارسي لفظ داخل کرنے شروع کردیے - یہ ایک نفسیاتي مسئلہ ھے - اس کے متعلق میں اپنے ایک صدارتي خطبے میں' جو میں نے اس کانفرنس کے (۱) ایک اجلاس میں پڑھا تھا' کافي بحث کرچکا ہوں - یہاں اس کے اعادے کي

(۱) اجلاس انڈین اور ینٹل کانفرنس منعقدہ بڑودہ - دسمبر سنہ ۱۹۳۳ع -

ضرورت نهیں سمجھتا ۔ غرض که زبان تو نهیں بدلي ' وهي رهي جو تهي ' لیکن اس پر فارسي رنگ چڑھنا شروع هوگیا اور هندي کي بعض خصوصیات کم هوگئیں ۔ اور اب هندي فارسي کي مساوات هوگئي ۔

جنوب میں یه حالت نه تهي ۔ فارسي کا وهاں بهت کم رواج تها ۔ جنوبي هند کي زبانوں سے اس کا کوئي میل نه تها اور نه وهاں هندو تعلیم یافته صاحب ذوق جیسے لوگوں کي کوئي جماعت تهي ' جو اس کا رخ فارسي کي طرف موڑ دیتي ۔ اس کے علاوه جنوب کا سیاسي تعلق شمال سے بالکل منقطع هوچکا تها ۔ اس لئے اس نومولود زبان میں کوئي خاص تغیر نه هونے پایا ۔ اکبر اور جهانگیر کے عهد میں دکن سے پهر چهیڑ چهاڑ شروع هوئي ۔ اس کا اثر تهوڑا بهت کچھ هوا تو صرف گجرات کي حد تک ' باقي دکن میں صرف جنگي چپقلشیں رهیں اور وهاں کي زندگي میں کوئي فرق نه آیا ۔ البته شاه جهاں کے زمانے میں جب اورنگ زیب دکن کے صوبیدار مقرر هوئے اور اُنهوں نے اورنگ آباد کو اپنا صدر مقام بنایا تو سر زمین دکن میں بهار آگئي اور ایک جُگ گزرنے پر محمد تغلق کے بعد پهر اس کے دن پهرے ۔ اورنگ زیب کے ساتھ اس کا جرّار لشکر ' فوجي اور ملکي عمّال اور مختلف دفتر اور کارخانے تهے ۔ هندستان کے راجه مهاراجه ' جن کے محلات کے کهنڈراب تک موجود هیں ' وهاں آکر رهتے تهے اور اُن کے ساتھ ان کا لاؤ لشکر بهي هوتا تها ۔ لکها هے که اُس وقت اورنگ آباد کي آبادي تخمیناً پندره لاکھ تهي ۔ اب پهر شمال اور دکن کا تلعق هوگیا ۔ اس سے جهاں معاشرت کے دوسرے شعبوں پر اثر پڑا ' وهاں زبان کو بهي بهت فائده پهنچا ۔ بعض تذکروں سے معلوم هوتا هے که شمالي هند کے شعرا کا کلام دکن میں آتا تها تو لوگ بڑے شوق سے پڑهتے تهے ۔ اورنگ آباد کے اُس وقت کے شاعر اور ادیب اپني زبان کو دکني نهیں کهتے تهے ' بلکه شمالي هند سے منسوب کرتے تهے ۔ اور حقیقت یه هے که اورنگ آباد اور حیدر آباد کے لب و لهجه اور زبان میں بهت فرق هے ۔ گولکنڈه کي فتح کے بعد یه تعلق اور بڑھ گیا ۔ اس کے بعد نظام الملک دکن کے صوبیدار اور فرمانروا هوئے ۔ یه بهي شمال سے آئے تهے ۔ اور ان کے ساتھ ایک بڑي جماعت هندو مسلمان امرا و اهل فوج کي آئي ۔ یه خود اردو فارسي کے بهت اچهے

شاعر تھے اور اہل علم کے سر پرست - خاندان آصفیہ اب تک علم اور اہل علم کی بے نظیر سر پرستی کر رہا ہے -

اُدھر مدراس میں خاندان والا جاہی نے بڑے بڑے عالم فاضل اور اردو فارسی کے ادیب اور شاعر شمالی ہند اور دوسرے مقامات سے بلا کر اپنے دربار میں جمع کئے اور وہاں اہل علم کا بڑا اچھا مجمع ہوگیا اور شب و روز شعر و سخن اور علم و فضل کا چرچا رہنے لگا -

رفتہ رفتہ جب ایسٹ انڈیا کمپنی کا تسلّط بڑھنے لگا اور تجارت کے ساتھ ملک داری کی ذمہ داری بھی اس کے سر آ پڑی تو یہ محسوس ہوا کہ ملکی زبان کے بغیر کام چلنا دشوار ہے - چنانچہ ان نوجوان انگریزوں کے لئے جو ولایت سے کمپنی کی ملازمت کے واسطے انتخاب کر کے بھیجے جاتے تھے اردو سکھانے کی (جسے وہ ہندستانی کہتے تھے) تجویز کی گئی - اس غرض کے لئے کلکتہ میں فورٹ ولیم کالج قائم ہوا - اچھے اچھے قابل اردو داں اصحاب کو ملازم رکھا گیا اور اُن سے تاریخ ' اخلاق ' معاشرت ' قصّے کہانیوں کی کتابیں سادہ اردو نثر میں ترجمہ کرائی گئیں یا لکھوائی گئیں - اردو کے اساتذہ کا کلام چھپوایا گیا یا انتخاب شایع کیا گیا - اُن کی کتابوں میں سے اب بھی بعض اپنی زبان کی فصاحت اور شیرینی کی وجہ سے پڑھنے کے قابل ہیں - ایک بڑا کام اس کالج نے یہ کیا کہ اردو نستعلیق ٹائپ بنوادیا اور اپنی کتابیں اسی میں چھپوائیں - افسوس کہ یہ کالج کمپنی کے ڈائرکٹروں کی مخالفت کی وجہ سے قائم نہ رہ سکا - اس میں کچھ شبہ نہیں کہ جدید اردو نثر کی بنیاد یہیں پڑی -

جو کام فورٹ ولیم کالج سے ادھورا رہ گیا تھا اور جو وہ غالباً قائم رہ کر بھی نہیں کرسکتا تھا ' اس لئے کہ اُس کا مقصد محدود تھا' وہ دلّی کالج نے کیا - اس کالج کا بڑا کام اور بڑا احسان یہ ہے کہ سب سے اول اس نے اردو زبان کے ذریعہ سے جدید و قدیم علوم کی تعلیم کا انتظام کیا اور اس میں کامیاب ہوا اور مختلف علوم پر اردو زبان میں بہت سی کتابیں ترجمہ یا تالیف کرائیں - اور جس چیز کو لوگ کچھ دنوں پہلے تک محال سمجھتے تھے ' وہ اس نے بڑی خوبی سے کر کے دکھا دیا - سنہ ۵۷ع کی شورش سے اور جو نقصان ملک کو پہنچے ہوں ' لیکن سب سے بڑا نقصان یہ ہوا کہ اُس کالج کا خاتمہ ہوگیا ' جو اپنی

نوعیت کا ایک تھا اور وہ کام کر رہا تھا ' جو اُس کے بعد بڑے بڑے کالج اور یونیورسٹیاں بھي نہ کرسکیں - اگر وہ قائم رہتا اور حسب ضرورت اس کي ترقي کے سامان مہیا کئے جاتے تو آج اردو زبان کہاں سے کہاں پہنچ جاتي - اس نے سچا علمي ذوق اور روشن خیالي پھیلانے میں جو کام کیا وہ اس سے ظاہر ہے کہ اس نامراد ادارے سے ماسٹر رام چندر ' محمد حسین آزاد ' نذیر احمد ' ذکاء اللہ جیسے لوگ نکلے ' جنھوں نے اپنے خیالات اور قلم کے زور سے اردو زبان کي کایا پلٹ دي - لیکن کس قدر شرم کي بات ہے کہ آج دہلي یونیورسٹي اور اس کے کالجوں میں اسے باریابي کا موقع نہیں - یعنے خود اپنے گھر میں اجنبي ہے -

اسي زمانے میں سنہ ۱۸۳۷ع کے لگ بھگ دفتروں اور عدالتوں سے فارسي زبان خارج کي گئي اور اردو زبان اس کي قائم مقام ہوئي - یہ بھي اس بات کا بیّن ثبوت ہے کہ اردو ہي ملک کي عام زبان تسلیم کي گئي ' دوسري کوئي ایسي زبان نہ تھي ' جو اس منصب کے قابل سمجھي جاتي -

اس کے بعد ڈاکٹر لائٹز کي بدولت ' بلکہ یوں کہنا چاہیے کہ ان کي سینہ زوري سے لاہور میں اور نٹیل کالج قائم ہوا - اس نے قابل قدر کام کیا اور کر رہا ہے اور اب تک مشرقي زبانوں نیز اردو کي خدمت میں مصروف ہے - اس ادارے سے بھي علمي کتابیں اردو میں شائع ہوئیں - یہ سب کچھ سہي مگر وہ کام نہ ہوسکا جو دلّي کالج کر رہا تھا -

ادھر سر سیّد احمد خاں نے علي گڑھ سائنٹفک سوسائٹي بڑے شوق اور جوش سے قائم کي - لوگوں کو گھیر گھیر کر ممبر بنایا ' چندہ جمع کیا ' سوسائٹي کي عمارت بنائي ' علمي لکچروں کا سلسلہ قائم کیا - خود لیکچر دئے - اور پنڈت دھرم نرائن اور منشي ذکاء اللہ جیسے لوگوں سے علمي کتابوں کے ترجمے کرائے اور مختلف موضوعوں پر کتابیں اور رسالے لکھوائے - اور بڑي بات یہ کي کہ ٹائپ کو رواج دیا - اُن کي ساري کتابیں ' رسالے اور اخبار آخر تک ٹائپ میں چھپا کئے - ان کے رسالہ تہذیب الاخلاق نے نہ صرف خیالات کے بدلنے میں ' بلکہ اردو طرز تحریر میں متانت اور پختگي پیدا کرنے میں بڑي مدد دي - خود سر سیّد کا اردو زبان پر بڑا احسان ہے - علمي ' اخلاقي ' سیاسي

مضامین کو سنجیدگي کے ساتھ سلیس اؤر فصیح زبان میں ادا کرنے کا جو ڈول انھوں نے ڈالا تھا وہ بہت مقبول ہوا اؤر برابر ترقي کر رہا ھے -

یہ تو خیر بڑے اؤر مشہور ادارے تھے ' لیکن علاوہ ان کے اُسي زمانے میں مختلف مقامات مثلاً مرزاپور ' لکھنؤ ' مُرشد آباد ' بمبئي ' کلکتہ وغیرہ سے بہت سي کتابیں اردو میں شائع ہوتي رہیں ' جن میں سے اکثر علمي اؤر مذہبي تھیں - لیتھو کے بھي بہت اچھے مطبع قائم ہوگئے تھے اؤر انھوں نے اردو کي بڑي خدمت انجام دي - عیسائي مشنریوں نے بھي اردو میں کثرت سے کتابیں اؤر رسالے شائع کئے -

شعر اُردو کي گُھٹّي میں پڑا ھے - ایک طرف ہندي نے اؤر دوسري طرف فارسي نے اس کے لئے اپنے خزانے کھول رکھے تھے - اس نے بھي بلا تامّل دونوں کے سرمائے سے فیض حاصل کیا اؤر اسي میں اس کي وسعت و قوت کا راز ھے - اردو میں اؤر فارسي اؤر ہندي میں بھي شعر وہ ھے جس کي چوٹ دل پر جاکر لگے اؤر تڑپادے - ہماري شاعري دل کي شاعري ھے - یہ نہیں کہ اس میں دماغي اؤر ذہني کیفیت کے شعر ہیں ہي نہیں ہیں' لیکن ان کي حیثیت ضمني اؤر ثانوي ھے - اِس نظر سے اُردو کي شاعري کسي شاعري سے کم نہیں - اس میں شک نہیں کہ ایک زمانہ ہماري شاعري پر ایسا آیا تھا کہ ظاہري تکلّفات ' رعایت لفظي اؤر صنائع بدائع نے اس کے باطن کو کچل کر رکھ دیا تھا اؤر شاعري ایک کھیل اؤر لفظوں کا گورکھ دھندا ہو کر رہ گئي تھي - یہ اُس ماحول کا اثر تھا کہ جس میں وہ گھر گئي تھي - لیکن یہ ایک عارضي دور تھا اؤر جلد گزر گیا - غالب کي آمد نے ایک نیا رنگ پیدا کیا - اگرچہ اس نے قدیم شاعري سے الگ ہو کر کوئي نئي راہ نہیں نکالي لیکن اُس کي جدّت فکر' بلندي تخیّل اؤر بیان کي شوخي اؤر تیکھے پن نے اس میں از سر نو جان ڈال دي - اُس کي شاعري میں دل اؤر دماغ دونوں کا سامان موجود ھے -

اس کے بعد زمانہ بدلتا ھے اؤر اس کے ساتھ ہي ہمارا ادب بھي بدل جاتا ھے - حالي نے آکر ہماري شاعري کا رخ یکسر بدل دیا اؤر اپنے کلام سے ثابت کردیا کہ شعر کہیں بند نہیں ھے - وہ اسي قدر وسیع ھے ' جس قدر کہ

زندگي - حالي نے صرف اردو شاعري ہي پر احسان نہيں كيا بلكه اردو نثر كو بهي درجۂ كمال تك پہنچا ديا اۋر اس ميں ايسي پختگي ' متانت اۋر وسعت پيدا كردي ' جو اس سے پہلے اُسے كبهي نصيب نه ہوئي تهي - حالي كا ہماري نظم و نثر پر اس قدر قوي اثر هے كه اس كا اندازه اِس وقت مشكل هے - چكبست نے اسي رستے پر قدم اُٹهايا اۋر تنگ كوچے سے نكل كر زندگي كے وسيع ميدان پر نظر ڈالي - آخر ميں اقبال نے اپني قوّت بيان ' پر زور تخيّل اۋر افكار جديد سے اس كا رتبه اۋر بلند كر ديا - سر سيّد ' حالي اۋر نذير احمد اس زبان كے بنانے والے ہيں - دوسروں نے اسے بڑهايا اۋر سنوارا مگر انهوں نے اِسے بنايا هے -

اِن سب كي جاں كاہيوں اۋر كوششوں سے ہماري زبان اب اس نوبت پر هے كه وه ہر قسم كے خيالات اۋر جذبات كے اظہار پر قادرهے - موجوده اۋر آينده نسلوں كے لئے ہر طرف راہيں كهلي ہوئي ہيں اۋر وه اس بے بہا سرمائے سے فائده اُٹها كر ادب كے نئے كوچوں ميں قدم ركه سكتے ہيں -

ہميں اپني زبان اۋر ادب سے مايوسي كي كوئي وجه نہيں - كثرت سے اخبار اۋر رسالے شائع ہو رهے ہيں - اگرچه اچهے اخبار كي اب بهي ضرورت هے - بعض رسالے ادبي تنقيد اۋر محققانه مضامين اۋر بعض خاص خاص موضوع كے لئے وقف ہيں - عام طور پر لوگوں ميں اردو لكهنے پڑهنے كا شوق پيدا ہوتا جاتا هے - نئے نئے مضامين اۋر علوم پر كتابيں لكهي جارهي ہيں - نئے ادب والے اپنے خيالات كي اشاعت افسانوں كے پيرائے ميں كر رهے ہيں - اگرچه ادب ميں نيا پرانا كوئي چيز نہيں ؛ جس كلام ميں تازگي ' جدّت اۋر خيالات كي گہرائي هے وه ہميشه نيا هے ' گو وه دو ہزار برس پہلے كا لكها ہوا كيوں نه ہو - اۋر جس ميں يه نہيں وه پرانا هے ' گو وه آج هي كي تصنيف كيوں نه ہو - ايك خوشي كي بات يه هے كه اب عورتيں بهي اس طرف پہلے سے زياده توجه كر رهي ہيں اۋر يه اردو كے لئے نيك فال هے - يه زبان انہيں كي هے - وه اس كي ترقي ميں شريك ہوں گي تو اس كي ترقي ميں كوئي شك و شبه نہيں ہوسكتا - انجمن ترقي اردو (ہند) نے اپني كوششوں سے اِسے اۋر وسيع اۋر قوي كرديا هے اۋر اس كي بعض شاخيں بڑي مستعدي سے اس كي مدد كر رهي ہيں -

ہندستان کي تقريباً تمام يونيورسٹيوں ميں اردو کي اہميت تسليم کي جاچکي ھے - اس بارے ميں خصوصيت کے ساتھه پنجاب يونيورسٹي اوٗر اس سے بڑھه کر مدراس يونيورسٹي ہمارے شکريه کي مستحق ہيں -

آخر ميں ميں چند جملے جامعۂ عثمانيه کي نسبت کہنا چاہتا ہوں کيوں که اردو زبان کا کوئي ذکر اس کے بيان سے خالي نہيں ہوسکتا - جامعۂ عثمانيه نے اردو کو يونيورسٹي کي اعلیٰ تعليم کا ذريعه بنا کر اوٗر علوم و فنون پر سيئکڑوں کتابيں ترجمه و تاليف کراکر اردو زبان کي بنيادوں کو ايسا مضبوط کرديا ھے که زمانے کے حوادث اسے ہلا نہيں سکتے - ليکن جس بات سے مجھے خاص مسرت ھے ' وه يه ھے که اس يونيورسٹي کے پروفيسروں ميں ايک مختصر جماعت ايسي بھي ھے ' جو علاوه اپنے فرائض منصبي کے اوٗر بلا خيال ذاتي مفاد اوٗر شہرت کے زبان اوٗر علم کي بے بہا خدمت کر رھي ھے ' جس کي قدر اس وقت تو کيا ہوگي ' ليکن ايک زمانه آئے گا که قدر شناس اس کي قدر کريں گے -

جيسا که ميں نے ابھي عرض کيا تھا که ان حالات ميں ہميں مايوسي کي کوئي وجه نہيں - ليکن اس کے يه معنے نہيں که ہم مطمئن ہو کر بيٹھه رہيں - انسان کتني بھي ترقي کرجائے' ترقي و اصلاح کي پھر بھي گنجائش باقي رہتي ھے - دنيا ميں ہر چيز بنتي بگڑتي' ڈھلتي اوٗر بڑھتي ھے - زبان بنتي بھي ھے اوٗر بنائي بھي جاتي ھے - جس طرح ہم حيات کو جکڑ بند نہيں کرسکتے ' اسي طرح زبان کو بھي مقيد نہيں کرسکتے - يه اس کے لئے موت ھے - آينده کي ترقي اوٗر موجوده کي اصلاح پر ہميں ہميشه نظر رکھني چاہئے - مثلاً اس وقت ضرورت ھے که ہم رسم خط کي اصلاح کريں' فضوليات کو خارج کريں ' اختلافي مسائل کا حل ڈھونڈيں ' مناسب ٹائپ کو رواج ديں - اوٗر اس کے ساتھه ہي ہميں ايسے نئے لکھنے والوں کي بھي ضرورت ھے که جو جديد علوم کے ذخيرے کو چھانيں ' کام کي چيزيں انتخاب کريں ' تاليف و تصنيف کريں مگر اس ڈھنگ سے که بيان ميں گنجلک نه هو اوٗر پيچيده ترکيبوں اوٗر غير ضروري اصطلاحوں سے پاک ہو - نئے خيالات' زندگي کے نئے نظريوں اوٗر

نئے جذبات کے لئے ہمیں نئے الفاظ اور جملے ' نئے أسلوب اور نئي راہیں تلاش کرني ہونگي تا کہ ہم اپني زبان اور ادب کو مکمل کرلیں -

....حضرات ! میں نے جو یہ سرسري نظر اپني زبان کے مختلف ارتقائي مدارج پر ڈالي ھے ' اس سے صرف یہ جتانا مقصود تھا کہ اس نے ہر دور میں زمانے کا ساتھ دیا ھے - جب سادگي کي ضرورت تھي تو یہ سادہ تھي ' جب تکلّف وتصنع کي ضرورت پڑي تو اس سے پر تکلّف کوئي زبان نہ تھي' جب ادبیّت اور تنقید کا وقت آیا تو اس نے پورا ساتھ دیا' جب اصلاح و ترمیم کا مطالبہ ہوا تو اس نے منہ نہ موڑا ' اب کہ علوم و فنون کا زمانہ ھے تو وہ اس کي خدمت کے لئے بھي حاضر ھے غرض کہ اقتضاے وقت کے لحاظ سے وہ ہر سانچے میں ڈھلنے کے لئے تیار رھي اور اس کي طرف سے کبھي کوئي کوتاھي نہیں ہوئي - اگر ھم اپني کوششوں میں کوتاھي نہیں کریں گے تو میں آپ کو یقین دلاتا ھوں کہ سر زمین ہند کي مشترکہ اور ادبي و علمي زبان یہي ہوگي - یہ اس کا حق ھے اور کوئي قوّت اسے اس منصب سے نہیں روک سکتي -

